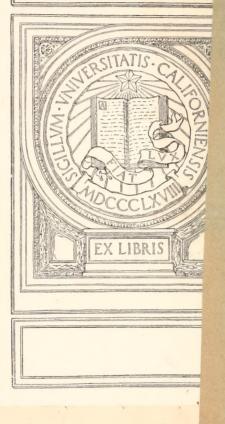


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The English Scholar's Library etc.

No. 4.

A Supplication for the Beggars.
[Spring of 1529.]



The English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works.

[SIMON FISH,

of Gray's Inn, Gentleman.]

A Supplication for the Beggars.

[Spring of 1529.]

Edited by EDWARD ARDER, ESA erc.

CECTIRER IN INGLISH TIFFEATTER AT ALL .

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LENDON.

SOUTHGATE, LONDON, N.

15 August 1878.

No. 4

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1.		
	They have a Tenth part of all produce, wages and profits	3
	What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, men's offerings	-4
	to their pilgrimages and at their first masses; by masses and diriges, by	
	mortuaries, hearing of confessions (yet keeping thereof no secrecy), hallowing	
	of churches, by cursing of men and absolving them for money; by extortion &c. and by the quarterage from every household to each of the Five Orders	
	of begging Friars, which equals £43,333 6s. 8d. [=vver £500,000 in present	
	value a year	4
	400 years ago, of all this they had not a penny	4
	These locusts own also one Third of the land	5
	Yet they are not in number, one to every hundred men, or one in every four	5
	hundred men women and children	- 5
	Neither could the Danes or Saxons have conquered this land, if they had left	
	such a sort [company] of idle gluttons behind them; nor noble King ARTHUR	
	have resisted the Emperor Lucius, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people; nor the Greeks so long continued the siege of Troy, if they	
	had had to find for such an idle sort of cormorants at home; nor the Romans	
	conquered the world, if their people had been thus yearly oppressed; nor	
	the Turk haue now so gained on Christendom, if he had in his empire such	
2.	locusts to devour his substance	5
۵.	What do they with these exactions?	6
	and to incite to disobedience and rebellion	6
3.	Yea, and what do they more?	7
	truly nothing but to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter &c.	7
1 .	Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomless ocean sea full of evils,	
	that this mischievous and sinful generation is able to bring upon us? un-	_
õ.	punished! What remedy? Make large against them? I am in doubt whether ye are able.	7
	Are they not stronger in your own parliament house than yourself	8
	So captive are your laws unto them, that no man that they list to excommuni-	
	cate may be admitted to sue any action in any of your Courts	9
	Neither have they any coulour pretence, to gather these yearly exactions but they say they pray to GOD to deliver our souls from purgatory. If that	
	were true we should give a hundred times as much. But many men of	
	great literature say there is no purgatory; and that if there were and that	
	the Pope may deliver one soul for money, he may deliver him as well with-	
2	out money; if one, a thousand; if a thousand, all; and so destroy purgatory.	10
3.	But what remedy? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people?	
	Nay, truly! The more the worse. For ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the priests' beards	7.0
7.	Set these sturdy loubies abroad in the world to get themselves wives to get their	12
	nying with their labour in the sweat of their faces, according to the com-	
	mandment of GOD	13

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SIMON FISH'S WORKS.

A Supplication for the Beggers.

ISSUES IN HIS LIFETIME.

A. As a separate publication.

1100. Printed abroad 1 avo. See title at A.1. Wholly printed in a clear italic type.

1100. [Printed abroad.] 400. Klash itelf oder supplication der armen dürftrigen in Engenlandt | an den König daselb gestellet | widder die reychen geystlichen bettler. [A Letter of Complaint or Supplication of the necessitous poor in England shewn to the King there of against the rich spiritual beggars [M.D.XXIX. [with a preface by SEBASTIAN FRANCK.] Black letter.

(32). [Printed abroud J. Avo. Supplicatorius Libellus pauperam, et egentium nomine, Henricho VIII. Serenissimo Angliæ regi etc. oblatus, contra quotidianas religiosorum 3

bildem iniurias et impiam auariciam. Ex Anglico in latinum uersus. M.D.XXX.

In the same type and style as No. 1, and with an engraved framework on the title page that may eventually lead to a knowledge of the foreign printer of both the editions.

B. With other Works.

None known.

ISSUES SINCE HIS DEATH.

A. As a separate publication.

- 4. 1546. [London] Fol. A supplication of the poore Commons. Prov. 21 Chap. Where-unto is added the Supplication of Beggers. [In the same style and type as No. 3 below, and therefore printed by WILLIAM HYLL.]
 In the heading the "Supplicacyon of Beggers" is assigned to 1524,
 which is wrong by five years.
 - 1245. London. 3vo. A Supplicacyon for the Bezgers. [100 copies only printed.] 1626. Fol. See Wood's Ath. Oxon i. 59. Ed. 4813. 15. Aug. 1878. Southgate, London, N. 8vo. The present impression.

B. With other Works.

- 8a, 1563. London. Fol. This tract is reprinted, with notes by John Fox in his Actes and
- Fol.) Fol.

And so in all later editions of the Book of Martyrs.

8b. 1570. London. 8c. 1576. London. 8d. 1583. London. 9. 1871. London. Fol.

Early English Text Society. Extra Scries. No. 13, 1871. "Four Supplications. 1529–1553 A.D." The first of these is "A Supplicacyon for the Beggers written about the year 1529, by Simon Fish. Now re-edited by Frederick J. Furnivall."

The Summe of the Scripture.

ISSUES IN HIS LIFETIME.

A. As a separate publication.

 (Winter of 1529-1330. Printed abroad.) 8vo. The only copy at present known is in the British Museum. C. 37. a/2. The title page is torn off, apparently for the safety of the first possessors.

B. With other Works.

None known.

ISSUES SINCE HIS DEATH.

A. As a separate publication.

2. 1847. London, W. HERBERT, Typ. Ant. i. 616, Ed. 1785, quotes an edition by John Day.

3. 11. Dec. 1543. [London.] 8vo. The summe of the holy Scripture, and ordinarye of the Chrystian teachyng, the true christian fayth, by the whiche we be all instified. And of the vertu of Baptisme, after the teachynge of the Gospell and of the Apostles, With an information howe all estates should lyue according to the Gospell very necessary for all Christian people to knowe. ¶ Anno, M.d.xlviii. [COLOPHON]: Imprynted at London, at the signe of the Hyll, at the west dore of Paules. By Wyllyam Hill. And there to be sold. Anno 1548. The 11 of Decembre. Cum Gratia et Privilegio ad Imprimendum solum. The press mark of the British Museum copy is 4401. b. 2.

B. With other Works.

None known.



INTRODUCTION.





IR THOMAS MORE, who at that time was but Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was made Lord Chancellor in the room of Cardinal Wolsey on Sunday, the 24th of October 1529.

The following undated work—the second of his controversial ones—was therefore written, printed and published prior to that day, and while as yet he held the lower dignity of the ducal Chancellorship.

The supplycacyon of soulys Made by syr Thomas More knyght councellour to our souerayn lorde the Kynge and chauncellour of hys Duchy of Lancaster.

Agaynst the supplycacyon of beggars.

At fol. xx. of this work occurs the following important passage, which, while crediting the Reformers with a greater science in attack, and a more far-reaching design in their writings than they actually possessed: fixes with precision the year of the first distribution in England of SIMON FISH's Supplicacyon for the Beggers, and with that its sequence in our early Protestant printed literature—

For the techyng and prechyng of all whych thyngys/thys beggers proctour or rather the dyuels proctour with other beggers that lack grace and nether beg nor lolo'ke for none: bere all thys theyr malyce and wrathe to the churche of Chryste. And seynge there ys no way for attaynyng theyr entent but one of the twayn/yat ys to wyt eyther playnly to wryte agaynst the fayth and the sacramentys (wheryn yf they gat them credence and obtaynyd/they then se[e] well the

church must nedys fall therwyth) or els to labour agaynst the church alone / and get the clergye dystroyd / whereuppon they parceyue well that the fayth and sacramentes wo [u]ld not fayle to decay: they parceyuyng thys/haue therfore furste assayd the furst way all redy/sendyng forth Tyndals translacyon of the new testament in such wyse handled as yt shuld haue bene the fountayn and well spryng of all theyr hole heresyes. For he had corrupted and purposely changed in many placys the text/wyth such wordys as he myght make yt seme to the vnlerned people / that the scripture affirmed theyr heresyes it selfe. Then cam sone after out in prynt the dyaloge of freere Roy and frere Hyerome | between ye father and ye sonne [Preface dated Argentine (Strasburg), 31 August, 1527] agaynst ye sacrament of ye aulter: and the blasphemouse boke entytled the beryeng of the masse [i.e. Rede me and be not wroth/printed at Strasburg early in 1528]. Then cam forth after Tyndals wykkyd boke of Mammona [Dated Marburg, 8 May 1528] / and after that his more wykkyd boke of obydyence [Dated Marburg, 2 October 1528]. In whych bokys afore specyfyed they go forth playnly agaynst the fayth and holy sacramentis of Crystys church/and most especyally agaynst the blyssed sacrament of ye aulter/wyth as vylanous wordes as the wre[t]ches cou[l]d deuyse. But when they haue perceuyd by experyence yat good people abhorred theyr abomynable bokes: then they beyng therby lerned yat the furst way was not ye best for ye furtherance of theyr purpose / haue now determined them selfe to assay the secunde way/that ys to witte yat forberynge to wryte so openly and dyrectly agaynste all the fayth and the sacramentys as good crysten men coulde not abyde the redyng / they wolde / wyth lyttell towchyng of theyre other heresyes / make one boke specially agaynst ye church and loke how that wold proue.

The previous controversial work produced by Sir Thomas More had but recently appeared under the title of

¶ A dialoge of syr Thomas More knighte: one of the counsayll of oure souerayne lorde the kyng and chauncellor of hys duchy of Lancaster. Wherin be treatyd diuers matters/as of the veneration and worshyp of ymagys and relyques/prayng to sayntys/and goyng on pylgrymage. Wyth many othere thyngys touchyng the pestelent sect of Luther and Tyndale/by th[e]one begone in Saxony/and by th[e] other laboryd to be brought in to Englond.

[COLOPHON]. Emprynted at London at the sygne of the meremayd at Powlys gate next to chepe syde in the moneth of June the yere of our lord. M.C.C.XXIX. Cum privilegio

Regali.

Of this extraordinarily scarce first edition, there is a copy in the

Corporation Library, London.

As Sir Thomas More felt it necessary to write this second work, of the Supplicacyon of Soulys, after he had composed his Dialogue the printing of which was finished in June 1529; and as his Supplicacyon certainly was written and published prior to his advancement on the 24th October following: it is conclusive that S. FISH's tract had not appeared before he was writing the Dialogue, and therefore that the date of its distribution must by this internal evidence, be fixed as in the spring or summer of 1529; however that date may conflict with early testimony, such as incorrect lists of prohibited books, assigning it to 1524, 1526, etc.

Yet JOHN FOX in his Actes and Monumentes, [Third Edition] fol. 987,

Ed. 1576, states that was

"Throwen and scattered at the procession in Westminster vpon Candlemas day [? 2nd February 1529] before kyng Henry the viij, for him to read and peruse."

We have been unable to verify this procession at Westminster on this particular date, and think that if it had been so, Sir Thomas More would have surely noticed to the *Supplicacyon* while writing the *Dialogue*, the printing of which was in progress during the next four months. He may, however, have thought it necessary to write a special book against S. FISH's tract, with its distinct line of attack as he has accurately stated it.

It will be seen from the Bibliography that this date of the Spring of 1529 quite harmonizes with those of the contemporary German and Latin translations; which, naturally, would be prompt. It is also not inconsistent with the following allusion at p. 30 to Cardinal Wolsey's still holding the

Lord Chancellorship.

• And this is by the reason that the chief instrument of youre lawe ye at the chief of your counsell and he whiche hath your swerde in his hond to whome also all the other instrumentes are obedient is alweys a spirituell man.

So much, then, as to the certain approximate date of the publication. Fox is quite wrong in assuming as he does in the following paragraph that this work was the occasion of Bishop Tonstal's Prohibition of the 24th October 1526, i.e. more than two years previously.

After that the Clergye of England, and especially the Cardinall, vnderstoode these bookes of the Beggars supplication aforesayd, to be strawne abroade in the streetes of London, and also before the kyng. The sayd Cardinall caused not onely his seruauntes diligently to attend to gather them vp, that they should not come into the kynges handes, but also when he vnderstode, that the king had receaued one or two of them, he came vnto the kynges Maiesty saying: "If it shall please your grace, here are divers seditious persons which have scattered abroad books conteyning manifest errours and heresies" desiryng his grace to beware of them. Whereupon the kyng putting his hand in his bosome, tooke out one of the bookes and delivered it vnto the Cardinall. Then the Cardinall, together with the Byshops, consulted &c. Eccles. Hist. & c., p. 900. Ed. 1576.

II.



E now come to the only authoritative account of our Author, as it is recorded in the same Third Edition of the Actes and Monumentes &c., p. 896. Ed. 1576.

The story of M[aster]. Simon Fishe.



EFORE the tyme of M[aster]. Bilney, and the fall of the Cardinall, I should have placed the story of Symon Fish with the booke called the Supplication of Beggars, declaryng how and by what meanes it came to the kynges hand, and what effect therof followed after, in the reformation of many thynges, especially of the Clergy. But the missyng of a few yeares in this matter, breaketh no great square in our story, though it be now entred here which should have come in sixe yeares before.

Fox is writing of 1531, and therefore intends us to understand that the present narrative begins in 1525.

The maner and circumstaunce of the matter is this:

After that the light of the Gospel workyng mightely in Germanie, began to spread his beames here also in England, great styrre and alteration followed in the harts of many: so that colored hypocrisie and false doctrine, and painted holynes began to be espyed more and more by the readyng of Gods word. The authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, and the glory of his Cardinals was not so high, but such as had fresh wittes sparcled with Gods grace, began to espy Christ from Antichrist, that is, true sinceritie, from counterfait religion. In the number of whom, was the sayd Master. Symon Fish, a Gentleman of Grayes Inne.

It happened the first yeare that this Gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about the yeare of our Ex certa Lord 1525 [i.e. between 25 Mar. 1525 and 24 Mar. relations, vision testing that there was a certaine play or interlude principlisms made by one Master Roo of the same Inne Gentle-coningisman, in which play partly was matter agaynst the Cardinal Wolsey. And where none durst take vpon them to play that part, whiche touched the sayd Cardinall, this foresayd M. Fish tooke upon him to do it, whereupon great displeasure ensued agaynst him, vpon the Cardinals part: In so much as he beyng pursued by the sayd Cardinall, the same night that this Tragedie was playd, was compelled of force to voyde his owne house, and so fled ouer the Sea vnto Tyndall.

We will here interrupt the Martyrologist's account, with EDWARD HALLE's description of this "goodly disguisyng." It occurs at fol. 155 of the history of the eighteenth year of the reign of Henry VIII. [22 April 1526]

to 21 April 1527] in his Vnion of the two noble and illustrate families of Lancastre and York &c. 1548.

This Christmas [1526] was a goodly disguisyng plaied at at Greis inne, whiche was compiled for the moste part, by Master Jhon Roo, seriant at the law. [some] xx. yere past, and long before the Cardinall had any aucthoritie, the effecte of the plaie was, that lord Gouernaunce was ruled by Dissipacion and Negligence, by whose misgouernance and euil order, lady Publike Wele was put from gouernance: which caused Rumor Populi, Inward Grudge and Disdain of Wanton Souereignetie, to rise with a greate multitude, to expell Negligence and Dissipacion, and to restore Publike Welth again to her estate, which was so doen.

This plaie was so set furth with riche and costly apparel, with straunge divises of Maskes and morrishes [morris dancers] that it was highly praised of all menne, saving of the Cardinall, whiche imagined that the plaie had been divised of hym, and in a great furie sent for the said master Roo, and toke from hym his Coyfe, and sent hym to the Flete, and after he sent for the yong gentlemen, that plaied in the plaie, and them highley rebuked and thretened, and sent one of them called Thomas Moyle of Kent to the Flete. But by the meanes of frendes Master Roo and he were delivered at last.

This plaie sore displeased the Cardinall, and yet it was neuer meante to hym, as you have harde, wherfore many wisemen grudged to see hym take it so hartely, and ever the Cardinall saied that the kyng was highly displeased with it, and spake nothyng of hymself.

There is no question as to the date of this "disguisyng." Archbishop WARHAM on the 6th February 1527, wrote to his chaplain, HENRY GOLDE, from Knolle that he "Has received his letters, dated London, 6 Feb., stating that Mr. Roo is committed to the Tower for making a certain play. Is sorry such a matter should be taken in earnest." Letters &c. HENRY VIII. Ed. by J. S. BREWER, p. 1277. Ed. 1872.

It would seem however that FISH either did not go or did not stay long abroad at this time. STRYPE (Eccles. Mem. I. Part II, pp. 63-5. Ed. 1822)

has printed, from the Registers of the Bishops of LONDON, the Confession in 1528 of ROBERT NECTON (a person of position, whose brother became Sheriff of Norwich in 1530), by which it appears that during the previous eighteen months, that is from about the beginning of 1527, our Author was "dwellyng by the Wight Friars in London;" and was actively engaged in the importation and circulation of Tyndale's New Testaments, a perfectly hazardous work at that time.

Possibly this Confession was the occasion of a first or a renewed flight by FISH to the Continent, and therefore the ultimate cause of the present little work in the following year.

We now resume Fox's account, which was evidently derived from FISH's wife, when she was in old age.

Vpon occasion wherof the next yeare following this booke was made (being about the yeare 1527) and so not long after in the yeare (as I suppose) 1528 [which by the old reckoning ended on the 24 Mar. 1529]. was sent ouer to the Lady Anne Bulleyne, who then lay at a place not farre from the Court. Which booke her brother seyng in her hand, tooke it and read it, and gaue it [to] her agayne, willyng her earnestly to giue it to the kyng, which thyng she so dyd.

This was (as I gather) about the yeare of our Lord 1528 [-1529].

The kyng after he had receaued the booke, demaunded of her "who made it." Whereunto she aunswered and sayd, "a certaine subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the Realme for feare of the Cardinall."

After the kyng had kept the booke in his bosome iij. or iiij. dayes, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was giuen by the kynges seruauntes to the wife of ye sayd Symon Fishe, yat she might boldly send for her husband, without all perill or daunger. Whereupon she thereby beyng incouraged, came first and made sute to the kyng for the safe returne of her husband. Who vnderstandyng whose wife she was, shewed a maruelous gentle and chearefull countena unce towardes her, askyng "where her husband was." She aunswered, "if it like your grace, not farre of fi." Then sayth he, "fetch him, and he shal come and go safe without perill,

and no man shal do him harme," saying moreouer, "that hee had [had] much wrong that hee was from her so long:" who had bene absent now the space of two yeares and a halfe,

Which from Christmas 1526 would bring us to June 1529, which corroborates the internal evidence above quoted. Fox evidently now confuses together two different interviews with the King. The first at the Court in June 1529; the other on horseback with the King, followed afterwards by his Message to Sir T. More in the winter of 1529-30, within six months after which S. FISH dies. His wife never would have been admitted to the Court, if she had had a daughter ill of the plague at home.

In the whiche meane tyme, the Cardinall was deposed, as is aforeshewed, and M[aster]. More set in his place of the Chauncellourshyp.

Thus Fishes wife beyng emboldened by the kynges wordes, went immediatly to her husband beyng lately come ouer, and lying priuely within a myle of the Court, and brought him to the kyng: which appeareth to be about the yeare of our Lord. 1530.

When the kyng saw hym, and vnderstood he was the authour of the booke, he came and embraced him with louing countenance: who after long talke: for the space of iij. or iiij. houres, as they were ridyng together on huntyng, at length dimitted him, and bad him "take home his wife, for she had taken great paynes for him." Who answered the kyng agayne and sayd, he "durst not so do, for fear of Syr Thomas More then Chauncellor, and Stoksley then Bishop of London. This seemeth to be about the yeare of our Lord. 1530.

This bringing in of STOKESLEY as Bishop is only making confusion worse confounded. STOKESLEY was consecrated to the see of London on the 27th Nov. 1530. By that time, S. FISH had died of the plague which occurred in London and its suburbs in the summer of 1530; and which was so severe, that on 22nd June of that year, the King prorogued the Parliament to the following 1st October. Letters &c. HENRY VIII. Ed. by J. S. BREWER, M.A., IV, Part 3, No. 6469. Ed. 1876.

The Martyrologist, throughout, seems to be right as to his facts, but

wrong as to his dates.

The kyng takyng his signet of f his finger, willed hym to haue hym reommended to the Lord Chauncellour, chargyng him not to bee so hardy to worke him any harme.

Master Fishe receiuyng the kynges signet, went and declared hys message to the Lord Chauncellour, who tooke it as sufficient for his owne discharge, but asked him "if he had any thynge for the discharge of his wife:" for she a litle before had by chaunce displeased the Friers, for not sufferyng them to say their Gospels in Latine in her house, as they did in others, vnlesse they would say it in English. Whereupon the Lord Chauncellour, though he had discharged the man, yet leauyng not his grudge towardes the wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appeare before hym: who, had it not bene for her young daughter, which then lay sicke of the plague, had bene lyke to come to much trouble.

Of the which plague her husband, the said Master Fish deceasing with in half a yeare, she afterward maryed to one Master James Baynham, Syr Alexander Baynhams sonne, a worshypful Knight of Glojuce stershyre. The which foresayd Master James Baynham, not long after, it May 1532 was burned, as incontinently after in the processe of this story, shall appeare.

And thus much concerning Symon Fishe the author of the booke of beggars, who also translated a booke called the Summe of the Scripture out of the Dutch 'i.e. German'.

Now commeth an other note of one Edmund Moddys the kynges footeman, touchyng the same matter.

This Master]. Moddys beyng with the kyng in talke of religion, and of the new bookes that were come from beyond the seas, sayde "if it might please hys grace, he should see such a booke, as was maruell to heare of." The kyng demaunded "what they were." He sayd, "two of your Merchauntes, George Elyot, and George Robinson." The kyng [ap]poynted a tyme to speake with them. When they

came before his presence in a priuye [private] closet, he demaunded "what they had to saye, or to shew him" One of them said "yat there was a boke come to their hands, which they were there to shew his grace." When he saw it, hee demaunded "if any of them could read it." "Yea" sayd George Elyot, "if it please your grace to heare it," "I thought so" sayd the kyng, "for if neede were thou canst say it without booke."

The whole booke beyng read out, the kyng made a long pause, and then sayd, "if a man should pull downe an old stone wall and begyn at the lower part, the vpper part thereof might chaunce to fall vpon his head:" and then he tooke the booke and put it into his deske, and commaunded them vpon their allegiance, that they should not tell to any

man, that he had sene the booke.

III.



O this account we may add two notices. Sir T. MORE replying in his *Apology* to the "Pacifier" [CHRISTOPHER SAINT GERMAIN] in the spring of 1533, gives at *fol.* 124, the following account of our Author's death—

And these men in the iudgement of thys pytuouse pacyfyer be not dyscrete/but yet they have he sayth a good zele though. And thys good zele hadde, ye wote well, Simon Fysshe when he made the supplycacyon of beggers. But god gave hym such grace afterwarde, that he was sory for that good zele, and repented hym selfe and came into the chyrche agayne, and forsoke and forsware all the whole hyll of those heresyes, out of whiche the fountayne of that same good zele sprange. [Also at p. 881, Workes. Ed. 1557.]

This is contrary to the tenour of everything else that we know of the man: but Sir T. More, possessing such excellent means of obtaining information, may nevertheless be true.

Lastly. Anthony à Wood in his Ath. Oxon. i. 59, Ed. 1813, while giving us the wrong year of his death, tells us of his place of burial.

At length being overtaken by the pestilence, died of it in fifteen hundred thirty and one, and was buried in the church of St. Dunstan (in the West).

TYNDALE had often preached in this church.

IV.



HAT a picture of the cruel, unclean and hypocritical monkery that was eating at the heart's core of English society is given to us in this terse and brave little book? Abate from its calculations whatever in fairness Sir T. MORE would have

wished us to deduct; we cannot but shudder as we try to realize the then social condition of our country; and all the more, when we remember that the fountain of all this unmercitulness, impurity and ignorance was found in the very persons who professed to be, and who should have been the Divine Teachers of our nation. It argues, too, much for the virility of the English race, that it could have sustained, in gradually increasing intensity, such a widespread mass of festering and corroding blotches of vice, and could by and bye throw it off altogether; so that in subsequent ages no other nation has surpassed us in manhood.

It is marvellous to us how the ecclesiastical fungus could have ever so blotted out of sight both the royal prerogative and the people's liberties. Was not HENRY VIII the man for this hour? A bold lusty and mastertul one, imperious and impatient of check, full of the animal enjoyment of life; yet a remarkable Theologian, a crafty Statesman, a true Englishman. Often referred to in the literature of this time as "our Lord and Master." Had England ever had such a Master! ever such a Lord of life and limb since? A character to the personal humouring and gratification of whom, such an one as WOLSEY devoted his whole soul and directed all the powers of the State.

How necessary was so strong a ruler for our national disruption with Rome! It is not easy for us to realize what an amazingly difficult thing that wrench was. Moddy's story witnesses to us of the King's great perplexity. By what difficult disillusions, what slow and painful thoughtfulness did HENRY's mind travel from the Assertio of 1522 and the consequent Defensor fidei, to the destruction of the monasteries in 1536. Truly, if in this "passion," he vecillated or made mistakes; we may consider the inherent difficulty of disbelief in what despite its increasing corruptions had been the unbroken faith of this country for a thousand years.

We call the disillusionists, the Reformers; but FISH describes them as men of greate litterature and iudgement that for the love they have vnto the trouth and vnto the comen welth have not feared to put their silf ynto the greatest infamie that may be, in abiection of all the world, ye[a] in perill of deth to declare theyre oppinion. . . . p. 10.

Undoubtedly HENRY personally was the secular Apostle of the first phase of our Reformation. The section of doctrinal Protestants was politically insignificant: and it may be fairly doubted whether the King could have carried the nation with him, but that in the experience of every intelligent Englishman, the cup of the iniquity of the priesthood was full to overflowing. He was aided by the strong general reaction of our simple humanity against the horrid sensuality, the scientific villany offered to it by the supposed special agents of Almighty GOD in the name of, and cloaked under the authority believed to have been given to them from the ever blessed Trinity.

Morality is the lowest expression of religion, the forerunner of faith. No religion can be of GOD which does not instinctively preassume in its votaries the constant striving after the highest and purest moral excellence. It is an intolerable matter, beyond all possible sufferance, when religion is made to pander to sensuality and extortion. How bitter a thing this was to this barrister of Gray's Inn, may be seen in the strange terms of terror and ravin with which he characterizes these "strong, puissant, counterfeit holy, and idle beggars." To the untravelled Englishman of Henry VIII's reign, "cormorants" must have meant some like devouring griffins, and "locusts" as a ruthless irremediable and fearful plague without end. By such mental conceptions of utter desolation, impoverishment and misery does our Author express the bitterness of the then proved experience by Englishmen, of the combined hierarchy and monkery of Rome.

All which is for our consideration in estimating the necessity and policy of the subsequent suppression of the monasteries.

These representations are also some mitigation of what is sometimes thought to be the Protestant frenzy of our great Martyrologist, whose words of burning reprobation of the Papal system of his time seem often to us to be extravagant; because, by the good providence of GOD, we are hardly capable of realizing the widespread and scientific villany of the delusions and enormities against which he protested.

■ A Supplicacyon for the Beggers.



TO THE KING OVRE

souereygne lorde.



Ost lamentably compleyneth theyre wofull mysery vnto youre highnes youre poore daily bedemen the wretched hidous monstres (on whome scarcely for horror any yie dare loke) the foule vnhappy sorte of lepres, and other sore people, nedy, impotent, blinde, lame, and sike, that live onely by almesse, howe that theyre nombre is daily so sore

encreased that all the almesse of all the weldisposed people of this youre realme is not halfe ynough for to susteine theim, but that for verey constreint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischief is comen vppon youre saide poore beedmen by the reason that there is yn the tymes of youre noble predecessours passed craftily crept ynto this your realme an other sort (not of impotent but) of strong puissaunt and counterfeit holy, and vdell beggers and vacabundes whiche syns the tyme of theyre first entre by all the craft and wilinesse of Satan are nowe encreased vnder your sight not onely into a great number, but also ynto a kingdome. These are (not the herdes, but the rauinous wolues going in herdes clothing denouring the flocke) the Bisshoppes, Abbottes, Priours, Deacons, Archedeacons, Suffraganes, Prestes, Monkes Chanons, Freres, Pardoners and Somners. And who is abill to nombre this idell rauinous sort whiche (setting all laboure a side) have begged so importunatly that they have gotten ynto theyre hondes more then the therd part of all youre Realme. The goodliest lordshippes, maners, londes, and territories, are theyrs. Besides this they have the tenth part of all the corne, medowe, pasture, grasse, wolle, coltes, calues, lambes,

pigges, gese, and chikens. Ouer and bisides the tenth part of every servauntes wages the tenth part of the wolle, milke, hony, waxe, chese, and butter. Ye'al and they loke so narowly vppon theyre proufittes that the poore wyues must be countable to theym of euery tenth eg or elles she gettith not her ryghtes at ester shalbe taken as an heretike, hereto haue they theire foure offering daies. whate money pull they yn by probates of testamentes, priuy tithes, and by mennes offeringes to theyre pilgremages, and at theyre first masses? Euery man and childe that is buried must pay sumwhat for masses and diriges to be song for him or elles they will accuse the defaides frendes and executours of heresie. whate money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions (and yet they wil kepe therof no councevle) by halowing of churches altares superaltares chapelles and belles, by cursing of men and absoluing theim agein for money? what a multitude of money gather the pardoners in a vere? Howe moche money get the Somners by extorcion yn a yere, by assityng the people to the commissaries court and afterward releasing the apparaunce for money? Finally, the infinite nombre of begging freres whate get they yn a yere? Here if it please your grace to marke ve shall se a thing farre out of ioynt. There are withyn voure realme of Englond. lij. thousand parisshe churches. And this stonding that there be but tenne houshouldes yn euery parisshe yet are there fiue hundreth thousand and twenty thousand houshouldes. And of euery of these houshouldes hath euery of the fine ordres of freres a peny a quarter for every ordre, that is for all the five ordres five pens a quarter for every house. That is for all the fine ordres, xx.d. a vere of euery house. Summa fine hundreth thousand and twenty thousand quarters of angels.

That is, cclx, thousand half angels. Summa, cxxx, thousand angels. Summa totalis, xliij, thousand poundes and, cccxxxiij, li, vi.s, viij,d, sterling, where not four hundreth yeres passed they had not one peny. Oh greuous and peynfull exactions thus yerely to be paied, from the whiche the people of your nobill predecessours the kinges of the auncient Britons euer stode fre And this wil they have or els they wil procure him that will not give it theim to be taken as an heretike, whate tiraunt euer oppressed the people like this cruell and vengeable generacion? whate subjectes shall be

abill to helpe theire prince that be after this facion yerely polled? whate good christen people can be abill to socoure vs pore lepres blinde sore, and lame, that be thus verely oppressed? Is it any merueille that youre people so compleine of pouertie? Is it any merueile that the taxes fiftenes and subsidies that your grace most tenderly of great compassion hath taken emong your people to defend theim from the thretened ruine of theire comon welth haue bin so sloughtfully, ye'a painfully leuied? Seing that almost the vtmost peny that mought have bin leuied hath ben gathered bifore yerely by this rauinous cruell and insatiabill generacion The danes nether the saxons yn the time of the auncient Britons shulde neuer haue ben abill to haue brought theire armies from so farre hither ynto your lond to haue conquered it if they had had at that time suche a sort of idell glotons to finde at home. The nobill king Arthur had neuer ben abill to haue caried his armie to the fote of the mountaines to resist the coming downe of lucius the Emperoure if suche yerely exaction had ben taken of his people. The grekes had neuer ben abill to have so long continued at the siege of Troie if they had had at home suche an idell sort of cormorauntes to finde. The auncient Romains had neuer ben abil to haue put all the hole worlde vnder theyre obeisaunce if theyre people had byn thus verely oppressed. The Turke nowe yn youre tyme shulde neuer be abill to get so moche grounde of cristendome if he had yn his empire suche a sort of locustes to denoure his substance. Lev then these sommes to the forseid therd part of the possessions of the realmethat ye may se whether it drawe nighe vnto the half of the hole substaunce of the realme or not, So shall ye finde that it draweth ferre aboue. Nowe let vs then compare the nombre of this vnkind idell sort vnto the nombre of the lave people and we shall se whether it be indifferently shifted or not that they shuld have half.

Compare theim to the nombre of men, so are they not the. C. person. Compare theim to men wimen and children, then are they not the. CCCC. parson yn nombre. One part therfore yn foure hundreth partes deuided were to moche for theim except they did laboure. whate an vnequal burthen is it that they have half with the multitude and are not the. CCCC. parson of theire nombre? whate tongue is abill to tell that ever there was eny comon welth so sore oppressed sins the

worlde first began?

And whate do al these gredy sort of sturdy idell holy theues with these yerely exactions that they take of the people? Truely nothing but exempt their silues from the obedience of your grace. Nothing but translate all rule power lordishippe auctorite obedience and dignite from your grace vnto theim. Nothing but that all your subjectes shulde fall ynto disobedience and rebellion ageinst your grace and be vnder theim. As they did vnto your nobill predecessour king Iohn: whiche forbicause that he wolde haue , punisshed certeyn traytours that had conspired with the frenche king to have deposed him from his crowne and dignite (emong the whiche a clerke called Stephen whome afterward ageinst the kinges will the Pope made Bisshoppe of Caunterbury was one) enterdited his Lond. For the whiche mater your most nobill realme wrongfully (alas for shame) hath stond tributary (not vnto any kind temporall prince, but vnto a cruell deuelisshe bloudsupper dronken in the bloude of the sayntes and marters of christ) eversins. Here were an holy sort of prelates that thus cruelly coude punisshe suche a rightuous kinge, all his realme, and succession for doing right.

Here were a charitable sort of holy men that coude thus enterdite an hole realme, and plucke awey the lobedience of the people from theyre naturall liege lorde and kinge, for none other cause but for his rightuousnesse. Here were a blissed sort not of meke herdes but of bloudsuppers that coude set the frenche king vppon suche a rightuous prince to cause hym to lose his crowne and dignite to make effusion of the bloude of his people, oneles this good and blissed king of greate compassion, more fearing and lamenting the sheding of the bloude of his people then the losse of his crowne and dignite agaynst all right and conscience had submitted him silf vnto theym. O case most horrible that euer so nobill a king Realme, and succession shulde thus be made to stoupe to suche a sort of bloodsuppers, where was his swerde, power, crowne, and dignitie become wherby he mought have done justice yn this maner? where was their obedience become that shuld have byn subject vnder his highe power yn this mater? Ye[a] where was the obedience of all his subjectes become that for mainteinaunce of the comon welth shulde have holpen him manfully to have resisted

these bloudsuppers to the shedinge of theyre bloude? was not all to gither by theyre polycy translated from this good king vnto theim. Ye[a] and what do they more? Truely nothing but applie theym silues by all the sleyghtes they may have to do with every mannes wife, every mannes doughter and every mannes mayde that cukkoldrie and baudrie shulde reigne over all emong your subjectes, that no man shulde knowe his owne childe that theyre bastardes might enherite the possessions of every man to put the right begotten children clere beside their einheritaunce yn subversion of all estates and godly ordre. These be they that by their absteyning from mariage do let the generation of the people wher by all the realme at length if it shulde be continued shall be made desert and inhabitable.

These be they that have made an hundreth thousand vdell hores vn your realme whiche wolde haue gotten theyre lyuing honestly, vn the swete of theyre faces had not theyre superfluous rychesse illected theym to vnclene lust and ydelnesse. These be they that corrupt the hole generation of mankind vn your realme, that catche the pokkes of one woman, and bere theym to an other, that be brent with one woman, and bere it to an other, that catche the lepry of one woman, and bere it to an other, ye a some one of theym shall bofalst emong his felawes that he hath medled with an hundreth wymen. These be they that when they have ones drawen mennes wives to such incontinency spende awey theire husbondes goodes make the wimen to runne awey from theire husbondes, ve'a, rynne awey them silues both with wif and goods, bring both man wife and children to ydelnesse theft and beggeri.

① Ye[a] who is abill to nombre the greate and brode botomles occean see full of euilles that this mischeuous and sinful generacion may laufully bring vppon vs vnponisshed. where is youre swerde, power, crowne, and dignitie, become that shuld punisshe (by punisshement of deth euen as other men are punisshed) the felonies, rapes, murdres, and treasons committed by this sinfull generacion? where is theire obedience become that shulde be vnder your hyghe power yn this mater? ys not all to gither translated and exempt from your grace vnto theim? yes truely, whate an infinite nombre of people might have ben encreased to have

peopled the realme if these sort of folke had ben maried like other men. what breche of matrimonie is there brought yn by theim? suche truely as was neuer sins the worlde began

emong the hole multitude of the hethen.

who is she that wil set her hondes to worke to get. iii.d. a day and may have at lest, xx.d. a day to slepe an houre with a frere, a monke, or a prest? what is he that wolde laboure for a grote a day and may have at lest, xij.d. a day to be baude to a prest, a monke, or a frere? whate a sort are there of theime that mari prestes souereigne ladies but to cloke the prestes yncontinency and that they may have a liuing of the prest theime silues for theire laboure? Howe many thousandes doth suche lubricite bring to beggery theft and idelnesse whiche shuld have kept theire good name and haue set theim silues to worke had not ben this excesse treasure of the spiritualtie?? whate honest man dare take any man or woman yn his seruice that hath ben at suche a scole with a spiritual man? Oh the greuous shipwrak of the comon welth, whiche yn auncient time bifore the coming vn of these rauinous wolues was so prosperous: that then there were but fewe theues: ye[a] theft was at that tyme so rare that Cesar was not compellid to make penalte of deth vppon felony as your grace may well perceyue yn his institutes. There was also at that tyme but fewe pore people and yet they did not begge but there was given theim ynough vnaxed, for there was at that time none of these rauinous wolues to axe it from theim as it apperith yn the actes of the appostles. Is it any merueill though there be nowe so many beggers, theues, and ydell people? Nay truely.

I whate remedy: make lawes ageynst theim. I am yn doubt whether ye be able: Are they not stronger in your owne parliament house then your silfe? whate a nombre of Bisshopes, abbotes, and priours are lordes of your parliament? are not all the lerned men in your realme in fee with theim to speake yn your parliament house for theim ageinst your crowne, dignitie, and comon welth of your realme a fewe of youre owne lerned counsell onely excepted? whate lawe can be made ageinst theim that may be aduaylable? who is he (though he be greued never so sore) for the murdre of his auncestre rauisshement of his wyfe, of his doughter, robbery, trespas, maiheme, dette, or eny other offence dare ley it

theyre charge by any wey of accion, and if he do then is he by and by by theyre wilvnesse accused of heresie, ye al they will so handle him or he passe that except he will bere a fagot for theyre pleasure he shal be excommunicate and then be all his accions dasshed. So captyue are your lawes vnto theym that no man that they lyst to excommunicat may be admitted to sue any accion in any of your courtes. If eny man yn your sessions dare be so hardy to endyte a prest of eny suche cryme he hath or the yere [cre he] go out suche a voke of heresve levd in his necke that it maketh him wisshe that he had not done it. Your grace may se whate a worke there is in London, howe the bisshoppe rageth for endyting of certayn curates of extorcion and incontinency the last yere in the warmoll quest. Had not Richard hunne commenced accoon of premunire ageinst a prest he had bin yet a lyue and none heretik at all but an honest man.

■ Dyd not dyuers of your noble progenitours seynge theyre crowne and dignite runne vnto ruyne and to be thus craftely translated ynto the hondes of this myscheuous generacyon make dyuers statutes for the reformacyon therof, emong whiche the statute of mortmayne was one? to the intent that after that tyme they shulde have no more gyuen vnto theim. But whate avayled it? haue they not gotten ynto theyre hondes more londes sins then eny duke in ynglond hath, the statute notwithstonding? Ye[a] have they not for all that translated ynto theyre hondes from your grace half your kyngdome thoroughly? The hole name as reason is for the auncientie of your kingdome whiche was bifore theyrs and out of the whiche theyrs is growen onely abiding with your grace? and of one kyngdome made tweyne: the spirituall kyngdome (as they call it) for they wyll be named first, And your temporall kingdome, And whiche of these, ij. kingdomes suppose ye is like to ouergrowe the other, ye al to put the other clere out of memory? Truely the kingdome of the bloudsuppers for to theym is given daily out of your kingdome. And that that is ones gyuen theim comith neuer from theim agein. Suche lawes have they that none of theim may nether gyue nor sell nothing.

whate lawe can be made so stronge ageinst their that they other with money or elles with other policy will not breake and set at nought? whate kingdome can endure that euer gyuith thus from him and receyueth nothing agein? O howe all the substaunce of your Realme forthwith your swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people, rynneth hedlong vnto the insaciabill whyrlepole of

these gredi goulafres to be swalowed and devoured.

Nether have they eny other coloure to gather these yerely exaccions ynto theyre hondes but that they sey they pray for vs to God to delyuer our soules out of the paynes of purgatori without whose prayer they sey or at lest without the popes pardon we coude neuer be deliuered thens whiche if it be true then is it good reason that we gyue theim all these thinges all were it C times as moche, But there be many men of greate litterature and judgement that for the love they have vnto the trouth and vnto the comen welth haue not feared to put theim silf ynto the greatest infamie that may be, in abjection of all the world, ve[a] in perill of deth to declare theyre oppinion in this mather whiche is that there is no purgatory but that it is a thing invented by the couitousnesse of the spiritualtie onely to translate all kingdomes from other princes vnto theim and that there is not one word spoken of hit is al holy scripture. They sey also that if there were a purgatory And also if that the pope with his pardons for money may deliuer one soule thens: he may deliuer him aswel without money, if he may deliuer one, he may deliuer a thousand: yf he may deliuer a thousand he may deliuer theim all, and so destroy purgatory. And then is he a cruell tyraunt without all charite if he kepe theim there in pryson and in paine till men will giue him

• Lyke wyse saie they of all the hole sort of the spiritueltie that if they will not pray for no man but for theim that gyue theim money they are tyrauntes and lakke charite, and suffer those soules to be punisshed and payned vncheritably for lacke of theyre prayers. These sort of folkes they call heretikes, these they burne, these they rage against, put to open shame and make theim bere fagottes. But whether they be heretikes or no, well I wote that this purgatory and the Popes pardons is all the cause of translacion of your kingdome so fast into their hondes wherfore it is manifest it can not be of christ, for he gaue more to the temporall kingdome, he hym silfe paid tribute to Cesar he toke nothing from hym but taught that the highe powers shulde be alweys obeifeld vefal he him silf (although he were most fre lorde of all and innocent) was obedient vnto the highe powers vnto deth. This is the great scabbe why they will not let the newe testament go a brode yn your moder tong lest men shulde espie that they by theyre cloked ypochrisi do translate thus fast your kingdome into theyre hondes, that they are not obedient vnto your highe power, that they are cruell, vnclene, vnmerciful, and vpochrites, that thei seke not the honour of Christ but their owne, that remission of sinnes are not given by the popes pardon, but by Christ, for the sure feith and trust that we have in him. Here may your grace well perceyue that except ye suffer theyre ypocrisie to be disclosed all is like to runne vnto theire hondes and as long as it is couered so long shall it seme to every man to be a greate ympiete not to gyue theim. For this I am sure your grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good as my father, whye may I not aswell gyue theim as moche as my father did. And of this mynd I am sure are all the loordes knightes squir e's gentilmen and ye o men in englond, ye a and vntill it be disclosed all your people [pcople; will thinke that your statute of mortmayne was neuer made with no good conscience seing that it taketh awey the liberte of your people in that they may not as laufully bru'y theire soules out of purgatory by gruing to the spiritualte as their predecessours did in tymes passed.

wherfore if ye will eschewe the ruyne of your crowne and dignitie let their ypocrisye be vttered and that shalbe more spedfull in this mater then all the lawes that may be made be they never so stronge. For to make a lawe for to punisshe eny offender except it were more fit to giue other men an ensample to beware to committe suche like offence, whate shuld yt auayle. Did not doctour Alyn most presumptuously nowe yn your tyme ageynst all this allegiaunce all that ever he coude to pull from you the knowledge of suche plees as 'be'long vnto your hyghe courtes vnto an other court in derogacion of your crowne and dignite? Did not also doctor Horsey and his complices most heynously as all the world knoweth murdre in pryson that honest marchaunt Richard hunne? For that he sued your writ of premunire against a prest that wrongfully held him in plejaj in a spirituall court for a mater wherof the knowlege belonged vnto your hyghe courtes. And

whate punisshement was there done that eny man may take example of to be ware of lyke offence? truely none but that the one payd five hundreth poundes (as it is said to the b'u'ildinge of your sterre chamber) and when that payment was ones passed the captevns of his kingdome (because he faught so manfully agevnst your crowne and dignitie) have heped to him benefice vpon benefice so that he is rewarded tenne tymes as moche. The other as it is seid payde sixe hundreth poundes for him and his complices whiche forbicause that he had lyke wyse faught so manfully ageynst your crowne and dignite was vmmediatly (as he had opteyned your most gracyous pardon) promoted by the capiteynes of his kingdome with benefice vpon benefice to the value of. iiij. tymes as moche, who can take example of this punisshement to be ware of suche like offence? who is he of theyre kingdome that will not rather take courage to committe lyke offence seying the promocions that fill [fell] to this [these] men for theyre so offending. So weke and blunt is your swerde to strike at one of the offenders of this cro'o ked and peruers generacyon.

And this is by the reason that the chief instrument of youre lawe vefal the chief of your counsell and he whiche hath youre swerde in his hond to whome also all the other instrumentes are obedient is alweys a spirituell man whiche hath euer suche an inordinate loue vnto his owne kingdome that he will mainteyn that, though all the temporall kingdoms and comonwelth's' of the worlde shulde therfore vtterly be vndone, Here leue we out the gretest mater of all lest that we declaring suche an horrible carayn of euyll ageinst the ministres of iniquite shulde seme to declare the one onely faute or rather the ignoraunce of oure best beloued ministre of rightousnesse whiche is to be hid till he may be lerned by these small enormitees that we have spoken of to knowe it plevnly him silf. But whate remedy to releue vs your poore sike lame and sore bedemen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poore people? Nay truely. The moo the worse, for euer the fatte of the hole foundacion hangeth on the prestes berdes. Dyners of your noble predecessours kinges of this realme have gyuen londes to monasteries to giue a certein somme of money verely to the poore people wherof for the aunciente of the tyme they give neuer one S. Fish.

peny, They have lyke wyse given to them to have a certevn masses said daily for theim wherof they sey neuer one. If the Abbot of westminster shulde sing euery day as many masses for his founders as he is bounde to do by his foundacion. M. monkes were to o fewe. wherfore if your grace will bilde a sure hospitall that neuer shall faile to releue vs all your poore bedemen, so take from theim all these thynges. Set these sturdy lobies a brode in the world to get theim wives of theire owne, to get theire liuing with their laboure in the swete of theire faces according to the commaundement of god. Gene. iii. to gyue other idell people by their example occasion to go to laboure. Tye these holy idell theues to the cartes to be whipped naked about every market towne til they will fall to laboure that they by theyre importunate begging take not awey the almesse that the good christen people wolde give vnto vs sore impotent miserable people your bedemen. Then shall aswell the nombre of oure forsaid monstruous sort as of the baudes, hores, theues, and idell people decreace. shall these great yerely exaccions cease. Then shall not youre swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people. be translated from you. Then shall you have full obedience of your people. Then shall the idell people be set to worke. Then shall matrimony be moche better kept. Then shal the generation of your people be encreased, Then shall your comons encrease in richnesse. Then shall the gospell be preached. Then shall none begge oure almesse from vs. Then shal we have yough and more then shall suffice vs. whiche shall be the best hospitall that euer was founded for vs, Then shall we daily pray to god for your most noble estate long to endure.

Domine saluum fac regem.



The English Scholar's Library etc.

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A Demonstration of Discipline.

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The English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works.

Rev. JOHN UDALL.

A Demonstration of the truth of

that Discipline, which CHRIST hath prescribed in His Word, for the government of his Church, in all times and places, until the end of the world. [July—November 1588.]

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[In some copies of the original, the following, on an inserted fly-leaf, is found.]

A Table of Discipline, the particular heades whereof, are handled in the seueral chapters, according to the number wherevith

they are noted: as followeth

(A certaine office, Chap. 2 wherevnto, to wit, to Execute his office faythfully, Chap. 3 Election: The people, chap. 4. The people, chap. 4. Examination, chap. 5. whiche Consent (onely) to a man fit for the place, must be General. done by. Chap. 6. The Discithe calling, how it must By whom it must be: by the eldership, pline of the be, by Church Chap. 7. the order that The maner (publike prayer with the people, Ordination Gon hath chap. 8. howe, prescribed in laying on of hands, cap. 9. bv his worde, for the ruling of the same: Pastours, chap. 10 Byshops. cap. 1. The Doctours, chap. 11. Simple, by offices and Deacons Ouerseers, chap. 12 themselves. officers of or Church Distributers, chap. 13. whiche, are Particular. seruants to bee conthe officers (Be the parties: Pastours, Doctours, and sidered in and officers, Elders, Chap. 14. Is the authoritie thereof, chap. 15. What Compound. the Synod placing and displacing; chap. 16. Ecclesias-Wherein word, chap. 17. deed suspention, cap. 18
Excommunication, ticall. it consisteth: Censures by chap. 19.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.



ISSUE IN THE AUTHOR'S LIFETIME.

- 1. [July-November 1588, East Molesey, Surrey.] See title at p. 1.
- .. This Work occasioned A Remonstrance: or plaine detection of some of the faults . . . cobled up together in a Booke, entituled, A Demonstration &c. London. 1590.

ISSUE SINCE HIS DEATH.

2. 2 August 1880. Willesden, London, N.W. The present impression.

: All as separate publications.



INTRODUCTION.





HERE is nothing more heart-rending than judicial murder for ecclesiastical opinions; when men of the highest personal integrity and spotless citizenship come to their end unrighteously, either by long imprisonment or by swift execution. It is one of the glories of Queen VICTORIA's reign, that no one has suffered therein the extreme penalty of the law, for any simple political offence; much more,

for ecclesiastical matters. Yet, solely for *DIOTREPHES* and this *Demonstration*, JOHN UDALL, an absolutely upright and pure-minded man, was cut off in the prime of life, a victim to the secular power and

political influence of Queen ELIZABETH's Bishops.

Thus these two books must, necessarily, excite a deep interest in all who have a true sympathy with human nature; as being among the number of those works which have proved to be the death warrants of their authors. It does not appear that UDALL in any single act, disobeyed the law of the land; or even the injunctions of the High Commission. He had nothing to do with the Martinist publications, except that he gave PENRY certain notes as to matters of fact which had transpired. He repudiated altogether the Martinist use of satire and invective in the advancement of the common Cause he had so dearly at heart. He was universally respected by all the earnest men of the time: and even by such a man as JAMES I. Nowadays, so far from being imprisoned to death, he would have become one of the Leaders of Opinion in the nation.

It is but another illustration of the strong-handed Episcopal control of the press at that time, that such an Ecclesiastical Epitome as this, had to

be secretly printed in an out-of-the-way village.

As we have seen in the Introductory Sketch, pp. 89, 115, this Demonstration was set up in type by ROBERT WALDEGRAVE at Mistress CRANE'S country house at East Molesey, near Hampton Court. It was set in a small size of Roman and Italic type, which WALDEGRAVE had managed to save in a box under his cloak on the 13th May 1588, when his press, printing Diotrephies, was seized; and which he left in the charge of Mistress Crane for about two months. This type, which the London printers well knew as WALDEGRAVE's type, was evidently cast on the Continent, as the semicolon so frequently occurs in this Text. At that time, that stop was not usually cast in English founts of type; neither was it recognized as a stop at all, by such a critic as George Puttenham in his description of English Punctuation in his Arte of Poesie, which was entered at Stationers' Hall for publication on the 9th November 1588; that is, about the very time this Demonstration was first coming into secret circulation.

It was comparatively easy to get the manuscript into type, though the occasional errors of spelling are a witness of its troublesomeness: but the supreme difficulty was to machine it. All the hand-printing presses of London were registered. No one could own one, but a fully qualified member of the Stationers' Company; and most of these were only allowed one. In some way or other, probably through WALDEGRAVE, PENRY bought a press; all Orders, Injunctions, &c., of the High Commission and the Stationers' Company to the contrary notwithstanding: and, apparently, he, himself, helped WALDEGRAVE to work off the sheets here reprinted. As the supply of type was very scanty, one sheet was probably set and worked off at a time; and then the type distributed for the composition of a fresh one. The original is on a much smaller page than the present one; to save paper, and to facilitate the secret distribution.

About three weeks were occupied in printing this book; and during those three weeks the Spanish Armada was sailing for the English Channel.

Mistress Crane's servant, Nicholas Tomkins, swore on the 15th February 1589, that Penry and Waldegrave were "about 3 weeks in her Howse in the Country after Midsommer [1588]." Introductory Sketch, p. 85. Ed. 1879. But Waldegrave's movements in that neighbourhood had already excited suspicions. In the Stationers' Registers are recorded the following payments.

Item, paid the xth of June [1588] for a Dynner when bothe the wardens [F. COLDOCK and H. CONNEWAY], master Watkyns, and master Denham, and the Pursuyvant, with John Wolf, Thomas Strange, and Thomas Draper wente to Kingston.

Item the same mens supper at Kingston	xs vjd/
Item to the poore woman whose house was	
serched at Kingston	ijs/
Item the boatehire to and from Kingston	ijs/ xiiijs/
Item for twooe lynckes the same tyme	viiid/
Item for a warrant for Penrye and Northe	3 1
goinge and comminge by water [i.e., to Lambeth	
Palace] to get yt signed.	iijs viijd/
Item paid to WATSON the Pursuyvant the	3 - 3 - 7
same tyme for goinge to Kingston.	XS

Transcript &c., I. 528. Ed. 1875.

So the entire trip cost the Stationers' Company £2 5s., or about £13 in present money. MARTIN MARPRELATE has given us a vivid picture of this expedition.

And I would wish the Purcivants and the Stacioners/with the Woolfe their beadle / not to be so redy to molest honest men. And Stacioners / I would wish you not to be so francke with your bribes / as you were to Thomas Draper / I can tell you his grace had need to prouide a bag ful of Items for you/ if you be be so liberal. Were you so foolish (or so malicious against Walde-graue) to give that knaue Draper fiue pounds to betray him into your wretched hands: he brought you to Kingstone vpon Thames / with Purcivants to take him / where he should be a printing books in a Tinkars house. (your selues being disguised so / that Walde-graue might not know you for of Citizens you were become ruffians) There you were to seek that could not be found / and many such journies may you make. But when you came to London/you laid Thomas Draper in the Counter for cosenage. O well bowlde/ when Iohn of London throwes his bowle / he will runne after it/and crie rub/rub/rub/ and say the diuill go with thee. Epistle, pp. 38, 39. Ed. 1880.

After this search, PENRY and WALDEGRAVE went further into the country, to East Molesey; and there produced this book in the beginning of July. It came abroad with the *Epistle*, in the beginning of November 1588: and, curiously enough, the present reprints of both works will be published on the same day, nearly three hundred years later.

II.



HIS piece of Presbyterian Argumentation was written, when the Controversy to which it relates was at a white heat. All other possible means had already been taken; but without effect.

We have sought to advance this cause of God, by humble suit to the parliamente, by supplication to your Convocation house, by writing in defence of it, and by challenging to dispute for it, seeing none of these means vsed by vs have prevailed. p. 7.

The Bishops had done nothing, and would do nothing. These Reformers were so thoroughly confident they were in the right, that they even dared to say

Venture your byshopprickes vpon a disputation, and wee will venture our liues, take the challenge if you dare: if the truth be on your side, you may hereby, be restored to your dignities, and be no more troubled by vs: but if the tructh be against you, what shal it profit you to win the whole world, and afterward loose your own souls. pp. 6, 7.

To understand aright, UDALL's purpose and standpoint; we should consider three things.

1. The Bishops' passive resistance, of which Lord BACON complained in his Advertisement. See Introductory Sketch, pp. 146-168.

2. There were, at this time, no Dissenters in England: and only a few Brownists in Holland. Every Protestant Englishman belonged to the Church of England, whether he would or not. The right to constitute a Protestant Ecclesiastical Society (on however sound an orthodoxical basis) in the Kingdom, outside the Church of England, was stiffly and absolutely denied; and all attempts thereat rigorously suppressed. No one could throw off the authority of the Bishops; who considered Conformity and Orthodoxy as inseparable from Loyalty and Patriotism. At what infinite trouble have these since been disentangled!

Nor was this a matter of mere mental assent. The Bishops, as Ordinaries, were the Rulers of the Church: and the iniquities of the Spiritual Courts of that time are not yet fully recognized and understood by us.

3. Personally, it was a struggle between the Bishops alone, and the best of the Clergy and Laity banded together against them. Technically, it,

was a fight between the Episcopacy and the Eldership: but inasmuch as the Eldership rested on popular election, it was really a conflict between Official Power and Public Opinion.

The Prelates were in possession. For their every act, they could plead either legal enactment, or an hitherto unchallenged prescription. Besides having all the written law on their side; they were Judges themselves, with large and not strictly-defined powers. They commanded the services of a small army of rapacious officials, who were ever at their beck and call. Add to these things, their temporalities and great wealth, their peerage, their supposed spiritual power; and were they not immoveable! Were a few ecclesiastical Radicals, small people altogether, to rise up against them, and bring them to judgement? Well, that is exactly what UDALL and his friends tried to do. They endeavoured to bring these mighty men to the bar of public opinion. Of course, these pioneers were destroyed in the attempt: but their ideas remained and fructified, until the Long Parliament at last swept away the whole Episcopal system.

III.



HE intention of the Writer of this *Demonstration*, was that it should be a kind of Ecclesiastical *EUCLID* of Church Management: and nowhere else do we get, in so short a space, such a clear tracing of the precise rift, in matters of Public Worship

and Church Order, between the two systems of the Episcopacy and the Eldership, as they subsisted in ELIZABETH's reign.

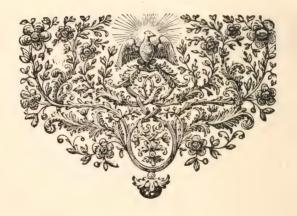
Doctor BRIDGES, in his Defence &c., 1587, describes the Presbyterian Government as a Tetrarchy of Doctor, Pastor, Elders and Deacons: but according to this Scheme of Organization, the Deacons had no share in the Eldership. p. 58.

UDALL's process herein, is that of a rigid Logic. He asserts for the Eldership a prescription, in all times and places until the End of the World. Then comes the irony of History in regard to such confident dogmatizing. As a matter of fact, the Holy Discipline, in its integrity, and as here defined by UDALL, did not last two generations in England.

From the Eldership, the Doctor disappeared very soon; and the Pastors therein were, as soon, reduced to one. When the Pilgrim Fathers moved from Amsterdam to Leyden in 1609 under their single Pastor, the Rev. John Robinson, they chose, Master Brewster, Assistant to him, in the place of an Elder [See English Garner, Vol. II. p. 365, Ed. 1879]. So that the Elders also, in that famous Community, had been reduced to one; and this, within about twenty years of the writing of this Text, wherein UDALL claims for the Eldership, in its completeness, that it is a divinely-

ordained Fixture until the end of the world. WILLIAM BREWSTER lived till 1644 as the Ruling Elder of the Pilgrim Church: and it may be fairly questioned whether he did not altogether outlive the whole Institution of the Eldership, as it is laid down and defined in this text.

This but one side of the picture of those times: the other the Prelatical side will occupy us in our study of the Martinist tracts. Meanwhile, one clear distinction lies on the surface. If the Eldership was severe, narrow-minded, or harsh; yet it was never corrupt. There was integrity of life in it. But the Episcopal system contained much moral corruption, and was often monstrously tyrannical.



A DEMONSTRATION OF

the trueth of that Discipline which Christe hath prescribed in his worde for the gouernement of his Church, in all times and places, vntill the ende of the worlde.

¶ Wherein are gathered into a plaine forme of reasoning, the proofes thereof; out of the scriptures, the euidence of it by the light of reason rightly ruled, and the testimonies that haue beene giuen therevnto, by the course of the Churche certaine hundreths of yeares after the Apostles time; and the generall consent of the Churches rightly reformed in these latter times: according as they are alleaged and maintained, in those seuerall bookes that haue bin written concerning the

MATTH. 21. 38.

The husbandmen said among themselues, this is the heire; come let vs kill him, and let vs take his inheritaunce.

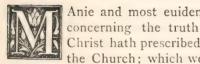
LVKE. 19. 27.

Those mine enemies which would not that I shoulde raigne ouer them, bring hither, and slea them before me.



TTO THE SVPPOSED GOUERNOURS

of the Church of England, the Archbyshops, lord Byshops, Archdeacons, and the rest of that order.



Anie and most euident haue our declarations bin concerning the truth of that gouerment, which Christ hath prescribed in his word for the ruling of the Church: which we have manifested vnto you.

both by our writinges and speches, as occasion hath bin offered: neuer hath any one of you taken in hand to saye any thing against it, but it hath made his eyes to dazzle, as the clearest sun-shining; wherby he hath beene driuen to wander hyther and thyther, groping for euasions, and yet coulde not escape, but hath fallen into infinite most monstrous absurdities, and blasphemous assertions, (as by their writinges yet extant it may appeare) so forcible is the trueth, to amaze the gainesayers thereof, and so pregnant is falsehood to beget and bring forth thousands of absurdities, and euery one worse then other. And will you still continue in your damnable, and most deuellish course? Haue you solde your selues vnto Sathan, to fight for him vntill you be dampned in Hell with him? Haue you morgaged the saluation of your soules and bodies, for the present fruition of your pompe and plesure, is it because you see not what you should do? It may be so, for many are so blinde, that they grope euen at noone day; but me thinkes it can hardly be so, vnlesse you be they that haue eyes and see not, for the cause hath bene (by the

blessing of God) so managed, that many ploughmen, artificers, and children do see it, and know it, and are able by the worde of God to justifie it, and condemne you to bee adversaries vnto the gospell in resisting it. But you think that gouernment not so needfull, and your fault but small (if it be any) in continuing your course begon. The necessitie of the thing is many wayes apparant, both in that it hath so plentiful warrant from Gods owne worde, (as the course of this booke doeth euidently declare,) and also in that the gospell can take no roote, nor haue any free passage, for want of it: and the greatnes of your fault appeareth by this, that in so doing, you are the cause, of all the ignorance, Atheisme, schismes, treasons, poperie and vngodlines, that is to be founde in this land, which we challenge to prooue to your faces, if we may indifferently be heard, and whereof in the meane while we will give you a taste: for the first it is cleere, that you are the causers of that damnable ignoraunce, wherein the people are so generally wrapped, for that you have from time to time stopped the streams of knowledge, in those places where the Lord in mercie bestowed the same, and in stead of able and painefull ministers, haue pestered the Churche, eyther with presumptuous proude persons, that are esteemed learned and take no paines to bring the people vnto the knowledge of Iesus Christe, or (which is the greatest nomber) such ignorant asses, and filthy swine, as are not worthy to liue in a well ordered common-wealth: and that you are the cause of all atheisme, it is plaine, for one may (as in deede many doe) professe it, and you save nothing to him for it. If the most filthy liuer will fawne vpon you, and bribe your seruants, you will not onely fauor him, but assiste him against any godly minister or other: but if any that feare God, refuse to come rnder the leaste of your popish ceremonies, he shallbe molested, till his pursse be empty, or else by your tyrannous dealing, hee have made shipwrack of a good conscience. And are not you the cause of all schismes, that make a hotchpot of true religion and poperye, and so give some an occa-

sion to fal into this course, and others into that? And it is as cleare, that you are so farre the cause of all treasons, as without you they had not bin: for if euery Church had had hir gouernment according to Christs institution; our yong gentlemen, and studentes, had not bene (for want of teaching and carefull ouersight) made a prey vnto the seducers; and consequently to those practises, which have broght the bodies of so manie vnto Tyborne, and their soules into hell; and who but you be the cause of poperye, whilest you vse them so well, let them doe what they list, yea, and keepe them in office and authoritie vnder you, yea (whiche more is) give them such offices as none that is not popish can execute: I speake not of the ignorance which by your means raigneth euery wher, which (as they confes) is the mother of their deuotion, and you are the wretched fathers of that filthye mother, whereby you muste needes bee grandfathers (at the least) to al kinde of popery. And who can (without blushing) denie you to be the cause of al vngodlines, seeing your gouernment is that which giueth leaue to a man to be any thing, sauing a sound Christian. For certainly it Omnia cum is more free in these dayes, to be a papist, liceant, non licet esse anabaptist, of the family of loue, yea anye moste bonum. wicked one whatsoeuer, then that which we should be, and I could liue these twentie years, any such in England (yea in a Byshopps house it may be) and neuer be much molested for it; so true is that which you are charged with, in a Dialogue lately come forth against you, and since burned by you, that you care for nothinge but the maintenaunce of your dignities, be it to the damnation of your owne soules, and infinit millions mo: Enter therefore nowe at the last, into the serious consideration of these things; remember that one day, you must be presented before the tribunall seat of Iesus Christ, to be arraigned for all the soules that have gone to hell (seeing you will needes be the rulers of the Church) since the gospel first appeared in this land, then shall you not bee excused with this; the Queene and Councell wil haue it so: nor with

that; our state cannot beare it. For it shalbe sayde vnto you, why do you not infourme them better of my will, why taught you them not to worship with trembling and feare. and to kisse the sonne least he bee angry; why did you not tell them, that all states must be ruled by my worde, and not my word by them and their pollicies. When these things shalbe laid to your charge, your consciences shal aunswere: that if you had done so, you should have lost your dignityes, whiche you loued and sought for especially: then shall you wishe, that the mountains would fall vpon you, and the hills couer you from the presence of the lambe, and from the presence of him that sitteth vppon the throne. And I am perswaded, that you are in league with hell, and haue made a couenaunt with death; yea, you doe perswade your selues, that there is no God, neyther shall there be any such day of account; or it were vnpossible, that you should give your eyes anye sleepe, or take anye rest in your bedds, vntill you had vnto the Lord by repentance, and the Church by confession, vnburdned oour souls of these hellishe wayes, wherein you have so long walked. Repent, repent, be not ashamed to amend, though others have founde you out the way, judge your selues whyle you have time, least you be made fyrebrandes of hell beyond all time. Let our challenges that wee have made in the name of the Lord, be hearkened vnto; Let vs bee disputed with before indifferent judges, let the holy word of God bee the touch-stone to trye our disputations by, and then shall it easily appeare, who hath the Lord on his side, and who not. The trueth wil preuaile in spite of your teeth, and al other aduersaries vnto it, (for God disdaineth to be crossed, by dust and ashes.) Therefore be not obstinate so long, as vntill you be found fighters with God; but preuent his wrath, lest it breake foorth against you like fyre that none can quench, because of the wickednes of your inuentions. Venture your byshopprickes vpon a disputation, and wee will venture our liues, take the challenge if you dare: if the truth be on your side, you may hereby, be restored to your dignities,

and be no more troubled by vs: but if the trueth be against you, what shal it profit you to win the whole world, and afterward loose your own souls. If you refuse still our offer, then must you needes be guiltic eyther of this, that you know your cause will not abide the tryal, or of this, that you wil take no pains to confute vs that keep such a sturre in the Church: do not think that because you have humane authority on your side, therefore you are safe, for he whose authoritie is on our side, is the greatest, to whose voice all the deuils in hell shall stoup; much more the sillie arme of sinfull fleshe. We have sought to aduaunce this cause of God, by humble suit to the parliamente, by supplication to your Conuocation house, by writing in defence of it, and by challenging to dispute for it, seeing none of these means vsed by vs haue preuailed; If it come in by that meanes, which wil make all your heartes to ake, blame your selues; for it must preuail, maugre the mallice of all that stande against it, or such a judgement must ouertake this lande, as shall cause the eares that heare thereof to tingle, and make vs be a by-word to all that pas by vs. The Lord open your eyes, that you may see the confusions whereof you are the cause, and give you true repentance. or confounde you in all your purposes, that bee against him and the regiment of his sonne Iesus Christ. The same Lord. for the loue he beareth to his poore people; open the eyes of her Maiestie, and the Honorable Councellers, that they may see your godlesse practises, and in pitie to Gods people.

rid vs from you, and turne awaye his iudgementes, which the rejecting of his holy yoke hath deserued, not punnishing them that mourne for the desolation of Sion, with those that spoile and make hauock of the Lords inheritaunce.

Amen.

TO THE READER.

Nfinite and vnspeakeable (Christian Reader) are the miseries from whiche Iesus Christe our Saujour hath freed vs, and the benefites and blessings, wherewith in this life he beginneth, and for euer will continue to adorne vs. The consideration whereof (if our vnthankfulnes vnto his Maiesty, were any way proporcionable, to that which we endeuour vnto towards men) shoulde make vs continually to deuise, and all the daies of our life to studie howe wee might shew our selues (at least in some sort) carefull to glorifie his blessed name, aboue all thinges that we desire, by how muche as his loue towardes vs, excelleth whatsoeuer can else (according to our wish) befall vnto vs; but if we do with equall ballance (on the other side) looke into the course of mans life, howe well this dutie is performed; we shal see, that men declare themselves rather bent to spit in his face, and to defie him, then any way to honour him as their head and Soueraigne: for (to save nothing of the prophane life, and the godlesse couersation, wherewith the generall number, that professeth Iesus Christ, is wholy defiled) wee see that many nations, people and languages are very willing to receive Iesus Christe as their priest to sacrifice for their sinnes, but that he should become their king, to prescribe lawes vnto them, whereby they may bee ruled, is of all other things the most vnsauory, yea (if it be offered) the most grieuous tydinges, and vnreasonable request: wherein, albeit manye nations that have renounced that whore of Rome, are heynously sinnefull against his glorious maiestie: yet is there none in the whole worlde so far out of square as Englande, in reteyning that popishe hierarchie, firste coyned in the midst of the mistery of iniquitie, and that filthie sinck of the Canon law, which was inuented and patched together, for the confirming and increasing of the kingdome of Antichrist: Wherein as great indignitie is offered vnto Iesus Christ, in committing his Church vnto the gouernement of the same, as can be, by meane vnderlings vnto a king; in committing his beloued spouse vnto the direction of the mistresse of the Stewes, and enforcing hir to

liue after the orders of a brothelhouse. For the reformation wherof, while some haue written, and others according to their callinges, carefully stoode, how heynously it hath beene taken, howe hardly they have bene vsed, and what shamefull reproches haue beene offered (euen vnto the course of the Gospell) for spyte that hath beene borne vnto reformation. almost by all estates and degrees, lamentable experience hath taught many of vs: but our posterity shall knowe it more particulerly, and the Church thoroughout the world shall discerne and judge of it more euidently, when their bodies are rotten in the dust, and their soules (if they repent not) in eternall and intollerable torments; who have rejected a request so holy, profitable and reasonable; yea, and handled the intreaters for the same so cruelly, vnchristianly and vnlawfully: but they would gladly perswade themselues (if their conscience would let them) that they have onely executed iustice vpon vs as malefactours, and they perswade men that we desire a thing, not warranted by the worde, not heard of in the Church of God, vntill within this few years, nor tollerable in any christian common-weal whatsoeuer: The whiche monstrous slaunders, albeit they have bene manye wayes, and by many men of most worthie gifts detected, and made knowne in those seuerall bookes that haue bene published concerning the same: yet haue I thought it necessarie (in another course) to write also of it. The course of my enterprise, is first in respect of the fauorers of the desired reformation; secondly of the adversaries of the same, the fauourers of it, are also of two sorts; ministers of the word, and private persons, and both I hope, may have profit by it. Concerning the former, when these wofull troubles that were renewed vpon vs (by that wretched subscription, that was euery where vrged) did begin to increase, I thought it meete to betake my selfe vnto that which I had read, or might any way by studie finde out, concerning the cause, and collected all into a briefe sum, and referred euery thing vnto some head; whiche beeing euer present with me, might furnish me to answere in the defence of the trueth, though it were of a sodden, by which (thorow the blessing of God) I found such profite in my seuerall troubles, that I thought it a course not altogether vnprofitable for others also, and vpon that occasion betooke my selfe vnto a more serious meditation about the matter,

and communicating the thing with divers very worthy men; I found encouragement and hartening on, generally by all whom I made acquainted therwith: so that I trust (the iudgments, yea and wishes also of others, so iumping with mine) many ministers that love the cause, and have not so thorowly studied it as were meet they should, may reape some profit therby. Now concerning private men that love the cause, som haue great affaires in hand, and haue no leasure to read the seuerall books of this argumente: some when they read, are not of sufficient capacity to conceive the force of a reason, or to make vse of it, to enform themselves in the grounded knowledge of the cause thereby: some (which is the generall falt of our religious gentlemen) will take no paines to read, some are poore and not able to buie the books which might let them see the cause, al these (I hope) may finde helpe in some measure hereby. Nowe concerning the aduersaries vnto the cause, they are of two sortes also, they that know it, and they that are ignoraunt of it: the former, if they write anye thing against it, are contented to deal in so rouing a course as may rather arise vnto great volumes, then soundly to saye anye thing againste the cause: Wherein D. Whitgifte, but especially D. Bridges, haue given vs an euident example: and these with others of their judgment (though non in these latter days, have written more vnlearnedly then they, of any argument of diuinity whatsoeuer) are contented to make the world belieue (if men will be so wilfully seduced) that our arguments be no arguments, that they be grounded vpon false foundations, and that we are not able to conclude our cause in any forme of reasoning. The course that is here taken (I trust) shall shew that they are liars: the other sort of aduersaries be they that be meerly ignorant of any thing, either for it or against it; and perswading themselues that the sway and shew of the worlde must needs cary the truth with it, do (like blind bayardes) boldly venture to say any thing against it, and think they do wel. Now of all these sorts of people, I have to request some thing, I hope I shall obtain my request (at the least) at the hands of some of them. The first sort of fauorers (which be the ministers) I intreat, that as they tender the glory of God, and honour of the cause which they stand in; so they would diligently imploy themselues in this, that they may be founde able to defend the same by sounde

and euident grounds out of the worde, and so muche the rather, for that the aduersaries doe greatly triumph, when they meete with one that professeth the cause, and is not able to defende it, and confute the gainsayers of it. The second sort of fauorers, be the private persons that love the cause, whom I beseech to be carefull (as of all other pointes of religion) of this, that they growe in the knowledge of the word of God, whereby they may be able, vpon their owne knowledge to defend the truth, and not give the enemie any occasion to think or say, that they be of that minde, because such and suche ministers, whom they do affect, do thinke so. Now concerning the former sort of aduersaries, to wit, they that know it, I pray them to looke into their owne hearts, and they shal finde they mislike it; eyther because it correcteth their excessive pompe and maintenaunce, or requireth more trauaile in their ministery, then they are willing to vndergo, or at the least, controlleth that dissolutnes of behauior, wherin they willingly wallow: and if it would please god to bring them to a serious meditation of this, that it is the will of the mighty God (before whom they must be called to give an account) whiche they doe resist, they would (I doubt not) more carefully looke about them. And lastly for them that being ignorant of the cause, speake euill of that they know not: let them (if they will bee admonished) vouchsafe to reade this little book, and wey the reasons with an vpright iudgment, which shal cause them (at the least) to suspend their sharpe censures, which so vsually appeare in their ordinary communication: and concerning vs al, let vs know (for one day we shalbe sure to feel it) that the controuersie is not about goats woolle (as the prouerbe sayth) neither light and trifling maters, which may safely be followed or reiected (as in deed the enemies of this cause do confidently affirme) but about no les matter then this, whether Iesus Christ shalbe king or no; For if none is said to be a king, but he that ruleth by the scepter of his lawes, then the turning out of these orders which christ hath prescribed in his word, for the ruling of the Church, is to give him the tytle, and denye him the authority belonging to the same, and so (in trueth) to make him an Idol, making him to cary a shew of that which he is not, and (with the crucifiers of him) to put a reede in his hand, in stead of his yron rod; and crowning

him with thorns, in stead of the crown of greatest glory; which is the cause that so many Atheists spit in his face, and so many godles persons, do make but a lest of him: but when he commeth to shew him-selfe in his glorious maiestie; it shalbe said vnto all these sorts of aduersaries: Those mine cuemies whiche would not that I should raigne ouer them, bring hither, and slea them before me. Luke. 19, 27. The which fearefull sentence, that we may avoide, let everye one of vs (as may stand with our seuerall callings) carefully endeuor, to aduaunce this kingdom here, which (among other assurances given vs from the Lord) shalbe a testimonic vnto vs, that we shall have part in that glory, which shalbe reuealed herafter. Now concerning the order of this booke; to direct thee (good reader) vnto thy further instruction, in the points therof. Thou hast in euery chapter, divers proofs out of the holy word of God, which must be the things wherewith thou mayest safely informe thy conscience: then shalt thou finde (also) arguments drawn from reson rightly ruled by the same word: and lastly, (because our aduersaries charge vs, that we desire a thing not known vnto the olde writers, nor agreed vpon among the newe) thou hast here the witnes of them both in so plentifull and vniforme wise, as may plainly declare, that al godly learned men of al times, have given testimony vnto the trueth of it. The most of the thinges that are here expressed, I acknowledg to be gathered out of the books that have bene published, and are extant (purposely) concerning this argument; as may appeare in the seueral points, wherein thou art sent wnto them Now, lest either thou shouldst be deceived with a divers impression, or think me to missealleadge the authors, I am to shew thee what books I have followed. The I. book of T. C. twise printed, I folow the latter; of Ecclesiast discip. I folow the latine, printed 1574, and the last booke of D. Whitgift, which containeth all the former in it. The rest (as I take it) haue bene but once printed, and therfore cary no doubt in them. If thou bee satisfied herewith, give God the glory: and promote the cause by prayer, and all other good meenes that thy calling may affoord: and pray for vs, that we may neuer shrinke, nor be ouerthrowen by the strength of them that fight against it.

FINIS.

A DEMONSTRATION of Discipline

CHAP. I.

The diffinition of Discipline, contayneth this proposition holden by vs.



He worde of God describeth perfectly vnto vs, that forme of gouerning the Church which is lawfull, and the officers that are to execute the same; from the which no Christian Church ought to swarue. monition in the præface: Ecclesiasticall Discip. fol. 5. T.C. first booke, page 26. Counterpoyson page 8. Discourse of

gouernment, page. I. &c.

The Assertion of the BB. and their adherents.

THe worde of God describeth not any exacte forme of Discipline, neyther are the offices and officers, namely, and particularly expressed in the Scriptures, but in some points left to the discretion and libertie of the Churche. VVhitgift in præface, and page. 84. aunswere to the Abstract. page 33.

The proofe of the former is the disproofe of the latter, which is thus declared.

1 These things write I vnto thee, &c. out of whiche place I reason thus. That end which Paule respected 1 Tim. 3. 14. 15. in writing vnto Timothie, doth the holy ghost direct al ministers vnto for euer; for it must be kept. 1. Tim. 6. 14. But he wrote to directe him in the establishing and building of the Church. Therefore that word must direct ministers for euer: and consequently they neither may add to, nor take from it, but gouerne it onely by the rules that be there prescribed.

2 Euery house ought to be ruled by the orders of the skilfull, wise, and careful householder onely: But the Church is the house of God, and God is such a householder: Therefore the Church ought to be ruled by the orders of God onely, which are no where to be had, but in his worde.

3 That which teacheth euery good way, teacheth also how the Church must be gouerned: But the word of God teacheth Prouerb 2. 9. euery good way: pro. 2. 9. therefore it teacheth

how the Church must be gouerned.

4 We cannot glorifie God, but by obedience to his word; I Cor. 10. 31. in all that we doe, we must glorifie God. I Cor. 10. 31. Therefore in all that we doe, there must be obedience to the word; and consequently in gouerning his Church.

5 If meat and drinke be not sanctified vnto vs, but by the word and prayer, then much lesse is any thing holy which is done in the gouernement of the Church besides the word: But the former is true by the testimonie of the Apostle I. Tim. 4. 5: therefore the latter must be true also.

6 All lawfull things are of fayth. Rom. 14 23. All lawfull Rom. 14. 23. things that are of fayth, have a warrant from the word, for the word is the foundation of fayth; therefore all things lawfull, have their warrant from the word: and consequently euery lawfull action in the gouernement of the Church.

7 Eyther hath God left a prescript forme of gouernement for the Church, under the newe testament: or he is lesse careful for it now, then he was vnder the lawe; for his care is in guyding it: But he is as careful now for his church as he was then: Therefore hath hee left a prescript forme to

gouerne it.

- 8 He that was as faythfull as Moses, left as clear instruction, both for the buylding of faith, and gouernment of the Churche, as Moses did: But Christ was as faythfull in Gods house. Heb. 3. 2: therefore he lefte as cleare instruction for them both as Moses; but Moses gaue direction euen for every particular, as appeareth in the buylding of the Tabernacle, and order of the priesthood: Therefore hath Christe also given particuler direction for the government of the Church.
 - 9 If the word of God have described sufficient ministers

and ministeries, for the buylding of the Church, and keeping it in good order, then is our assertion true: But it Rom 12.5, 6.7. hath set downe sufficient for doctrine, exhortation, i Cor. 12 28.

Li Cor. 12 28.

Ephes. 4.11. &c.

See Counterp particular Churche or generall Synode: Therefore is our assertion true.

10 That gouernement which the Apostles taught and planted, is expressed in the word of God: But the Apostles taught and planted, pastours and teachers for instruction, elders for ouersight, and deacons to distribute, and that vniformely in euery Churche, as appeareth by their writinges and practises: Therefore a certaine forme of gouernement is expressed in the worde.

11 Euery lawfull office and action in the building of the Churche, is from heaven. Matth. 21. 25. 26. Matt. 21. 25. 26 Euery thing that is (in the ordinarie building) from heuen, is reueled in the word: Therfore euerye lawfull office and action

is renealed in the worde.

12 If God continued (in regarde of the substance) the Church administration, as well as the things to be administred, then is the forme of Discipline described in the word: But the former is true, as appeareth by the particulars; for priests, pastours; for teaching Leuites, or doctors of the law, Teachers; for rulers of the Synagogue, Elders; for Leuiticall lookers to the treasurie, Deacons; for the Sanedrim, the Eldershipp: therefore the forme of gouernment is prescribed in the word.

13 Euery wise king that is careful for his subjects, setteth downe Lawes for the gouernment of the same, and will have them tyed to no other: But Christ is such a king vnto his church: Therefore hath he prescribed Lawes vnto his Church, which none therein can alter or disobey; and consequently, the certaine forme of gouernment of the Church is described

in the worde.

14 That which the ministers must teach the people to obserue, is set downe in the worde of god, for they Matth. 28 20. may teach nothing but that which is there, Matth. 28. 20: But they are to teache them to obserue, and be obedient vnto, the particular forme of the Churche gouernement: Therfore the particular forme is set downe in the word.

15 Euery gouernment consisteth in the gouernours, matter

wherabout they are to be imployed, and maner of doing it: But in the word are described all these particulars, as it is shewed in the 9. reason: Therfore the word prescribeth a prescript forme of gouernment.

16 The Christian religion shall finde, that out of this Cyprian in sernene de baptismo Christi. Scripture, rules of all doctrine haue sprong, and that from hence doeth spring, and hyther doth returne, whatsoeuer, the Ecclesiasticall Discipline doth containe.

17 We may not give our selves the libertie to bring in anye thing that other men bring of their will; we Cyptian de preserip, adtensus haret that other men bring of their will; we have the Apostles for authours, whiche themselues brought nothing of their owne will, but the Discipline which they received of Christe, they delivered faythfully to the people.

18 It is adulterous, it is sacriledgious, whatsoeuer is or-Cyprian lib I. dayned by humane furie, that the diuine disposition

should be violated.

Therefore if Timothie was written vnto, that he might The Conclusion be directed by the worde, in disposing of the Churches; if the Lawes of God onely being the housholder, must be followed in the Churche, his House; if the word of God teache vs in euerye good way, whereof the gouernement of the Church is one; if God must be glorified in the ruling of his Church, which cannot be, but by obedience to his word; if nothing be lawfull, but that which is of fayth, warranted by the word; if God have shewed himself as carefull for his Church vnder the Gospell, as vnder the law; if Christ was as faythfull to give direction as Moses; if in the worde be described sufficient ministers and ministeries, to buylde vp the Churche; if that gouernement, which the Apostles taught and practized, be in the worde; if every lawfull office and action in an ordinarie building, be from heauen, and reuealed thence by the worde; if God continued the same forme (in respect of the substance) in the time of the Gospel, that was vnder the law; if euery wise carefull king, doe set downe lawes for the direction of his subjectes; if the Apostles haue taught vs to obey that which Christ commanded; if both the gouernours matter of gouernment, and maner of doing it, be set downe in the worde; if all that pertayneth to Ecclesiasticall Discipline, spring from the scriptures; if wee may bring nothing into the Discipline of the Church, but that which the Apostles haue deliuered vs; lastly, if that be

adulterous and sacriligious, that is not according to the worde: then it must needes followe, that God doth describe perfectly vnto vs out of his worde, that forme of gouernment which is lawfull, and the officers that are to execute the same: from the which it is not lawful for any Christian Church to swarue. And contrariwise, that is a most vntrue assertion to saye, that the officers and offices are not particularly expressed, but left to the discretion of the Church. The reasons that they alleadge against this, are in effect none, and their objections to these reasons, not worthy to be mentioned.

CHAP. 2.

Very officer in the Church, must be placed in some calling warraunted by the worde of God, and some congregation must have neede of such a one, before he be called to any function. Wherein are these

propositions. 1 No calling is lawfull in the Churche, but that whiche is directly warraunted out of the word, vnto him The first pro-

that executeth it.

The BB, and their adherentes thinke otherwise, as their practize in ordeyning Archbysh. L. Byshops, Deanes, Archdeacons, Chauncellors, officialls, &c. doth plainly declare.

2 The name and office of an Archb. is contrary The second

to the word of God.

3 No man may be ordeined vnto any office in the Church, vntill there be such a place void as he is fit for: T.C. I. booke, page 61.

They thinke otherwise, as their making of so many ministers

at once proueth, and as is holden, VVhitgift page 222.

1 The first is prooued thus: If Iohn was constrayned to prooue his ministerie out of the Scriptures Reason for the when the Priests accused him; then is no calling first proposition John 1. lawfull, that hath not his warrant in the word, for if 23. 25. any be priviledged, the extraordinarye ministers (whereof he was one) are specially excepted: But he prooued his ministery by the word, as appeareth by his aunswere vnto them, in the 23. verse. Therfore no calling is lawfull in the Church, that hath not his warrant in the word.

2 The callings vnder the Gospell must have as good warrant as they had vnder the law, because the light of the Gospell is (at the least) as cleare as that of the law: But there was neuer any lawfull calling vnder the lawe (excepting those that were by miraculous manner confirmed from heaven) whiche had not his directe warrant out of the worde. Therefore no calling is lawfull in the Churche, whiche is not directly warranted in the word.

3 If Corath Dathan and Abiram (though they were Leuites) were punished for that they had no warrant for that which they presumed to take in hande, then is euerye lawfull calling, both in generall warranted out of the worde, and particularly layde vppon the parties from the Lorde: But the former is true, as the historie teacheth vs: Therefore

must the latter needes be true also.

4 That which giveth comfort vnto a man in the time of his troubles, must have a warraunt out of Gods worde: But everye lawfull calling giueth comfort vnto a man in the time of his troubles: Therefore every lawfull calling hath a warrant out of Gods word.

5 That which helpeth Gods people forward in godlines, must have a warraunt out of Gods word: for God hath promised a blessing to his owne ordinance onely: But every lawfull calling in the Churche, helpeth Gods people forward in godlines: Therefore euerie lawfull calling hath a warrant

out of Gods word.

Therefore if Iohn did prooue his calling out of the The conclusion Scriptures; if euerye calling vnder the lawe. was warraunted out of the Scriptures; if Corath, &c. were punnished for enterprising that which they had no warrant for, out of the Scriptures; if comfort in troubles commeth onely from the Scriptures; and lastly, if euery helpe to godlines is warraunted in the Scriptures; then, &c.

They confesse all these reasons to be true, but do denie that the Archbish. L.B. &c. be distinct ministers from others. VVhitgift page 303. which we holde

T.C. 2. booke page 438. and prooue it thus.

1 Those thinges that have divers efficient causes, are divers: Our BB. and the ministers of the worde have divers efficient causes, for the one is the ordinance of god, the other the constitution of humane pollicie, as themselues doe confesse: Therefore they are distinct ministers from others.

2 A divers forme maketh divers things: the ministers of the word, and the L. Byshops have divers formes: for their ordination (even in the Church of England) is divers, seeing one L. B. may ordaine a minister: But there must bee three to ordaine one of them: Therefore they are distinct ministers.

3 Members of one division are distincte one from another: the L. BB. and ordinarie ministers bee members of one division: for vsually the ministers be divided into the rulers, and them that are to be ruled: therefore they are distinct

ministers.

4 The things that have divers effects, are divers in themselves one from another: the L. BB. and other ministers have divers effects; for the one effecteth rule and governement, the other subjection and obedience: Therefore they are divers and distinct ministers.

5 They that be imploied about divers things are divers one from another: The L. Bb. and the ordinary ministers, be imployed about divers things, for the one is exercised in generall viewe of many congregations, and the other in the particular direction of one: Therefore they be distinct

ministers.

6 That which is perpetuall, and that which may be taken away by men, are distinct one from another: The office of the minister is perpetuall, Ephes. 4.13. and the Bb. may be taken away as themselves do confesse: Therefore they are

diuers, and distinct ministers.

Therefore if the ministers of the worde, and L.Bb. proceed from diuers causes; if they have their being by The Conclusion diuers formes; if they be members of one diuision, which (in nature) cannot be one; if they produce diuers effectes; if they be exercized about diuers subjectes: lastly, if the one be perpetuall, and the other but for a time, then must it needes followe, that they are diuers and distinct ministers one from another.

The name of an Archb. and also the office that he executeth, is contrary to the voord of God. 2. The proposition and reasons for the proofe

First, the reasons that prooue it vnlawfull to give the name vnto any man in the Churche, are these.

1 No man may haue the name giuen him, which is proper that the to our Sauiour Iesus Christe: But the name of Archb. is proper vnto our Sauiour Iesus Christe, as appeareth in the places quoted: Therefore Hebr. 13 20. Actes 3.15.5.31. him.

2 If the name Pope be therefore odious, because of that Antichrist, who is intituled therwith, then must also the name of Archb. when it is ascribed vnto any mortal man: forsomuch as it is the title of a speciall member of that kingdom of Antichrist: But the former is true even by their owne confession. VVhitgift page 300. Therefore must the latter be true also.

Objections for the name of Archb, and answers therevuto But they object divers things against this, for the proouing of the name Archb. to bee lawfully given vnto some men, which together with their answers do briefly follow.

1 Objection Clemens aloweth of those names.

whitgift page 318. as Polydor reporteth, lib. 4. cap. 12.

Answere Polydor is but the reporter, and M. Iewell hath prooued euidently against Harding that Clemens is counterfeite, and worthy of no credite.

2 Objection Erasmus sayth that Titus was an Arch-

bishop.

Answere He spake as the times were wherein he liued: but that prooueth not that he helde him one in deed, no more then our naming of the Archb. of Canterburye, when we speake of him, prooueth that we like and allow his authoritie.

3 Objection Anacletus sayth that Iames was the first

Archb. of Ierusalem.

Answere He is forged (as our aunswers to the papists haue shewed) but a witnes of better credit calleth him onely a bishop, Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 23. and Simon bishop after him, lib. 3. cap. 22. and Iræneus saith lib. 4. cap. 63. that the Apostles ordayned bishops euery where, making no mention of Archb.

4 Objection The Councell of Nice Canon 6. mentioneth

a Metropolitan bishop.

Answere That producth nothing, for it was onely as much as to say, the Bish. of the chiefe Citie.

Secondly the reasons that prooue the office of the Archb. vnlawfull be these.

1 Euery ministery that is lawful, must be of God:

The office of the Archb. is vnlawfull.

The office of the Archb. is not of God, for that he is not described in the worde, and themselves confesse that he is of humane pollicie: Therefore the office of the Archb. is vnlawfull.

2 That ministery whose original is vnknown, hath no warrant from Gods worde, and consequently is vnlawfull: The original of the Arch. is vnknowne as they confesse;

VVhitgift page 351. Therefore it is vnlawfull.

3 That office which is needles in the church is also vnlawful to be exercised in the same: The office of the Archb. is needlesse, for the ministery is perfect without it, as the Apostle prooueth, Ephes. 4. 13. Therefore the office of an Archb. is vnlawfull.

4 If all the giftes needful for the perfecting of the Church, be appropriated vnto other ministeries, then is his ministery vnlawful: But all the needful gifts, are appropriated vnto pastors[,] doctors, elders and deacons, whereof he is none:

Therefore his office is vnlawful.

5 That office is vnlawful, which none may lawfully giue: But none may lawfully bestowe the office of an Archb. because none can giue any newe giftes to adorne him withall: Therefore his office is vnlawfull.

This reason being vsed of all sounde divines against the

pope, is of the same valewe against the Archb.

6 If the office of an Archb. be lawfull, then it is eyther in respect of his excellencie aboue other men, or the place whereof he is aboue other places: But neyther of these haue euer bene, neyther hereafter can be: Therefore that office is vnlawfull.

Therefore if the office of the Archb. be not of God; if the original of it be vnknown; if in the Church it be The conclusion needlesse; if all the gifts that God hath bestowed vppon his ministery be appropriated vnto those Church officers, whereof he is none; if none may lawfully bestow such an office vpon any; if it can neyther bee incident vnto any one man for his excellencie, nor his place for preheminence: then must it needs follow, that his office is vnlawfull.

Caluin in his Institut. booke 4. cap. 11. sect. 7. alleadgeth diuers reasons to this purpose, and Beza in his booke of

diuorcements, stretcheth the same to all the inferiour officers vnder him saying: Officials, proctors, promotours, and all that swinish filth, now of long time hath wasted the Churche. So doth Peter Martyr vppon the Rom. 13. speaking against ciuill Iurisdiction in Byshops, doth by the same reasons condemne it in their substitutes.

But this being the corner stone of their building, they labour to support it with many props the most special

whereof are these.

1 Objection Cyprian sayth, lib. 1. Epist. 3. ad Cornelium, Objections for the office of the Archb: other occasion, then of that, that the prieste of God other occasion, then of that, that the prieste of God is not obeyed, neyther one priest for the time, and one judge for the time in the stead of Christ thought vpon, to whome if the whole brotherhood woulde be obedient according to Gods teachinge, no man woulde mooue any

thing against the College of priests

Answere This place is alleaged for the pope and the answere that M. Iewel and others make to it, serueth our turne: onely let this be noted, that Cyprian speaketh of the people at Rome, that had received another bishop (besides Cornelius) who was an hæretike; for all the course of his writings, condemneth this superioritie. It is expounded by M. Iewel, booke 1. sect. 4. division 5, of every bishop: and so is it by M. Nowell against Dorman, booke 1. page 25. and also by M. Foxe, tom. 1. fol. 93. See T.C. in his 1. reply page 98. &c.

2 Objection The authority of the Archb. preserueth

vnitie.

Ansvvere Cyprian lib. 4. Epist. 9. sayth that vnitie is reserved by the agreement of bishopps, that is of ministers. one with another.

3 Objection It compoundeth controuersies, that els would

growe to many heades without any special remedie.

Answere Cyprian lib. 1. Epist. 13. sayth that the plentifull body and company of Elders, are (as it were) the glewe of mutual concord, that if any of our companye be authour of hæresie, the rest should helpe.

4 Objection Ierome vpon Tit. r. sayth that in the beginning a bishop and priest (meaning a teaching Elder) were all one: but when men began to say, I am of Paule, I

am of Apollo[s], &c. It was decreed that one shoulde be

chosen to beare rule ouer the rest.

Answere From the beginning it was not so: the sayinge of Tertull. Contra Prax. is fitt for this: that is true whatsouer is firste, and that is false whatsoeuer is latter: and Ierome sayth in the place alleaged, that this authority is by custome and not by any institution of God; if it had bene the best way to take away divisions, the Apostles (in whose times the controuersies did arise) would have taken the same order.

5 Objection Caluine sayth that the Apostles had one

among them to gouerne the rest.

Ansvvere That was not in superioritie, but for order to propound the matters, gather the voyces and such like: which is meete to be in euery wel ordered meeting: but his authority is no more ouer the rest, then the speaker in the Parliament hath ouer the other knightes and Burgesses.

6 Objection Paule was superior to Timothy and Titus. Answere Paule and they had divers offices, whereof the Apostles office was the chiefe, the like is to be sayd of

Timothie and Titus, having superiority ouer the other ministers, for that they were Euangelists, a degree aboue

ordinarie ministers.

Therefore if the place alleaged out of Cyprian, make nothing for Archb. if vnity be not preserued by him, but by the Byshoppes among themselves; if his autho- The conclusion ritie make nothing to the taking away of controuersies; if it be meerly inuented by man, and not from the beginning; if it be by custome, and not by any ordinance of God; if neyther one Apostle ouer the rest, nor any of them ouer the Euangelists, nor of the Euangelistes ouer the pastours and teachers, wil serue to prooue their authority: then must it needs follow, that it is vtterly vnlawful.

o man may be ordayned vnto any office in the Church, vntill there be such a place voyde as he is The 3 proposition and fit for, T.C. booke I. page 61. VVhitgift, page 222. reasons for it.

1 As was the 12. place for Matthias, so is a certaine Church, to euery Church officer: But Matthias was not ordained vnto the place of an Apostle, vntill Iudas Act 1. 20.

by hanging himself, had made it voyde, Act 1. 20. Therefore may none be ordained vnto any office in the Church, before the place where he may be imployed, be destitute of such a one.

2 As the Apostles did in planting of the Churches, so must it bee done in the buyldinge thereof for euer: But they ordayned neyther pastour, teacher, elder or deacon, but to some certaine Church that had neede therof: Therfore may none bee ordayned vnto any office, vntill a place be voyd that hath need of him.

3 Those thinges that bee of one beginning, continuance and ending, cannot be one, before or after another: But a minister, and the execution of his ministery in a lawfull standing be so; for they be relatives, and have reference one vnto the other: Therfore a minister ought not be ordained before there be a ministery whervnto he is to be allotted.

4 If non[e] ought to be called to be a shepherd, that hath no flocke of sheepe to keepe: neither any watchman, that is not allotted to som place to watch: then may none be ordayned to any office, before there be a place void for him: for ministers are in this sence tearmed shepheards and watchmen: But the former is true, as euery simple man can easily perceiue: Therefore the latter is true also.

5 To do contrary to the precepts and practize of the Apostles is vnlawfull: But to ordain any officer, without a certain place wherin he may be imployed, is contrary to the precepts and practize of the Apostles, as it appeareth, Tit. 1. 5. Act. 14. 23. Therefore to ordayne any officer of the Churche, without a certayne place wherevnto he is to be

allotted, is vnlawfull.

6 It was ordayned that no Elder, Deacon, or any other Ecclesiastical officer, shoulde bee ordayned a cap. 6. art. 15 Apolelymenos, that is loosely, or let at randone (but as afterward is expounded) specially in a Church of citie or towne.

7 The ordination that is made without a title, let it be Concil. Vrba- void: and in what Churche one is intituled, let num test Gra-

him there remaine. tuum dist. 70.

8 He complaineth that ministers were ordayned, Ierom ad being chosen by no Churche, and so went here and Nepotian. there, having no certaine place.

9 That action, which neuer is read to be practized, but by idolators is vnlawfull: To have wandring officers, is onely found to be in idolaters, as appeareth Iudg. 17. 8. Therefore it is vnlawfull.

Therefore, if the Apostles ordayned not Mathias, vntill the place was voide; if in planting of Churches, they euer alotted officers to their proper places; if The conclusion. minister and ministery be of one beginning, continuance and ending; if it be with a minister, and his ministery, as with a shepheard and his flocke, that he cannot be the one, but in respect of hauing the other; if it be vnlawfull to transgresse the precepts and practize of the Apostles; if no minister in the Church, be ordained at randone; if the ordination that is without a title be voyde; if Ierome complayned of it, as a great faulte in his time; if no example be founde of it, but in Idolaters: then must it needs follow, that to ordayne any Church officer, vntill there be such a place voyd as he is fit for, is vtterly vnlawfull: and so the Bb. making of many ministers at once, and licencing of wandring preachers, is contrary to the word of God.

They will have some thing to saye for every action they doe, be it neuer so shamefull: that which they An objection. alleage for this, is, that Paule and Barnabas did wander.

The Apostles office (and so the Euangelistes as assistants vnto them) was to prech the word, and plant The answere. Churches in euery part of the world: but the order that they left, is a president for us, which is that every Church have their proper officers, and that there be no other elsewhere to be found.

CHAP. 3.



Very Church-officer, ought to execute the office committed vnto him, with all faythfull Our assertion. diligence, and consequently be continually resident vppon his charge, T.C. booke 1. page 65.

They deny not the proposition, but the consequent that is inferred vpon it, as appeareth by their writinges, Their assertion. VVhitgift page 246. and by their dayly practize in giuing dispensations for many benefices.

The reasons we alleadge to prooue the necessitie of perpetuall residence, and the vnlawfulnes of nonresidence be these that follow.

1 A shepheard hath a flocke to the ende to feed it continually: The minister is a shepheard, and his charge a flocke: Therefore he ought to feed it continually, and consequently to be perpetually resident, for how can he feed them from whom he is absent.

2 Where God doth place anye man, there his continuall trauaile is needfull, for God is most wise in disposing euery thing: But God placeth euery right minister ouer that people, which is his charge: Therefore his continuall trauaile is needfull there, and consequently he may not discontinue.

3 Flockes that are in danger, are (by carefull shepeards) watched night and day, Luk [e] . 2.8. Euery congregation is a flocke in daunger, for the enemie goeth about like a roaring lyon, I. Pet. 5. 8. and soweth tares whilest men sleepe. Math. 13. 25. Therefore every congregation is to bee watched night and day by the minister therof, and consequently he may not be nonresident.

4 If his dutie to them requireth so muche trauayle, as may continually set him on worke, then may he not be nonresident: But it is euident (that it doth so) to all them that eyther know by the worde of God, what studie, prayer, doctrine, exhortation, &c. be required of him, or maketh anye conscience of giving account for the souls committed to their

charge: Therfore may not they be nonresident.

5 If the minister cannot apply himself fruitfully, to the capacitie of his people, vnlesse hee haue particular knowledge of their disposition, and capacitie, then is it not lawfull for him to be nonresident: for by continuall residence among them, he may knowe them and not else: But the former is true, as the small knowledge that the people get by generall teaching, doth euidently declare: Therfore is not lawful for him to be nonresident.

6 If the ministers of the Gospell, be as narrowly tyed to their charges, as the priests vnder the law, then may they not be nonresident: For they were alwayes readie in the Temple, to answere the doubts, 1. Sam. 1.9: But it is clear that they are, because men are now as hardly trayned vnto godlines, and the enemie is as wrathfull as he was then: Therefore they may not be nonresident.

7 If the minister must be an example to his people; then must he be daily present with them, that they may beholde him: But the former is true, I. Tim. 4. 12. Therfore is the latter true also.

8 He whom the sheepe are to follow in and out, and must knowe by the voyce, ought to bee continually among them: A good minister of the worde is such a one, Iohn. 10.4.

Therefore he must be resident among them.

9 None can be alwayes readie to feede his flocke, that is absent from it: Euerye minister must be alwayes readie to feede his flocke, because it dependent vpon him. 1. Pet. 5. 2. Therefore euery minister is to bee resident with his flocke.

10 Hee that must take heede to his flocke, watch ouer it, and feed it, must be resident continually with it: Euery

minister must do so, Act. 20. 28. Therefore, &c.

11 If Satan be the cause of nonresidence, then is it vtterly vnlawfull: But Satan is the cause of it, 1. thes. 2. 17. 18. Therfore it is vtterly vnlawful.

12 That which abridgeth the loue of God to his people, and comfort to the minister, that same is vnlawfull: But not

to be resident doth both: Therefore it is vnlawfull.

13 That which hindreth the louing familiarity that shoulde be betwixt the minister and his people, that same is vnlawfull: But nonresidence doth so, for it maketh them strange one to another, and argueth small loue in him towards them: Therefore it is vnlawfull.

14 To be absent from them that haue interest in vs, and continuall need of vs is vnlawful, which we can see to be true in our seruants, &c: But the congregation hath an interest in the minister, and continuall neede of him: Therefore it is vnlawfull for him to bee absent from them.

15 If the priests might not dwell farre from the temple, then may not ministers be nonresident: But the former is true, as appeareth by this; that they had houses buylded close to the Temple. 1. Chron. 28. 13. Therefore the latter is true also, seeing the residence of the one is as needfull as the other, as appeareth in the sixt reason.

16 Let no Clarke be placed in two charges, for it is filthie merchaundize, and no man can serue two masters, Concil Nice and everye one must tary in that place wherevnto canon 15.

he is called.

17 Damasus compareth them that set ouer their charges Concil. tom. 2. to others, to harlots that put out their children, that they may give themselves to lust the sooner.

oderet lib. 18 It was ordayned that none, eyther B. or

Elder, should go from citie to citie.

Therefore, if a minister haue the charge of a flocke com-The conclusion mitted vnto him, to the end to feed it; if God place men, to the end to have them there imploied; if flocks in daunger have need of continuall watche; if the ministers dutie to his flocke requireth all that trauayle that he can performe; if he cannot be fruitfully profitable vnto them, without continuall residence; if his residence be as strictly required as theirs vnder the law; if he cannot be a patterne vnto them without he be resident; if they cannot follow him, nor know him if he be absent; if he cannot be alwayes readie to feed his flock, vnlesse he bee there; if hee cannot take heede to them, feede them, and watche ouer them, without his presence; if Satan be the authour of nonresidencie; if his absence abridge Gods loue to them, and comfort from himselfe; if absence be an hinderance to the louing familiaritie that shoulde be betwixt him and them; if they have interest in him, and continuall neede of him; if he may no more bee absent, then the priests dwell from the Temple; if the Councel of Nice did vpon good grounds forbid it; if absence be like to the practize of an harlot; if it be not lawfull to go from place to place; then is nonresidence vnlawfull, and the practize therof contrary to the word of God.

The bellie (for which nonresidencie is defended and practized) hath no eares, therefore it is that they heare not these euident sounds; yet haue they very little to saye for it, so grosse is the error thereof; so much as hath any

shewe of reason, is here set downe and answered.

1 Objection Two parrishes may bee vnited, why then may not one haue charge of them both before, when they be two.

Answere Because one shepheard may keep one flocke though it bee great, but hee cannot keepe two, being verye little, and going in divers pastures; againe, one man may have so many flockes as he can lead in and out everye Sabboth, to the exercises of religion, which is verye plaine that he cannot doe, to more then one congregation.

2 Objection Parishes were deuided by men, as especially

by Denis the Monk, Pope of Rome.

Answere That is vntrue, for the Apostles deuided the Church into congregations, and placed elders ouer enery one of them, as the wholfel course of the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles prooueth: and VVhitgift confesseth page 250. Therefore these mistes notwithstanding, nonresidencie must needes be vnlawfull: and certainely those that have any sparkle of conscience, feare of God, or loue to their flockes, will neuer defend it, much lesse enter into the practize of it.

CHAP. 4.

T belongeth to the Church, to make choise of those officers which Christ would have placed Our assertion. in the same: T.C. 2. booke 1. part, page 193. Ecclesiast. Discip. fol. 40. and VVhitgift confesseth it page 164.

They deny this, as their denying of al the arguments that bee brought for it doth prooue, VVhitgift page 154. 166. &c. and their practize of allowing patrons, and also being such

themselues doth euidently declare.

I f the former bee prooued true, then the latter must returne

to Antichriste, which is thus declared.

1 That which was the continuall and constant practize of the Church in the time of the Apostles, that same Act. i. 26. is to be followed for euer, which appeareth by this, that the ordinaunces giuen from God by Paule, 1. Tim. 6. 14. are eniovned to be kept vntill Christ come to judgement: but it was the constant, and the continuall practize of the Churches, then to have a stroke in the choyse of their owne ecclesiastical officers, Act. 1. and 26. where the Apostles presented two, to the peoples liking: wherof God was to be prayed vnto, to make one an Apostle. Act. 6. 3. where the Church is willed to choose their Deacons, and Act. 14, 25. where they gaue their consent in the choosing of their elders, by the stretching forth of their handes: Therefore it belongeth to the Church to choose their owne Church officers.

2 If the people had an interest in the liking of their teaching Leuites, (which were of the tribe of Numb. 8. 9. Aaron) then much more must the people now, for there was greater likelihood, that they were sent of God, then any of the common sort of men: But the former is true, as appereth

I erome ad Ruffinum.

by the manner of the setting of them a side vnto that office in the lawe: Therefore must the latter needs be true also.

3 That which pertayneth vnto all, ought to be appropued of all the congregation: But every ministery in the Church, pertayneth to all the congregation: Therefore, authority to

approoue of them, pertayneth to all the congregation.

4 That election which is most effectuall to bring the people to obedience, is of all other the best; and to abridge it, is vnlawfull: But election by common consent, is most effectuall to bring the people to obedience, when they shall see him teache or rule, whom they themselues have chosen: Therefore election by the Church is the best, and all other kindes of elections vnlawfull.

5 That election which procureth greatest reuerence of the people to their teachers and rulers is meetest, and all others vnlawfull: But for the people to consent in the election of their gouernours, procureth greatest reuerence, in their hearts towards them: Therefore election by the people is

the best, and all others bee vnlawfull.

Testimonies of the ancient veriters.

6 The minister should be chosen (the people being precyprian booke sent) in the eyes of all, and should be by the Epist. 3. common iudgement, and testimonie approoued worthy and fit: &c. Therefore this is the lawfull vocation by the worde of God, where those which are chosen, be appointed by the consent and approbation of the people. For which also, he bringeth divers authorities out of the Scriptures.

7 That is truely and certainly a diuine election of a Byshop, which is made by the whole Church.

8 Let the people haue authority to choose their Clarkes and ministers.

Ad Nepotianum

19 They runne (speaking of the life of the Clarkes) to Byshops suffragans certaine times of the yeare, and bringing some sum of money, they are anoynted and ordayned, being chosen of none, and after-This is right our English fashion.

This is right our English fashion.

Some sum of money, they are anoynted and ordayned, being chosen of none, and after-this is right our English fashion.

The property of the life of the life of the people.

Nazianzen. 10 In the Oration of the death of his Father,

approoueth the election by the people, at large, and confuteth

them that would hinder it

11 When he appoynted Eradius to succeed him, Augustine. sayth, it was the approoued right and custome, that the whole Churche should eyther choose or consent vnto their Bishop.

12 Anthimius choosing a Bishopp without the peoples

consent, filled all Armenia with sedition.

13 Why did Peter communicate the election with the disciples? lest the matter should have act. I turned to a braule, and have fallen to a contention.

Testimonies of generall Councells.

14 It is meete that you should have power, both to choose, and to give their names that are worthy to be among the cleargie, and to do all things absolutely according Concil. Nicen to the lawes and decrees of the Church, and if it ret. happen any to dye in the Church, then those which were last taken, are to be promoted, to the honor of him that is dead, if they be worthy, and if the people choose them.

15 Let the people choose, and the Byshopp ap- The same Contest, hist. ripart lib. 2. prooue, and seale vp the election with them.

16 In an Epistle to Damasus, Ambrose &c. sayth, we haue ordayned Nectarius Bishopp of Constantinople, Concil. con-&c. the whole citie decreeing the same; and stan test tripart, lib. Flauianus was appointed Bishop of Antioch, the 9- cap. 14. whole citie appoynting him.

17 When he hath bin examined in all these and found fully instructed, then let him be ordayned Bishop, Concil. Car-

by the common consent of the Clarkes and lay

people. 18 Let not him be counted a prieste in the Church, whom the cleargie, and people of that citie where he is, Conci. Toletan. test. dist. 51. do not choose.

19 If any Bishop after the death of his predecessor, be chosen of any, but of the Bishops of the same Concil: Gabil. prouince, and of the cleargie and citizens, let canon to. another be chosen: and if it be otherwise, let the ordination be void and of none effecte.

Testimonics out of the Emperors lavves.

20 Following the doctrine of the holy Apostles, &c. we

Justinian in ordayne, that as oft as it shall fall out, that the ministers place shalbe voyde in any citie, that voyces be given of the inhabiters of that citie, that hee (of three whiche for their right fayth, holines of life, and other things, are most approoued) be chosen to the Bishopprick which is most meete of them.

21 Being not ignoraunt of the holy canons: that the holy carolus Magnus dist. 63 sacrorum we assent vnto the ecclesiasticall order, that the Bishops be chosen, by the election of the cleargie and people.

22 He decreed, that he should be Bishop of Rome, Caroli filius. whome all the people of Rome shoulde consent to

choose.

23 Lodouicke the second, commaunded by his letters, the Platina in vita Romanes to choose their owne Bishopp, not looking Andriani secundi. for other mens voyces, which (being straungers) coulde not so well tell what was done in the common-wealth, where they were strangers, and that it appertayned to the citizens.

Idem in vita 24 Let the people (sayth Otho the Emperor) Leonis octaui. choose and I will approue it.

The testimonies of the nevve writers.

25 The new writers, as Musculus, in his Common places, in the title of Magistrats: Bullinger vpon 1. Tim. 4. Caluine Institut. booke 4. chap. 3. sect. 15. Harmon. confes. Heluet. cap. 18. and many others are on our side in this behalfe.

26 If there bee none that write against it, but the papists, and no arguments vsed against it, but those which be borrowed out of the popish writers: then doth it belong to the Church to choose their owne Church officers: But the former is true, as all that doe read them, that write of this argument do knowe, and as is manifest, by comparing Pighius, Hosius, &c. with VVhitgift: Therefore the latter is true also.

Therefore seeing the interest of the Church in choosing of The Conclusion their Church officers, is grounded vpon the word of T.C. 2. hooke 1. part. page 212. God, both in commaundement, and continuall practize, both in the olde and newe Testament; seeing it is warranted by the light of common reason; seeing it is

commended vnto vs, by the manifold practize of all ancient times, so long as any sinceritie remayned, not onely in the time of persecution, but also of peace; seeing it hath beene confirmed by so many generall Councels and ratified by the decrees of so many Emperors; seing it hath such a cloude of witnesses, both of ancient and latter times, of the best approoued writers; seeing none doe set themselues against it, but the papistes, or they that invade it onely with the same weapons that are fetched out of the popes Armory: it must needs follow, that it belongeth vnto the Churche to choose their Churche officers: and that the taking away of this freedom, abridgeth the libertie that Christ hath endowed his Churche withall, and bringeth her into great bondage, as Musculus truly affirmeth.

Their objections against those things are these

1 Objection They were then under the crosse, few in num-

ber, and therfore it was easily knowen who were fit.

Answere The Gospell was dispersed thorow out all Asia, Affrica, and much of Europe, and they could lesse keepe together, or meete, and therefore that maketh rather for vs.

2 Objection Wee haue many hypocrites, to whome it were

daungerous to committ such waightie actions.

Answere It is true, that we have many: but it is a principle in hypocrisie, to be forwardst in such publike actions, that they may get fame thereby.

3 Objection They had knowledge to doe it, but our people

be ignorante.

Ansvvere We should also finde our people to haue knowledge, if they had teaching: but howsoeuer they choose, they cannot have worse then ordinarily are chosen by the Bishops and patrons.

4 Objection The Church was not then established.

Answere That is vntrue, for though it wanted the helpe of Magistrates, yet the Apostles coulde and did better establish without them, then we can with the helpe of them: but if this order might be altered, it had bene fitter then, for nowe the magistraicie may compounde the differences of the Elders, which help then they lacked.

5 Objection Drunkards, papists, &c. wil choose them

that bee like themselves, and we knowe the best disposed be

alwayes the fewest.

Answere Such are not of the Churche, but without, I Cor. 5. 12. and therefore are not to meddle in anye holy action: but if the people shoulde choose an vnmeete man, the eldershippe that gouerneth the action, is to reforme them: besides this, if Gods order had hir place, the schooles of the prophets would send them none, (for the ministers especially) to make choyse of, but meet men, that whomsoeuer they tooke, he should be found sufficient.

6 Objection Paule commandeth 1. Tim. 5. 22 to lay his

handes on no man rashly: therefore one did it.

Answere Hee teacheth what to doe for his part, and though others would be rashe, yet he should not ioyne with them in it, as appeareth in the latter ende of that same verse, for that is ascribed vnto him, which also belonged vnto others, because he was the director: Caluin and Musculus expound the place so.

7 Objection The Councell of Landicea, decreed that the

people should not elect.

Answere That is, as Caluine taketh it vpon Acts 16. they might not elect alone, without the direction of some graue and good minister, which should be the manner in the elections, that (according to Gods word) we desire.

CHAP. 5.



One is to be admitted vnto any publike office in the Church vntill he be thorowly examined by the eldership, both concerning his state of Christianitie, and ship, both concerning his state of Christianitie, and abilitie to that place where to he is to be called,

r.C. 1. book: page 38. Disci. Ecclesiast fol. 46:

They thinke one may do it, as appereth by the book of ordering, &c. VVhitgift page 134. and 135. and their slight passing it ouer, thorow the Archdeacons hands.

The former is prooued, and the latter disprooued thus.

1 Those that are to ordayne, must have particular knowledge of the parties to bee ordayned, (or else they breake the rule prescribed them, I. Tim. 5. 22.) which cannot be without examination: But the Eldership is to ordayne euerye Churche officer, as shall appeare in the Chap [ter]. of Ordination: Therefore it belongeth to the Eldership to examine, &c.

2 The matter of greatest importance in the gouernement of the Churche, must be done by the most able gouernours of the same: The approouing or disproouing of Churche officers, is the matter of greatest importance, because the consequence of ruling well is the best, or ill the worst: and the Eldership is the Senate of most able gouernours in the Church, as shall appear in the Chap[ter]. of Eldership: Therefore the Eldership is to examine, &c.

3 The way whereby a mans insufficiencie is best espyed and his abilitie discerned, is the fittest to examine them that are to be admitted: But by the eldership (consisting of diuers) his insufficiencie is best espyed, and his abilitie best discerned, for the common prouerbe telleth vs that many eyes do see more then one: Therefore it belongeth to the Eldership, &c.

4 They are to examine Church officers, that are least subiect to be blinded with partiallitie: But the Eldership is least subject to partiallitie, both for that they be many, who are not so easily ouer ruled by affection or fauour, as one, as also (and that especially) for that it being the Lords owne ordinance (as shall appeare) we are to perswade our selues, that his spirit shal guyde them: Therefore it belongeth to the Eldership, &c.

5 The way that was vsed in the Apostles time in examining, is of vs to be followed, vnles some reason out of the word to perswade the conscience, can be alleadged to the contrary, which none haue euer yet done: But many vsed in the Apostles time to examine, as appereth in chosing out one to be in the place of Iudas, Act. 1. 22. 23. and fit men for Deacons, Act. 6, 5. wherof the gouernours especially were some, for that they were to ordayn vpon knowledge, as is said in the first reason: Therefore it belongeth to the Eldership, &c.

6 They whose testimony the people may best credit, are to examine them that are to be admitted: But the people may best credite the judgement of a company of able and sufficient men, which the Eldershipp rightly established must needes be: Therefore it belongeth to the Eldership. &c.

7 Examination belongeth vnto them which may most perswade the people of his sufficiency, and so procure gretest

reuerence vnto him in his place: But the examination by the Eldership is such: Therefore it belongeth to the Eldership, &c.

Therefore if they that are to ordain, must examine: if it The conclusion be a matter of gretest waight in the gouernment of the Churche, and they the most able to dispatch it; if by them his sufficiency or insufficiency be best found out; if they be hardliest carried away with affection or parciallitie; if the examination was suche in the Apostles time; if the people may (in reason) giue most credit to the examination that is by such; if that kinde of examination perswade the people best of his sufficiencie, and procure him greatest reuerence in his place: then must it needs folow, that it pertaineth to the Eldership to examine those that are to bee admitted to any office in the Church.

There is nothing objected against this, that hath any shew of reason in it, and therfore it were needles

to set any thing downe.

Снар. 6.

Efore consent be giuen to any man vnto any calling in the Churche, it must appeare (by sufficient tryall, and due examination) that he is quallified with those giftes, that the worde of God requireth in one of that place, Discipl. Ecclesiast fol. 44. T.C. 2. booke: 1. part

page 368. and in many other places.

They gainsay this in two points: first in mainteining their reading ministery: secondly, in gouerning the Church, by their commissaries and officialls: which both shalbe ouerthrown, if we prooue these two propositions following, to be true by the worde of God.

No man ought to bee received vnto the ministery, but such the r. Pro- as be able to teache the trueth and convince the

gainsayers.

position.

The Churche ought not to be gouerned by commissaries officialls and chauncellors.

that may be received into the ministery, must be able to teach the people, whatsoeuer Christe hath commaunded, Matth. 28. 20. Onely he that is able to teache the trueth, and convince the

gainsayers, can teach the people whatsoeuer Christ hath commanded: Therefore none must be received into the

ministery, but such as be able to teach, &c.

2 That which is to be done conditionally, may not be done, if that condition be not kept: Men are to be received into the ministery conditionally, that is, if they bee vnreprooueable, Tit. 1. 5. 6. Therefore if they be not such as bee there discribed, they may not be received: and consequently, none may be received, but such as be able to teach. &c.

3 That which cannot be done without the manifest brech of Gods commandement, may not be done at all: To receive any that be not able to teach, is a manifest breach of Gods commandement. I. Tim. 3. I. Tit. I. 9. Therefore no man ought to be received into the ministerye, that is not able to

teach, &c.

4 They whome the Lorde refuseth to be his ministers, may not be received into the ministery: for the ministery being the Lords harvest, we may admit none to labour therein, but onely such, as he hath given liking of, by the rules of his worde: The Lorde refuseth to be his ministers, all those that cannot teach: Hosea 4.6. Therefore such as are not able to teache, may not be received, and consequently none may be received, but those that be able to teach, &c.

5 He that may be admitted into the ministery, must be able to deuide the word of God aright, 2. Tim. 2. 15. Onely he that is able to teach and conuince the gainesayers, can deuide the worde of God aright: Therefore none may be admitted into the ministery, but he that is able to teach, &c.

6 He that may bee admitted into the ministery, must have a treasury, furnished with olde thinges and newe, and must be able to bring it forth as occasion shal serue: Matth. 13. 52. Onely hee that is able to teache, &c. is such a one:

Therefore onely he may be admitted &c.

7 He that can espy the enemy, and giue warning aforehand how to resist him, may be received into the ministery, Ezek. 33. 7. None can espy the enemie, and giue warning aforehande howe to resist him, but he that is able to teach: &c. Therefore none may be admitted into the ministery, but he that is able to teach, &c.

8 He that leadeth himselfe, and his people into hel, may

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not be admitted into the ministery: He that is not able to teache and conuince the gainsayer, leadeth himselfe and his people into hell. Matth. 15. 14. Therefore he that is not able to teache, &c. may not be admitted into the ministery.

9 Hee that preacheth not, but holdeth his peace

de past. murdereth.

Gregor. 10 Hee that preacheth not, is not sent, and so

epist. 33. he begetteth no fayth in man.

11 In that S. Paule requireth that a byshop should be Ierome ad Occumenium. wise, he barreth those, that vnder the name of Simplicitye, excuse the follye of ministers.

12 We condemne all vnmeet ministers, not endued with gifts necessary for a shepherd that should feed his

flocke.

Therfore, if a minister must teache vnto his people all that Christe hath commaunded; if none may be made ministers, but conditionally, if they be quallified with gifts meete for the same; if vnpreaching ministers cannot be made without the manifest breach of the commaundement of God; if they may not bee made ministers, whom the Lord refuseth to haue; if euery minister must haue a treasurie well furnished, and be able to bring forth of it when need requireth; if euery minister must have skill to see the enemie, and to give warning aforehand how to resist him; if vnlearned ministers draw their people to hell after them; if he that preacheth not, be a murtherer; if he be not sent, and so doe no good: if he be barred from the ministery: lastly, if he be condemned, as not to be in such a place: then must it needes followe, that none may be received into the ministery, but such as be able to teach the trueth, and to conuince the gainsayer.

Many are the arguments that be alleaged to this purpose, and many moe may be alleadged, (for the whole course of the scriptures tende therevnto) the testimony of all sorts of writers, is very plentifull for this purpose: yea of the very Canon law, (as the authour of the Abstracte hath learnedly prooued) and yet doe not our prelates rest in the same, but have sett themselves (though in a silly manner) against it,

in this sort that followeth.

1 Objection There must be reading in the Church, therefore a reading ministery, VVhitgift page 252.

Answere By that reason we muste have an officer for every particular action, for there must be breaking of bread in the Church, and powring of water; but it followeth not, that therefore there must bee one, whose office must bee onely to breake bread, or to powre water.

2 Objection It is better to have readers then none, for

preachers cannot be had for euerye congregation.

Answere It is not better, for if they had non [e], they would seek for him that they should haue; whereas nowe, they that haue a reader onely, thinke themselues in case good inough: but if there be such want of prechers, why are so many of the most diligent and able ones turned out.

3 Objection It is impossible to have prechers every where,

and suche as can be had, must bee taken.

Answere Sometimes you say all is well: and is it now impossible that our state shoulde obey the Lordes ordinance; this is the greatest disgrace to it that can be: and yet it followeth not, for no necessitie may warrant vs, to violate the decrees of the highest.

4 Objection It were vncharitablenes to turne them out that be bare readers, for so they, their wives and children

might beg.

Answere This is to sell mens souls for morsels of bread: shall we rather feare the begging of 3. or 4. then the damnation of 1000. but they may be otherwayes prouided for; they neede not beg, many of them may returne to their occupations againe.

So that al these objections notwithstanding, the conclusion remaineth sure, which is grounded upon so many certaine

and vnmooueable foundations.

The Churche ought not to be gouerned by Commissaries, and officialls, and Chauncellors.

1 They which are no Elders of the Church, haue nothing to do in the gouernement of the same, I. Tim. 5. The 2. proposition is thus 17. These chauncellors, commissaries and officialls, proued, are no Elders in the Church; whether we expound Elder for a minister, and him also, that is assistant vnto the minister in ouerseeing the Churche, or for a minister onely as they do: for none of them be ministers, and if they be, they doe not rule in this respect, that they are ministers: Therefore the Churche ought not to be gouerned by them.

2 They that must gouerne the Churche of God, must have a warraunt for their so doing, from Iesus Christ the head of the Church: But Chauncellors, &c. haue no warraunt so to doe, from Iesus Christe the heade of the Churche: Therefore the Church ought not to be gouerned by them.

3 Those whose names offices and practize, be deriued from Antichrist, may have nothing to do in the government of the Churche: for who will suffer his wife to be gouerned by the Master of a brothelhouse: But the names, offices, and practize of Chauncellors, officialls and commissaries be such, which is playne by this, that they have their grounde in that filthie dunghill the cannon law: Therefore they may have nothing to do in the gouernement of the Church.

4 They that being inferiours, doe proudly tyrannize ouer their superiours, ought not to rule the Church of God, for it is meet it should be ruled by modest, humble and orderly men: But such are they (for being inferiors to the ministers of the word, as our aduersaries doe confesse, and is plaine also by the cannon lawe they crow ouer them as if they wer their slaues:) and if they doe not so, they can doe nothing: Therefore they ought not to rule the Churche of God.

5 They that live by the faultes of men, are not fit to rule the Church of God: for they wil rather increase offences (that their gayne may increase) then orderly lessen them, as experience (also) prooueth: But suche are all Chauncellors, commissaries and officials: Therefore they ought not to rule

the Church of God.

Therefore, if chauncellors, commissaries and officialls be no Elders of the Churche; if they have no warraunt from Iesus Christe, the head of the Church; if their names, offices and practize, be deriued from Antichrist; if their office compel them (being inferiors) to tyrannize ouer their superiours; if they line onely by the faults and offences of men: then it must needs followe, that the Churche of God ought not to be gouerned by them.

CHAP. 7.



Very officer of the Church must be ordayned by the laying on of the handes of the Eldershipp, T.C. 2. booke, 1. part page 274. Discip. Ecclesiast. fol. 53.

They say it ought to be done by the bishopp alone, VVhitgift page 106, their dayly practize doth likewise shew it.

The former is prooued, and the latter disprooued by these

reasons following.

1 As Church officers were ordayned in the Apostles time, so must they be continually, for they did lay the plot, according wherevnto the Churche must be built vnto the ende: but they were ordayned in the Apostles time by the laying on of the hands of the Eldership, Act. 6. 6. and 13. 3. Therefore the Churche officers must be ordayned by laying on of the handes of the Eldership.

2 Churche officers must bee ordayned by them that haue warrant from the worde, to assure the parties ordayned, that they are called of God: Onely the Eldership hath suche a warrant, 1. Tim. 4. 14. Therefore they ought to bee ordayned

by the Eldership.

3 Many of the sentences alleadged before, out of Councells, Emperors, lawes, histories, and sound writers both olde and newe, for election not to be by one, but by diuers; speake also of ordination, and so are forcible to this purpose.

4 Euagrius came to the office of a Bishopp vnlawfully, because onely Paulinus ordayned him, contrary to the tenure of many Cannons, which prouide, that they should not be ordayned, but by all the Bishops of the prouince, or (at the least) by three.

5 When a Bishop is to be ordayned, &c. one bishop shal pronounce the blessing, and the rest of the bishops with the Elders present, shall all lay on their hands.

6 When a bishopp was to be ordayned, the Cyprian lib. r

bishops adjoyning did ordayne him.

Therefore if Church officers were ordained in the Apostles time, not by one, but by the Eldershipp, consisting The Conclusion of many; if they be to ordayne, that have warrant out of the worde, to assure the parties ordayned, that they are called of God; if ordination by one bishop be vnlawfull and contrary to many canons of Councells; if the bishops and Elders were to lave on their hands: lastly, if the bishops adioyning were to ordayne; then must it needes followe, that Churche officers are not to be ordained by one man, but by the laying on of the handes of the Eldership.

But they fight hard against this, because it striketh at a maine pillar of their kingdome, their chiefe grounds be these.

1 Objection Paule and Barnabas ordayned Elders, where

is no mention of any Eldership.

Answere They are said to ordaine, because they being the chiefe procured it; so is Ioshua, 5. 3. saide to circumcise, which was the Leuites office, so say we, the Queene hath made a lawe, and yet not she alone maketh any.

2 Objection Though it were so then, yet is it not so required nowe, no more then the communitie in the Apostles time.

Answere There was no more communitie then (for they that thinke otherwise, are in that point Anabaptists) then is to

be required now, so that instance maketh for vs.

3 Objection Examples are no general rules to be followed. Answere Examples not contrarying anye rule, or reason of the Scripture, be to be followed, as if they were commaundementes, so that notwithstanding any thing aledged to the contrary, it remaineth vpon the former groundes most stedfast, that it belongeth to the Eldership to ordaine those Churche officers that are to be imployed in the publike seruice of God.

Снар. 8.

He ordaining of Churche officers must be done with humble prayer of the Eldership, and the congregation, Discipl. Ecclesiast. fol. 50.

Their vnreuerent beginning and proceedding therewith in a corner, is contrary to this: which is condemned by

the proofe of our assertion by these reasons.

1 We are to behaue our selues in these actions, as they by whom we haue direction to doe them, haue set vs an example: But the Apostles and Elders, when they ordayned Church officers, did alwayes commende the action to God by prayer, together with those congregations, ouer which they placed them, Act. 6.6. and 14.23. Therefore the ordeyning of Churche officers must be done by humble prayer of the Eldership, and congregation.

2 The greater the action is that is in hand, the more carefull must they be that haue it in hand, to humble themselues by prayer, for the Lords assistance therein: But the ordeyning

of Churche officers, is an action of most weightie importance: Therefore they that haue it in hand (which be the Eldershipp to ordayne him, and congregation to receive him) ought to humble themselves in earnest prayer before hand.

3 They that shall have part in the comfort or discomfort of the action, are to ioyne together in prayer vnto God for the better event, and against the worse: But the Eldershipp and people, shall both have part in the event of the action: Therefore they are to ioyne together in humble prayer before hand, &c.

CHAP. 9.

Hurche officers must be ordayned by laying on of hands; in this they agree with vs, concerning the ceremonie it selfe, albeit neyther in the parties by whome, nor on whome it must be conferred. The profit of this ceremonie appeareth in the reasons following.

1 That which stirreth vp euerye partie, to pray with more feruencie, is profitable to be vsed: But such is this ceremonie, for it affecteth the ordeyners, when they feele him for whom they pray; and the ordeyned when he feeleth a calling and charge from God (as it were) sensiblic comming vpon him, and the congregation, when they see him seperated from the rest, by whome they shall reape muche comfort or griefe: Therefore the vse of it is very profitable.

2 That which helpeth forward the party ordained in his care, to walke with a good conscience in his calling, is profitable to be vsed: Such is the imposition of hands, for both it declareth vnto him, that he is separated of God for that purpose, and also giueth him hope, that his hand who allotted him therevnto, will alwayes assist him in the course

of that calling: Therefore it is of a profitable vse.

3 That which worketh a more acknowledgment of Gods ordinance in the heartes of the people, is profitable to be vsed: Such is the laying on of handes, for it declareth vnto them, that the Lorde has placed him in that calling ouer them: Therefore it is profitable to bee vsed.

Therefore seeing the ceremonie of layinge on handes is forcible, to increase the feruencie of euery The conclusion partie, when they pray; seeing it assureth the calling to

the partie ordayned, and giueth him an argument of good hope, for the blessing of God vppon him in the course of the same; and seeing it procureth a more perswasion in the people, that he is allotted vnto them from the Lord himselfe; it is euident that it is not a vaine and idle ceremonie (as manie do imagine) but of good and profitable vse, in al ordinations.

CHAP. 10.

He Lord hath ordayned that there should be one byshop or pastor (at the least) president ouer euery congregation, who are of equall authoritie in their seuerall charges, and in the generall gouernement of the Churche, T.C. 1. booke, page 22. and 2. booke, 1. part,

page 515.

They maintaine contrary vnto this, these two.

1 That one may have two or mo chardges, and be absent from them, as their dispensations and practize do prooue.

2 That one minister may have a soueraigntie, and Lord-

shipp ouer his fellowe ministers,

Which both being disprodued, the former assertion will remaine still sure.

Reasons against the r. no is able in any measure to discharge: No man is able in anye measure, to discharge the dutie that is belonging vnto mo flocks then one, seeing he cannot preach vnto them, both in season and out of season: Therefore no man may haue mo charges then one.

2 That which maketh an open entrance to the enemie to spoile, cannot be lawfull: for one to haue mo charges then one, maketh open entrance for the enemie to spoyle, for the wolffe watcheth to deuoure, whilest the shepheard is absent:

Therfore no man may have mo charges then one.

3 That whiche hath neither precepte, nor president for it, eyther in Gods worde, or anye approoued writer, but onely from Antichriste, is vnlawfull: But such is the hauing of mo charges then one: Therefore it is vnlawfull.

4 That which declareth a minister to bee more desirous of the fleece, then to profite the flocke, that same is vnlawfull: But such is the having of mo charges then one, for were it not for the gaine, they would thinke one a burden as heavie

as they could beare: Therefore it is vnlawfull.

5 All the reasons that bee alleadged in the third chapter, against nonresidence, are forcible to this purpose, for if he may not be nonresident, he may not haue mo charges, vnlesse he be willing to be quartered, that every chardge may haue a piece of him.

He reckoneth them among theeues, and their Hooper vpon action to be theeuery, condemned by that 8. command.

commandement.

Therefore, if one man cannot in any tollerable measure discharge mo charges then one; if to haue mo The conclusion maketh an open entrance to the enemie to spoyle; it have neyther precept, nor president for it, but onely in the kingdome of Antichrist; if it declare the practizers to be more desirous of the fleece, then to feede the flocke; if all the reasons that condemne nonresidency be against it; lastly if it be playne theeuery: then must it needes followe, that one may not haue two, or mo charges.

Their objections (such as they be) are set downe in the

3. chapter, and the answers vnto them.

The second proposition that they hold is thus.

ne minister may haue a soueraigne authoritie, Thesecond proposition that and Lordshipp ouer his fellowe ministers: they holde, and which is thus disprooued.

1 They that have their commission indifferently given them, without difference betweene one and another, are of equall authoritie, and may not be one ouer another: But such is the commission of all Gods ministers indifferently, as appeareth, Matth. 28. 19. 20. Therfore they are of equall authoritie, and may not have any dominion one over another.

2 That which Christe hath directly forbidden, that may not in any case be allowed but is euer vnlawfull: But Christe hath directly forbidden, that one minister should have dominion ouer another. Matt. 20.25. Luk [e]. 22.25. Therfore one minister may not have superiority or dominion over another.

3 They that may not bee Lordes ouer the people of God. may much lesse be Lordes ouer the ministers, for the ministers be (in respect of the ministery) aboue the people: But a minister may not be Lordly ouer Gods people (as is testified by him on whome they woulde father the greatest lordlines) 1.Pet.5.3. Therefore one minister may not be Lord, or haue

superiority ouer another.

4 It is ordayned, and is equall and right, that every mans cyprian lib.r. cause be heard, where the fault was committed: and it is meete to handle the matter there, where they may have both the accusers, and witnesses of the fault; which sheweth that every minister had autoritie over his own flocke, and no other to meddle.

belongeth equally to all, sauing that some are of better giftes then others, howbeit such gifts cause no inequalitie or Lordship in the Church.

6 In the Apostolike Churche, the ministers of the word, Juscul loc. were none about another, and were subject to no

com de minist. verbi head or president, &c.

7 The honor of a bishopp, being taken from the rest of the The same vpon ministers, and given to one, was the first step to papacie.

Confes. Heluet. 8 Christ did most seuerely forbid vnto the Apostles and their successors, primacie and dominion.

9 Equall power and function is giuen to all ministers of the The same cap. Church, and that from the beginning, no one preferred himselfe before another, sauing onely that for order, some one did call them together, propounded the matters that were to be consulted off, and gathered the voyces.

Therefore, if all ministers have their commission indifferThe conclusion. ently given vnto them; if Christe have forbidden,
that one minister should have dominion over another;
if no minister may exercise dominion over Gods people;
if authoritie to handle controversies, belonged to every severall
congregation; if a bishopp and parish minister be all one; if
in the Apostles time, no minister was above another; if the
superioritie of one above another, was the first step to the
papacie; lastly, if they have equall power and function from
the beginning: then must it needs followe, that no minister
may have superioritie, or exercise dominion over another.

Their objections herevnto (so many as are worthy any

answere) be these.

1 Objection Christ Matth. 20. 25. forbiddeth onely ambition, and not dominion, as Musculus expoundeth it.

Ansyvere Musculus his judgment appeareth in the 6. and 7. reasons, the place is expounded against superioritie by Caluin, Bullinger, Zwinglius, Gualter, Hemingius, &c. But let it bee so expounded: that dominion is ambition, because it causeth a man to aspire aboue his fellow ministers.

2 Objection The Greeke word signifieth rule with

oppression, which is the thing that is forbidden.

Answere That is not so, for Luk[e]. 22.25. vseth the single verbe Keurieuem, [κυριεύω] which signifieth simplie to rule: the sonnes of Zebedeus desired not to oppresse but to rule, which desire he reprodued.

3 Objection Christ sayth not, no man shalbe so, but he

that will be so, desiring it.

Ansvvere But Luke sayth, let the greatest be as your seruant, and therefore that is but a silly shifte.

So that their assertions beeinge ouerthrown, and their objections answered, it remayneth, that we prooue yet more directly, that the Lorde hath congregation. ordayned, that there should be a bishop resident ouer euery

congregation; which is thus prooued:

1 If a bishop and minister be all one, then must there be a bishop in every congregation, for every man will confesse that every congregation ought to have a minister: But a bishopp and a minister is all one, as appeareth by this that S. Paule describeth not one quallity for the bishop, but it is also the quallitie of every good minister; and also in that hee describeth no other minister but the bishop: Therefore there ought to be a bishop in every congregation.

2 S. Paules bishopps and his deacons, were appoynted to one place, as appeareth both in the description of them, and the practize of the Apostles: But the deacons were in euery congregation, which appeareth Phil. 1. 1. Actes. 6. 2. that office being needfull euery where; and in that it continued so, longer then the office of bishops, Athanasius Apol. 2. Ierome Contra Luciferianos. &c. Therefore there ought to be a byshop in euery congregation.

3 That which Paule enjoyned to Titus, is also to be practized alwaies in the like case: But he commanded him to

ordaine Elders in euery citie, Tit. 1. 5. which are expounded in the next verse to be bishops: Therefore there must be a bishop in euery congregation.

Ignatius ad 4 Euery Church should have her Communion

Philladelp. table, and euery Church her bishop.

5 Where there was found any worthy to be a bishopp, there Epiphan. lib. a bishopp was appointed, and where there was not a bishop and preaching elder (he meaneth the doctor) there the Apostles made a bishop, and left the elder.

6 If a bishop run into a slaunder, and manye bishops cannot suddenly be gathered; his cause shalbe heard of

Carthag. tom. twelue bishops, &c.

7 If an elder be accused, he may call sixe bishops

3. Concil. tomr cap. 8. from the places hard by.

8 Stories makemention of bishops of little townes, as a Soticus bish. of the village Cuman: bMares, bTheodoret. lib. 5. cap. 4. cSocrat. 4. 26. bishop of a small towne called Solicha: Gregory, bishop of a small citie, called Nazianzum: The dist. 80. bishop of a Castle.

9 A minister, that is to say, a bishopp, and (a little after)

Ierome and the Apostle doth plainly teach, that a minister and a bishop is all one, and (vpon Titus) a bishopp and a minister are the same: and (ad Oceanum) with the ancient

fathers, bishopps and Elders were all one.

10 D. Barnes (in his sixt article) sayth, I will neuer Acts and Monuments, fol. may be the law of God, be a bishop of two or three cities, yea of a whole countrie, for that it is contrary to the doctrin of S. Paul, who writing to Titus, commandeth that he shoulde ordayne a bishop in euery towne.

Hopper vpon degenerated from the originall in the Scripture; it was not so in the beginning, when bishops were at the best, as the Epistle to Titus testifieth, that willeth him, to ordaine in euery citie, &c. They know the primitiue Church had no such bishops as we haue, vntill the time of Siluester the first.

Therefore, if a bishopp and a minister be all one; if bishops The Conclusion. Were to be where Deacons are, who were in euery congregation; if Paule enioyned Titus to ordayne bishops

in euery city; and if euery church had her bishop a long time after the Apostles, as appeareth by the testimonies of Councels, Histories and learned writers, both olde and newe: then must it needes follow, that there ought to be a bishop in euery congregation.

CHAP. II.



Or the further reuealing of the trueth, God hath ordayned, that there shoulde be in the Churche Doctors, whose office is to be employed in teaching of doctrin[e], and is an office different from that of

the Pastour.

The latter part of this proposition, is the thing which especially they doe deny, which is thus prooued to be true.

1 Those whiche the Apostle (in speaking of distinct officers) doth distinguish one from another, are seuerall and distinct one from another: But the Apostle doth distinguishe the Pastoure and teacher, one from another, Rom. 12. 7. 8. and Ephes. 4. II. euen as hee distinguisheth man and woman. Gal. 3. 28. See the Greek of them both: Therefore the office

of pastour and Doctor are distinct one from another.

2 As are the gifts that adorne offices, so are the officers themselues, for the execution of the office, consisteth in the employing of the gifts: But the gifts of the pastour and Doctor are diuers, as apeareth 1. Cor. 12. 8. and by experience, for some hath an excellent gift in doctrine, and not in application, and others excel in application and exhortation, that are verye meane, in deliuering of doctrine: Therefore the office of a pastor and teacher, are distinct one from another.

3 Those that are to take a divers course in teaching are diuers, and different in their functions, for els why should they be enjoyned to take a divers course: But the pastor is to take one course, and the Doctor another, for the one is to direct himselfe principally to exhort, and the other to attend vpon doctrine. Rom. 12. 7.8. Therefore the office of pastour and Doctor, be distinct offices the one from the other.

4 The Ecclesiastical stories (especially speaking of the Church of Alexandria) doe vsually make a difference betwixt

the bishopp and the Doctor.

5 Cathedrall Churches have yet som shew thereof left in them, who (besides the bishopp) have also one that readeth

a Lecture in divinitie.

6 If the distinguishing of them, make more for the buylding of the Churche, then the vniting of them; then are they to be distinguished, and not made all one: But the former is true, as appereth by this, that hardly is a people broght to a sounde knowledge of godlines, by him that instructeth in doctrine continually, and as hardly are wee stirred vp to a zealous care of our duetie, though we be exhorted continually; which both shoulde bee with lesse continuance, if one man were to performe all: Therefore they are to be esteemed distinct offices, and not parts of one office, which one is to perform.

Therfore, if the Apostle Paul distinguisheth them one The conclusion from another; if God do vsually bestow doctrine and exhortation vpon seuerall persons, wherein eche is found to excell, and to be no bodie in the other; if the pastor be commanded to take one course in teaching, and the Doctor another; if Ecclesiasticall stories doe vsually distinguish them; if Cathedrall Churches have yet some steps left of the distinction; if to distinguish them, maketh more to the building of the Churche, then to vnite them: then must it needs follow, that the office of pastour, and Doctour be

distinct, and different the one from the other.

CHAP. I2.



Very congregation ought to have Elders to see into the maners of the people, and to be assistaunt vnto the ministers, in the gouernment Ecclesiastical. T.C. book 1. pag. 174. Disc. fol. 120. which they

denie, VVhitgift p. 627. and their practize in keeping them out

of the Church:

ut it is propued to be true, by these reasons following. 1 That which the Apostles established in euery congregation, ought still to continue, seeing the Churche must bee ruled by the same lawes that it was ruled by then, and needeth as great furtherance now, as it did then: But the Apostles established Elders in euery congregation, Act 14.23.

which cannot be vnderstood of preaching Elders onely: considering that the scarcitie of them was suche, as Paule was constrayned to sende Timothie and Titus to great cities, which he could hardly spare, as he often testifieth: Therefore there ought to be suche Elders, as are onely to assiste in gouernment in euery congregation.

2 Those which God hath ordayned to help forward the building of the Churche, ought to be in euerye congregation, vnlesse it may appeare that some congregation needeth not so much helpe as Christ hath appoynted: But Christ hath ordayned Elders in the Churche, for the helping forwarde of the building of the Churche. 1. Cor. 12. 28. Therefore suche

Elders ought to be in euery congregation.

3 That which being wanting, the bodie can not be entire, that same must be in euery congregation: But the Elders cannot be wanting, and the Church be an entire bodie, Rom. 12. 8. which euery congregation should be, Rom. 12. 4 Therefore there ought to be such Elders in euery congregation.

4 If the word of God doe describe such Elders in the Church, then ought they to be in euery congregation, which is cleare by this, that every congregation hath need of them, as well as any: and that euery congregation must have all the other officers of the Churche: and that every congregation is of equal dignitie in the bodie of Christ: But the worde of God describeth vnto vs such Elders. 1. Tim. 5. 17. Therfore they ought to be in euery congregation.

5 There is no Church that can stand without hir Eldership or councell. Ignat.ad Trall.

6 It belongeth onely to the bishopp to baptize, and the Elder and Deacon may not do it, but vpon the Tertul de Baptist. bishops licence.

7 Neither Elder nor deacon haue right, but vpon Ierome contra Lucif.

the bishops commandement (so much as) to baptize.

8 Elders fell away thorow the ambition of the Ambros, vpon I Tim. 5. teachers.

9 Valerius the bishopp did contrary to the custome of the Apostolicall Churches, in appoynting Augustine to Possidonius in vita Augustini preache, being but an Elder.

10 After that Arrius was conuicted of hæresie, it Socrat. libr. 5. was decreed that elders should no more preach.

11 The number of the Elders of euery Churche.

Bucer de regno Christi book 1. ought to be encreased, according to the multitude of the

people.

12 Speaking of the Elders that were to assist the minister, P. Martyr vpon Rom. 12. he lamenteth that it is so fallen out of the church, that the name doth scarse remaine.

13 Certain of the people were joyned with the pastor, in The same youn the gouernment of the Churche, because the pastor was not able to doe all himselfe.

Caluin Institut. 14 There were elders that did assist the lib. 4. cap. 3. sect. 8. minister, in the gouernment of the Church, &c.

15 VVhitgift confesseth, that in the primitive Church, they had in every Church certain Seniors, pag. 638. Let it then appeare out of the word, to satisfie the conscience how it may bee left out.

16 If the platforme set down to Timothie and Titus be for all Churches, then must Elders be in all; for these Elders are there described: But it is a platforme for all Churches, and that to the ende of the world, I. Tim. 6. 14. Therefore

they ought to be in euerye congregation.

17 That which is contained in euery ministers commission to teache and practize, must be in euery congregation: but the ordination and practize of that office, is in euery ministers commission, Matth. 28. 20. or els they ordayned Elders without warrant from Christ, which none dare affirme: Therefore there must be Elders in euery congregation.

18 Wheresoeuer a bishoppe must be, there must also the Elders bee, whiche appeareth by this, that where the one is described, there is the other also: But a bishopp must be in euery congregation, as I have prooued sufficiently in the Therfore there ought to be elders in euery 10. Chap.

congregation.

19 If the Apostles laboured for vniformitie in the least things, and established in all Churches one order, then must there be Elders in euery congregation, for they were in some, as al men do confesse: But the former is true, as not onely the view of their practize declareth, but also the Apostles expresse words; Thus I teach in all Churches: Therefore the latter is true also, that in euery congregation there must be such Elders.

Therefore, if the Apostles established Elders in euery con-The Conclusion gregation; if Christe hath esteemed their helpe needfull to further the buylding of his Church; if without them a congregation cannot be entire; if the worde of God say that they ought to be in the Churche; if it was continued so long after the Apostles time: and be approoued by the testimonie of manie very learned, both olde and newe writers, and confessed by the greatest aduersary vnto them; if they be within the compasse of euerye ministers commission; if they are to be, wheresoeuer a bishopp must be; if the Apostles established vniformitie, euen in the meanest thinges: then must it needs followe, that there ought to be such Elders in euery congregation, as are to assiste the minister in the gouernement of the same.

They confesse it was so in the Apostles time, but seeme to say somewhat that it cannot be vnder a christian

magistrate thus:

1 Objection God hath given the soueraigne authoritie ouer his Church to the Christian magistrate, which these Elders would abridge.

Ansvver No more then the eldership abridged the soueraigntie of Dauid ouer Israell, for his gouernment is

temporall, and theirs spirituall.

2 Objection Gualter vpon the 1. Cor. 5. denieth it to be

needfull vnder a christian magistrate.

Ansvvere Gualter denieth excommunication vnder a christian magistrate, he is as partial in this argument as VVhitgift.

3 Objection The prince hath the authority that the

Elders had.

Answere That is no truer, then to saye the prince hath authoritie to preach the word, &c. for these be thinges, that his high authoritie must see done, but he may doe none of them himselfe.

But there be many reasons which may bee Reasons alleadged, to prooue that they are (at the least) as proouing Elders necessary vnder a Christian magistrate in these vnderachristian dayes, as they were in the time of the Apostles, as magistrate, as in the Apostles namely these:

1 The lesse able that ministers are to direct their people in the wayes of godlines, the more neede they have of the assistaunce that God hath allowed them in his word: But ministers are now lesse able (especially vnder Christian magistrats, when men are ouertaken with ease and peace, which quench good things) then they were in the time of the Apostles: Therefore there is as great (if not greater) need of Elders now, then was in the time of the Apostles.

2 If christian magistrates be to maintayne the order that Christ hath set down for the gouernement of his Churche, then must there be Elders in it vnder a Christian magistrate, for Elders are appointed of Christ, I. Cor. 12. 8. But Christian magistrates are to mayntaine the order that Christe hath set downe for the ruling of his Church, Isai. 49. 23. Therefore there must be Elders in the Church, vnder a christian magistrate.

3 If the rule of Christe cannot be perpetually observed, tell the Church, vnlesse there be Elders; then must there be such vnder a christian magistrate: But the former is true, for by the Churche is there ment the Senate of ministers and Elders, as shall be prooued in the chapter of Excommunication: Therfore there must be Elders vnder a Christian

magistrate.

4 If the whole gouernement of the Churche described in the Epistles to Timothie and Titus, be to bee observed vntill the ende, then must there bee Elders vnder Christian magistrates, for they are contayned in those Epistles: But the former is true. I. Tim. 6. 14. Therefore there must be

Elders vnder a christian magistrate.

5 Where sinners are more outragious, and the best most subject to wax cold, there is greatest neede of all the helpes that God hath ordayned to punish sinne, and to cherish well doing: But so it is vnder a christian magistrate, especially in the peace of the Church, as VVhitgift confesseth, page 643. Therefore there is (at the least) as great neede of Elders (seeing they are helpers appointed of God) vnder a Christian magistrate, as at any other time.

Therfore if ministers be lesse able now, then in the The Conclusion Apostles time; if Christian magistrates must maintaine the order prescribed by Christ; if els the rule of Christ (tel the church) cannot be still observed; if the whole government described by S. Paule, must be kept for euer; lastly if there be, (at the least) as great neede of all the helpes that can be, as ever there was: then must it needs follow, that Elders are as necessary in the Churche vnder a christian magistrate, as in the time of persecution.

CHAP. 13.

Here ought to be in euery congregation certaine Deacons, endued with those quallities, whiche the worde of God describeth; whose office is onely in receiuinge the liberallitie of the Saints, and distributing it vnto the needie, T.C. I. booke, page 190. Discip. Eccles. fol. 119.

This assertion hath two braunches, whiche both are gain saide by our aduersaries, the first whereof is this. The office of the Deacon, consisteth onely in The I. proporeceiuing and distributing vnto the poore, the sition. liberallitie of the saints, which they denie, VVhitgift page 582. The booke of ordering, &c. that maketh it a degree of the ministery: but the proposition being prooued true, maketh their opinion and practize appeare false, which is thus:

1 That wherein Steuen and the rest were imployed, is the office of a Deacon: for the first institution of them by the Apostles, is in that example: But they were onely to attend vpon the prouision for the poore: Act. 6. 4. &c. Therefore the office of the Deacon, is only to attend vpon the distribut-

ing vnto the poore, from the liberallitie of the saints.

2 That which the Apostle maketh an ordinarye and distincte office from others in the Churche, must be attended vpon by them that are in the same office, and not be mingled with any other: But the Apostle Rom. 12. 8. maketh distributing in simplicitie, such an office as it is expounded by M. Caluin, Beza, Bucer, Martyr. &c. Therefore the Deacons office must be attended vppon, and consequently, it consisteth onely in distributing, &c.

3 That which the Apostles founde themselues insufficient for, that can no man now discharge in any tollerable measure, for they were more adorned with gifts then any be now: But they found themselues insufficient for the ministery of the worde, and distributing vnto the poore also, Act. 6. 2. Therefore no man can in any tollerable measure, discharge the office of a minister and Deacon also, and consequently, the

Deacon is to attend upon distributing onely.

4 If the ministeries of the worde be perfect, without the Deacon, then may he not meddle in the same, for how may one lawfully labor, in that wherein there is no need of him: But such is the ministery of the word, where the seuerall ministers thereof are named, Ephes. 4. II. wherein the Deacon is not contayned, as VVhitgifte confesseth, page 308. and 309. Therefore the Deacon may not meddle with the ministery of the word, and consequently must be imployed onely in distributing, &c.

5 If there bee no quallitie required in the perfect description of the deacon, which is proper to the ministery of the word, then is not he to medle with the same: But the former is true, as appeareth, 1. Tim. 3. 8. Therefore the latter is true also, and consequently, he must attend only vpon

distributing, &c.

6 If it belong to the deacons office, to meddle with the ministery of the worde and Sacramentes, then is it greater, then that of the pastor, for that the doing of both, requireth greater giftes then the one: But it is not a greater, but inferiour office to the pastor, as appeareth by all those places wherein they are described, that the Deacon is described after the bishopp: Therfore his office is not to meddle with both, and consequently he must attende vpon distributing, &c.

7 Deacons are ministers of tables, and not of

6. Concil. 7 Deacon holy things.

8 In the ministers sicknes, the Deacons shal

vasens. Can. 4. read the Homilies of the Fathers.

9 The Deacons haue need of great wisdom, although the Chrisost. vpon preaching of the worde bee not committed vnto Act. 6. them: and further, it is absurd that they should do both the office of preaching, and caring for the poore, considering that they be not able to do both thorowly.

10 Although (the goodes of the Church increasing) there Pulling, decad were besides the Deacons, sub-deacons, and Arch-s-serm. 2. deacons, yet the Deacons remained still in their charge for the poor, and were not as yet mingled with the bishopps or priestes, and with the order of them whiche taught.

Bucer de reg. Christ. 14. Rept in the Churche, vntill it was driuen out by

Antichrist.

12 This office muste of necessitie be restored as it is described. Act. 6. if England (for hee speaketh it The same de reg. &c. and in the behalfe of our Churche) will receiue the vpon Ephes. 4. Discipline of Christ.

13 Speaking of these Deacons, lamenteth that P.Mart.rom. 12. this order, is so fallen out of the Churche that the name doth

scarce remaine.

14 Describing the Deacons of the Apostles time, Caluin Insti. sayth, that we after their example, ought to haue the like.

15 The office of distributing the goodes of the church, is an ordinarie function in a church lawfully con- Beza, Confes, stituted; the which, sect. 30. he calleth the cap. 5. sect. 23.

Deaconship.

Therefore if Steuen and the rest were imployed, onely in distributing the goodes of the Church; if the The conclusion Apostle maketh the Deacons office, an ordinary and distinct office from al others in the Churche; if the Apostles were not sufficient for the ministery of the worde, and distributing; if the ministeries of the worde be perfect without the deacon; if in the description of the Deacon, no quallitie bee required, that is proper to a minister of the word; if to deale in both would make the Deacon a greater officer then the pastor; it the Councels, auncient writers, and the sounde writers of latter times, do declare that the Deacons were to be wholy imployed in the distributing of the goods of the Church; then must it needs follow, that his office is not to meddle with anye part of the ministery of the worde and sacraments, but to attend onely vpon the distributing of the liberallitie of the Churche, vnto them that stande in neede thereof.

Their objections herevnto, be these two that follow.

1 Objection Phillip one of the seuen deacons did preache.

Actes 8. 8. therefore Deacons may preach the word.

Answere Phillip was a deacon of the church at Ierusalem, while they abode together, but now he was not any more so, but an Euangelist, as he is euer tearmed after, by vertue of which office he did preach.

2 Objection Steuen, beeing a Deacon, preached, Act. 7. 2. Ansvver He preached not; for all that is there, was but his Apologie at the seat of judgement, which every man in the like case may doe, and which many of the martyrs haue done.

So that the former proposition beeing true, vpon the groundes alleadged, notwithstanding these objections, we are to proceede to the second, which is this.

The 2. There ought to be such Deacons (as are described in the former proposition) in euery

congregation, which is thus prooued.

1 That office which every congregation hath need of, ought to be in every congregation: But every congregation hath need of the Deacons office, which appeareth by this, that they have poore to provide for, (or els they must regarde the necessitie of others) and the liberallitie of others to distribute: Therefore Deacons ought to be in every congregation.

2 That which is indefinitely appointed for the good of the Church, belongeth vnto every congregation, as well as to any one: But suche is the appointment of the Deacons. 1. Tim. 3. 8. Therfore there must be deacons in every congregation.

Jenat. ad 3 Every Church ought to have their office of

Philadelph. Deaconship.

4 All the reasons (or the most of them) that are alleadged chap, 10. for a bishopp in euerye congregation, and chap. 12. for Elders in euery congregation; are forcible herevnto.

Therefore, if there be the like neede of Deacons in one The Conclusion. congregation, that is in another; if they be appointed indefinitely for the good of the Church; if euery Church must have their office of Deaconship; and lastly, if there be like resons to prooue they belong to euery Church, that be for bishopps and Elders: then must it needes follow, that there ought to be Deacons in euery congregation.

CHAP. 14.

Here ought to be in euerye congregation, an eldership, consisting of a pastor or pastors, doctor (if there be any) and elders, whose authoritie Christ hath ordayned to be perpetual in his church,

to gouerne the same onely by the rules of Gods word: T.C. 1. booke, page 175. Discip. Ecclesiast. 123. which containeth these 3. perticular propositions, defended by vs, and gainesaid by the BB. and their adherents.

1 The Eldership ought to be in every congregation.

- 2 The office of the Eldership is perpetuall.
- 3 The Church must be governed, onely by the rules of Gods vvorde.

The first is denyed by them, VVhitgift page 627. The profe of the 1, and by their practize, in tying the gouernment proposition.

of many Churches to the BB. sea, it is thus prooued.

1 Whatsoeuer Christe hath ordayned, as a meanes, to keepe men in obedience to the gospell, that same must be in euery congregation, for particuler men are in particuler congregations: But Christ hath ordayned the Eldership for that ende, as appeareth, Matth. 18. 15. &c. where Chrisost. expoundeth: Tell the Churche: that is sayth he, the gouernors of the Churche: Therefore the Eldershipp ought to be in euery Church.

Where all sortes of Elders ought to bee, there must be also the ioyning of their offices in one, for the good of that congregation ouer which they are placed: But all sorts of Elders ought to be in euery congregation, as is prooued in the Io. chap[ter] for bishopps, the 12. for Elders, &c. Therefore

here must be an Eldership in euery congregation.

3 If no perticular congregation have greater priviledges given therevnto by the word of God then others have, then must there eyther be no Eldership at all (which is false, in that Elders are prooued to be by the worde of God in the Church) or els it must be in every congregation: But every congregation is of like priviledge, which appeareth by this, that it is a perfect bodie of it selfe: Therefore there must be an Eldership in every congregation.

4 The same warrant that is in the worde of God, for to have an Eldership in one place, is a warrant for it in all; for the word of God tyeth it, not to Churches in cities, but indefinitely to the church: But there is warraunt for it out of the worde to be some where, as appeareth by this, that the Apostles are sayd to establish it, and make mention of

it: Therefore it must be in euery congregation.

Therefore, if the Eldershipp be ordayned by Christ, as a meanes to keepe men in obedience vnto the Gospell; The conclusion. if all sorts of Elders must be in euery Church; if euery congregation be of equall priviledges; lastly if there bee

the lyke warraunt for it in euery Church, that is in any: then must it needs followe, that there ought to be an Eldership in euery congregation.

Whatsoeuer is objected against this, that hath any shewe

in it, is aunswered in the 12. chap[ter]. of Elders.

The 2. The office of the Eldershipp is ordayned by Christ to be perpetuall, and ordinarie for the gouernment of his church, T.C. 1. book 177 denied by them, VVhitgift 627. and by their practize in keeping it out: but the trueth of it appeareth by these reasons that do follow.

1 If the causes why Christe woulde haue an Eldershipp in his Churche be perpetuall, then must also the thing it selfe See the answere to D. Bridges page his worde, and that ecclesiastically: Therefore

the Eldership is perpetuall.

2 If Christ be the author of the Eldership, and left it by the Apostles to bee established in the Church, then it is perpetuall; for his commission given to the Apostles, is to be observed vnto the end of the world: But Christ is the author of it, as appereth both by his giving of the gifts for the perticular members thereof, and the whole bodye of it; as also in that the Apostles did establish it in the Church, who went not from their commission, I. cor. II. I2. Therfore the Eldership is perpetuall.

3 Whatsoeuer is the commaundement of God, once deliuered by him, is neuer repealed againe, and to be acknowledged of euery spirituall man; that same is to bee received by the Churche of God to be perpetuall: But such is the government of the Church by pastors, doctors and Elders, and so of the whole Eldership, as appeareth in that they are all mentioned in the writinges of S. Paule, which are so esteemed: I. cor. 14.37. Therefore the government

of the Church by an Eldership is perpetuall.

4 That whose seuerall parts is perpetuall, and which hath perpetuall gifts given, for the furnishing thereof for euer; that same must needs be perpetuall: But the seuerall parts of the Eldership, as pastour, doctour and Elders, be perpetuall, as is proved in the to. and 12. chap. Therfore the Eldership is perpetuall.

5 Whatsoeuer is grounded vpon the generall commaundements, and rules of the scriptures, that same is perpetuall: But the gouerning of the Church by the Eldership, is such, as hath partly bene prooued in election and ordination, and execution of the seuerall Churche offices, which is the greatest part of gouernement, and shall further appeare, in the censures of the Church hereafter: Therfore the gouernment of the Church by the Eldership, is perpetuall.

6 Whatsoeuer manner of gouernment hath sufficient power, and that from God, to begin, continue, and strengthen, both the gouernors of the Church in their callings, and the people in the course of obedience vnto Christe; that same gouernment is to be perpetual: But such is the gouernment by the Eldershipp, as appeareth by this, that the Apostles ysed no

other: Therefore the Eldership is to be perpetuall.

7 That government which the 12. Apostles, and Paule, before they consulted together, did vniformly agree in, that same must needs be of God, and consequently perpetuall, vnlesse the repealing of it doe appeare: but suche is the government by the Eldership, (for all the adversaries therevnto, confesse that it was in the Apostles time:) Therefore it is perpetuall.

8 Whatsoeuer hath the same grounds, that the preaching of the word and ministration of the sacramentes haue, the same is perpetuall: But such is the gouernment of the Eldershipp, for it is grounded vpon the commaundements of Christ, and practize of the Apostles: Therefore it is

perpetuall.

9 That which hath the like groundes to bee perpetuall, that the Apostles, prophets, and Euangelists, had to be for a time, the same is perpetuall: But suche is the gouernement of the Church by an Eldershipp, which appeareth by this, that they are therefore ceased, because their gifts of im[m]ediate calling, &c. be gone, and the gifts of these, ioyntly and

seuerally doe remaine: Therefore it is perpetuall.

10 Whatsoeuer is the perpetuall and ordinary remedie to cure diseases of the Church, and strengthen the health of the same, that same is perpetuall: But suche is the gouernement by the eldershipp, as appeareth by the necessitie, and profite of the seuerall offices thereof, and of this, that we are still to obserue in causes of extremities: Tell the Church, Matth. 18.

17. Therefore it is perpetuall.

11 That gouernement whiche was in the Church appoynted of God vnder the Law, and continued (in respect of the substance) by christ and his Apostles, and bettered (in respect of the accedents) by them, that same is perpetuall: But such is the gouernment by the Eldership, as appeareth in the 12. reason of the 1. chap: Therefore it is perpetuall.

12 If there be any reason why this government should be alterable (being once set in the Church by Christ) it is eyther in respect of the extraordinary offices ceased, or the addition of the magistrate: But not of the former, because the Churche hath neuer had any neede of extraordinary giftes, but God hath given them, and so will hee euer: nor of the latter, for that the magistrates office is to defende the buylding of the Church by that order which Christe hath set downe, and not to alter any thing therein: Therefore it is perpetuall.

13 Eyther this gouernement is the best and perpetuall, or els there is none, and so Christe should be thought to have left his Church without a gouernement, which is disprooued in the 7. and 8. reasons in the 1. chap. for this was once established by Christ, and so was no other: But some gouernment must needes be the best and perpetuall:

Therefore this is perpetuall.

Confess. Heluet. Tigur. Bern. Geneua, Pol. nia, Hungaria, Scotland, cap. 18. the custome of men.

Caluin Institut, lib. 4. the church gouernment) was not for on[e] age, but necessary to all ages.

P. Martyr. vpon Rom. 3 gouernement, yet the church must keepe hirs still.

17 Lamenteth, that some were found among them that are Bucer de reg. esteemed forwardest, which would not have the christ. 15. same discipline vsed now a dayes, that was in the Apostles times, objecting the difference of times and men.

18 The Apostles haue written these lawes, (speaking of M. Whitaker against Durzeus to endure for all times to come; and therefore haue ratified them with a most earnest obtestation: I. Tim. 6. 14. that these commandements should be kept vntill the day of the Lord.

Therefore, if the causes of once ordayning an Eldership, be perpetuall; if Christ be the author of it, and left it The Conclusion. in the Church by the Apostles; if it be Gods commandement, not vet repealed: if the parts of it, and gifts for it be perpetuall; if it bee grounded vppon the commandements and rules of the scriptures; if it have sufficient power from God, to begin, continue and confirme a church; if it was agreed vpon by the 12. Apostles, and Paule before they met together; if it haue the same grounds with the preaching of the worde; if it have as good grounds to be perpetuall as the Apostles, &c. to be for a time; if it be the perpetuall remedie against all the diseases of the Church; if it was vnder the law, and inriched by Christe and his Apostles vnder the Gospell; if it be neyther alterable in respecte of the extraordinarie offices ceased, nor the magistrate added to the Churche; if it be the onely gouernement, that challengeth authoritie from God; if no man may justly forbidd it; if it be necessarve for all times; if the common wealth may chaunge hir gouernment, but not the Church: if the difference of times and men be nothing against it; lastly, if the rules that the Apostles gaue for it, be confirmed with a charge, to bee kept vntill the comming of Christ: then must it needs follow, that the gouernment of the Church by an Eldership, ought to be perpetuall.

They object that many inconveniences would objections follow upon this government, which are severally against the perpetuitie

to be answered.

Objections against the perpetuitie of the Eldership, and answers to

1 Objection By this euery parrish shal follow the same. their Seniors, and then there will be so many Elderships, so many diuers fashions, seeing one may not meddle with another.

Answere The gouernement desired is vniforme for euerye Churche, and admitteth no change, no not in outward ceremonies, without a synode of the choyce men of seuerall Elderships.

2 Objection If they being al mean men, chuse an Earle, he may not refuse, but be at their beck and commandement.

Answere No man that is chosen is compelled to an office against his will, but he that despiseth to consult with others in Gods matters, because they bee poore, reprocheth God that made them, Pro. 17. 5.

3 Objection It ouerburdeneth the parrish, to prouide for

the norishment of so many church officers.

Answere It is not necessary that they should prouide for any moe of them, sauing those that are exercised in the ministery of the worde, vnlesse any of the rest may need the liberallity of the Church.

4 Objection It bringeth in a newe popedome and

tyrannie into the Church.

Answere It is blasphemie to tearme the gouernment of Christ so, because we refuse the tyranny of the pope, shall we therfore doe what we list, and not yeelde obedience to the scepter of Christ.

5 Objection It is a kind of Donatisme to challenge such

authoritie ouer princes.

Answere And it is flattery to suffer princes to doe what they liste; this is the objection of Gualter, who is a professed enemy to discipline.

6 Objection It takes away princes authoritie in causes

Ecclesiasticall.

Answere No more then it did from Dauid in his time, nor so much as the Bb. do nowe, for the prince requireth but this, to see the church well ordered, which the Eldership aloweth and craueth.

7 Objection It transformeth the state of the common wealth, into a meere popularitie, and will alter the

gouernment thereof.

Answere It neither transformeth nor altereth any thing in it, for let it be shewed what damage would come by this discipline to any magistracie, from the princes throne, to the office of the headborow.

8 Objection It wil breed contention and partiallity in

iudgement.

Answere Where can be greater contention then the Bb. maintaine for their kingdome, or greater partiallitie then in them, to their kinsfolks, seruants, Sycophants, &c.

9 Objection It wil be contemned, and so good order

neglected.

Answere None euer deserued more contempt, then the BB. and their officers doe, for all their pompe: but God whose ordinaunce it is, will procure sufficient awe vnto it; marke how these objections stand together, in the 4. it was tyrannie, and here it is too contemptible, these be contrary.

10 Objection All alterations be dangerous.

Ansvvere Neuer (where we change from the obedience of Antichriste, to the service of the living God) was it ever dangerous to amende things amisse, by that course which is described of God: if it were, let the perticular of it appear, this might wel haue bin Steuen Gardiners reason for popery. in the time of king H [enry]. the eight.

The Church must be gouerned onely by the I rules of Gods word, this is in effect, the proposition of the first chap[ter]. wherevnto all those reasons there alleadged may be referred; there is advouched generally, the certayne grounds of the whole discipline, against the imagined libertie left to the Church: here is affirmed the perticular direction of the Churche gouernement, by the authoritie of the Eldershipp, to proceed according to the rules of Gods reuealed will, and not by that cursed and monstrous cannon law, which is made manifest vnto vs by these reasons.

1 All gouernours are to execute their authoritie, by the same warrant from which they have it: But the governours of the Church of God, have their warrant to be gouernours only from the word, I. Cor. 12. 28. Therefore they must

gouerne the Church onely by the word.

2 The Churche is to be gouerned by that which the ministers may teach vnto the same, for they are taught to the ende that they may obey, and so be gouerned by the same: But the ministers may teach nothing but the worde of God, I. Cor. II. 23. Therefore the Church is to be gouerned onely by the word of God.

3 That which maketh the Churche obedient vnto Christ, must be the direction whereby it is to be gouerned: Onely the worde of God maketh the church obedient vnto christ. Therfore it is to be governed by the rules of Gods worde.

4 Euery kingdome or houshold, must be gouerned onely by the laws of the king, or orders of the housholder: The Churche is the kingdome and house of God, and his worde is the onely law that he hath given for the same: Therefore it must bee gouerned onely by the worde of God.

5 That which was ordayned to destroy the Churche of God, cannot be a good rule to gouerne the same by: But such is the cannon law, for it was ordained to strengthen the kingdom of Antichrist: Abstract. Therefore it cannot be a good rule to direct the church by, and consequently, it must be gouerned by the worde, for no other rule is offered vnto vs, but the one of these twaine.

6 That which was inuented by the dragon, that persecuteth the woman and her childe, that same cannot be good for the church, which is that woman: But such is the cannon law, for it was inuented by Antichriste, which is that dragon: Therefore it cannot bee good for the ruling of the

church, and consequently, &c.

7 That which strengtheneth the power of darknes and ignorance, cannot be good to guide them, that must walke in light and knowledge: But the cannon lawe strengtheneth the power of darknes and ignorance, for it increaseth popery, as appeareth by this, that there is scarce an officer towardes it, in these dayes of knowledge, but he is a papist: Therfore it

cannot be good to guide the church of God.

8 That which destroieth the church of God cannot be good to rule the same: But the cannon law destroieth it, for it crosseth every faithfull minister in the discharge of his dutie, and every good christian, walking in the wayes of godlines, and nippeth in the head every good action, as experience teacheth vs: Therefore it cannot be a good rule to governe the churche by.

9 That which hath bred more trayterous papists in England, then the Seminaries at Rome and Rhemes, that same cannot be good to gouerne the church of God: But such is the cannon lawe, for it hath kept out discipline, nourished ignorance, and fostered superstition and popery, in all estates of people, that neuer came at those Seminaries: Therefore it cannot be a good rule to gouerne the church of God by.

10 That which nourisheth the hope of Antichriste to returne hither againe, cannot bee good to direct in the gouerment of the church: But such is the cannon lawe, for it keepeth the cages for those vncleane byrds; as Archb. and L. BB. seas, arches, cathedral churches, &c: therfore it cannot be a good rule for the direction of the Church.

11 That which all the Churches have cast off, as vnfit for the gouernment of the Church, cannot be good for the same: But all the churches, that have forsaken the pope (yea they that have not received the discipline of Christ wholy) have cast of [f] the cannon lawe: Therefore it cannot be good for the same

12 Yea, we our selues mislike it, as appereth by a statute

made vnder Edsward. 6.

Therefore, if gouernours are to rule by the same authoritie whereby they are gouernours; if the Church must The Conclusion be gouerned, by that which the ministers may teache; if the worde of God onely, make the Church obedient vnto Christ; if euery kingdome must be ruled by the lawes of their king; and if the cannon lawe be ordained to destroy the Churche; if it was inuented to persecute the churche; if it strengthen the power of darknesse and ignoraunce, if it kill the Churche of God; if it breede more traiterous papistes, then the Seminaries at Rome and Rhemes; if it nowrishe the hope of Antichrists returne: lastly if all the Churches that have forsaken the pope, have cast it of[f] also; yea if we our selves do mislike it: then must it needs follow, that the Church ought to be gouerned, onely by that golden rule of Gods word, and not by that leaden lump of the cannon law.

CHAP. 15.

He office of the Church gouernment, is meere Ecclesiastical, and therefore the gouernors of the Church may not meddle, but onely in church-matters, as for example, vocation, and abdication,

deciding of controuersies, in doctrine and manners, so far as appertayneth to conscience, and the church censures, T. C. booke I. pag'el 206 Discipl. Eccle. 126. but they thinke that church-gouernours, may also meddle in ciuill causes: VVhitgifte page 749: and their practize, that take vpon them to be Councellors of state, to judge civilly, as punishe with imprisonment, &c.

ut this is disprooued, and so the former prooued by these reasons.

1 That which our sauiour Christ refused, because it belonged not vnto him, ruling and teaching the church, that same is not lawfull for any Ecclesiast [ical]. person to do: But christ refused to deuide the inheritance, Luke. 12. 14. onely because he came to buylde a spirituall kingdome, for otherwise he being God, had authoritye ouer all thinges: Therefore it is not lawfull for Ecclesiasticall persons to bee

iudges of ciuill causes.

2 That which was forbidden the Apostles, is vnlawfull for euery Ecclesiasticall officer, for they were the chiefe vnder christ, and had (after a sort) all offices in themselues, vntil they could plant them in others: But such dominion was forbidden them, as the kinges of the nations, and other ciuill magistrates haue, Luk[e]. 22. 28. which is, to rule ciuilly: Therefore they may not exercise any ciuill authority.

3 If necessary dueties are to be lefte, rather then our duties to the Churche shoulde not be thorowly discharged, then may not a churche officer deale in ciuill iurisdiction, which is lesse necessary vnto him: But the former is true, as appeareth by the words of Christ, to him that woulde have buried his father, Luke. 9, 59, 60. Therefore they may

not exercise any ciuil authority.

4 If he that hath an office must attend vpon it, then may he not meddle in another, for hee cannot attend them both at once: But the former is true, Rom. 12. 7. Therfore may

no church officer, meddle with temporall iurisdiction.

5 As the Souldiour is in his warfare, so are church officers, in the ruling of Gods church: But the Soldior entangleth not himselfe in the things of this life, because they are of another nature to his warfare; which place Cyprian alleadgeth againste a minister, that became an executour to his friendes will: Therefore church-officers may not meddle with ciuil offices, because they are of another nature, then his calling.

6 Those thinges that in themselues are of contrary quallitie, cannot concurre in one subject: But the governments of the church and common wealth be such, not onely in this, that they are the next special members of one generall, but also, in that the one is spirituall, and the other temporall, the one respecteth the soule, and the other the bodie. Therefore they cannot bee in one man together, and consequently, &c.

7 If the gouernment of the churche, both in euery particular mans office, and in the generall Eldership, be a matter of great waight, and the ability of man, very small in euery good action, then may not a church-officer meddle in another

calling, whereby he is made lesse able to discharge his dutie; But the former is true, as all men may see, that looke into the worde of God, what is required of such men, and knowe by the same worde, the manifolde infirmities and vntowardnes of man: Therfore the latter must needs be true also.

8 If the Apostles (who were the most able of all others) found themselves vnfitt for two offices, which were both Ecclesiasticall; then is the best church-gouernour vnfit for two, which be of more difference one from another, as be the gouernment of the church and commonwelth: But the former is true, as appeareth, Actes 6. 2. Therefore the latter must needs be true also.

9 That which we iustly reprodue in the papists, must needs (if we do like) be founde more vnlawfull and intollerable in our selues: But we justly reprodue the papists, for having in their hands both the swordes, that is, the Ecclesiasticall and civill jurisdiction: Therefore it is more

intollerable, being found in any of vs.

10 If it be lawfull for an ecclesiastical person, to exercise the office of the civill magistrate, then (on the contrary) it is lawfull for the civil magistrate, to exercise the offices of Ecclesiasticall persons, for there is as good reason for the one, as the other: But the latter is vnlawfull; for who would like of any L[ord]. Mayor, to step into the pulpit and preach, &c. Therefore the first is vnlawfull also.

11 They may not intangle themselves with Canon. Apost. worldly offices, but attende vpon their cap. So.

Ecclesiasticall affaires.

12 None of the Clarkes or cleargie, shall receive any charge of those whiche are vnder age, the cause of Concil, Calced that decree, is there said to be, for that there were cap. 3. et 7. certain ministers, that were stuards to noble men; and in the 7. cannon, that none of them should receive any secular honors.

13 The BB. shall onely attende vnto prayer, 4. Concil. Carth. cap. 20.

reading and preaching.

14 He bringeth divers reasons to prooue, that BB. may neither vsurpe, nor take (being offered vnto them) Institut. lib. 4. any ciuill office.

15 He sheweth how the offices are to be distinguished, and in what sort it is sayde, that the fathers delt in the Beza confess things of this life, and howe the corporal cap. 5. sect. 32. & 42.

punishments by the Apostles were perticular and extraordinary.

16 When both the offices meet in one man, the one P. Martyr. hindereth the other, so that he that exerciseth the

vpon rom. 13. one, cannot minister the other.

17 There is no man so wise and holy, which is able to

Bucer vpon. exercize both the ciuill, and Ecclesiasticall power,
and therefore he that will exercize the one, must

leaue the other.

Therefore, if Christ refused to iudge in temporall causes, The Conclusion because it belonged not to his office; if civill dominion was forbidden the Apostles; if necessary duties are rather to be lefte vndone, then our diligence in the matters of the Churche shoulde bee lessened; if hee that hath an office, must attende vppon it; if wee may not be intangled with any hinderance; if the civill and Ecclesiasticall functions, be of contrary natures; if euery office in the Church, be more then any one can perfectly discharge; if the Apostles found themselues vnfit for two offices of like nature; if we justly reprodue the papists for their two swordes; if a magistrate may not preach; if they may not meddle with worldly offices, nor be tutors to Orphans, but attend only vnto the ministery of the word, &c.; if they may neither vsurpe, nor take (being offered) any civill office; if they be to be distinguished to seuerall persons, or els one hindereth the other; lastly, if none be able to execute both, then must it needs follow, that Ecclesiasticall officers may not beare ciuill offices: and consequently the office of the Church-gouernment, is meere ecclesiasticall.

Their objections hereunto be these.

Objections for ciuill offices in ecclesiasticall 1 Objection It countenanceth and maintayneth religion, to haue civill authoritie.

Answere It is (in deed) the papists reason for their two swordes, which M[aster]. Caluin confuteth: Institut, booke 4. cap. 11. sect. 9.

2 Objection It is good to punishe vice by corporall punishment, that Gods word may be the better obeyed.

Answere It is good to preach Gods word to men, that they may obey their prince for conscience sake; may the

magistrate therefore preach? wee may not doe euerye thing that is good, but onely that which is agreeable to our callings.

3 Objection Eli and Samuel, were both priests and Judges. Answere They were extraordinary (for God separated those two offices in Moses, and gaue the one vnto Aaron) and so was Eliijahs killing of the false prophets, and Christes whipping of the buyers and sellers out of the Temple.

4 Objection Peter killed Ananias, therefore BB. may have

prisons.

Answere It was by his worde onely, and not by anye civill punishment, if they can doe the like, Peters example will serue their turnes, if not, then must it be (with the former) extraordinarie.

CHAP. 16.

He placing and displacing of Church-officers, appertaineth vnto the Eldership. This is prooued in the 7. chap ter, and their objections are there aunswered for the first part, which is the placing:

but the latter part is to be cleared by some mo reasons, because the BB. do displace the best ministers at their plesure, which is proued to be a most wicked action, by these resons.

1 Those that are called vnto the ministery by the Lord from heaven, and outwardly by the meanes of men, so long as they are blameles in doctrine and conversation, I. Tim. 3. To, cannot be displaced, without hainous wisclkednes against the manifest will of God: But suche are the ministers that the BB do daily displace, as they confesse themselves, when (euen) in their sermons they justifie their doctrine, in saying that they differ onely in outward rites; and as their greatest enemies will saye, when they are asked of such mens liues: Therefore they cannot be displaced without great wickednes.

2 Those that are carefull to discharge the dutie of Gods ministers, both in teaching, and giving example to their flockes, cannot be displaced without great impietie: Such are these ministers, that are daily displaced, as appeareth by this, that they preache more diligently then any other, and that they followe not the course of the worlde, in adding liuing vnto liuing, but many of them (being as worthy for their giftes, as the worthiest) live poorely, rather then they will want the comfort of a good conscience: Therefore they

cannot be put to silence without great sinne.

3 To depriue Gods people of their spirituall comfort, is a grieuous and horrible wickednes: To put such to silence as are before mentioned is to depriue Gods people of their spirituall comfort: which if any man will denie, all the godly where such a one dwelleth, shall tell him hee lyeth: Therefore to displace such ministers, is a haynous and horrible wickednes.

4 That which giueth occasion to the weake to stumble and fall away from the Gospell, is a haynous and horrible sinne: But such is the displacing of those ministers, as appeareth by this, that many doubt whether that which he hath taught be true, whom the professors of the gospell do displace, and by this, that many who had made good beginnings, by the discontinuance of their teachers, doe fall away: Therefore to displace those ministers, is a haynous and horrible sinne.

5 Those whose labours God doth blesse, can not be displaced without fighting against God, and consequently great impietie: But such are these ministers that the BB. doe dayly displace, as all that loue the Gospell in euery countrye can witnes: Therfore to displace them is great impiety.

6 That action which giueth the common enemy just cause to reioyce, and hope to get the victory, is a haynous and horrible offence: But such is the displacing of those ministers, as appeareth in euery country, where such ministers are displaced, and such enemies do dwell: Therefore to displace

such, is a haynous and horrible offence.

7 That action that causeth the doers therof to be esteemed enemies to the gospell, must needes be a haynous sinne: But such is the putting of those ministers to silence, for it maketh the people that have any love to religion, think that they are not of God in so doing, for say they he that loveth Christ, cannot crosse the course of the Gospel as these men doe: Therefore the displacing of them is a haynous sinne.

8 That which letteth in more wickednes at once, then the diligent preaching of the worde could drive out in divers yeeres, must needs be a haynous sinne: but suche is the displacing of these ministers: for, prophaning of the Saboth, and all disorder, commeth into a congregation the same day that such a minister, that hath long labored against it is

displaced, as experience in suche places prooueth: Therefore

to displace such ministers is a haynous sinne.

9 That which interrupteth the course of the Gospell, without warraunt eyther from Gods word, or the lawes of the land, is a haynous and horrible sinne: Such is the displacing of those ministers, as is proued in all the writings on our side; and lastly, in the answere to D[octor]. Bridges: therfore to displace such ministers, is a haynous and horrible sinne.

Therefore if the ministers that bee vsually displaced, be called of God; if they discharge the dutie of good The Conclusion ministers, both in doctrine and life; if the displacing of them, bee to depriue Gods people of their spiritual comfort: if it giue occasion to some to doubt of the Gospel, and to fall away; if God giue a blessing vnto their labours; if the displacing of them giue the enemy matter to reioyce, and hope to ouercome; if it cause the displacers to be esteemed enemies to the Gospell; if it let in more wickednesse in one day, then preaching can throwe out in many yeeres; if it interrupt the course of the gospell, without warrant eyther from the word of God, or lawes of the land; then must it needs follow, that the displacing of those ministers is a most haynous, and horrible sinne against the Lord.

CHAP. 17.

He Eldership is to admonishe euery one, by whome offence appeareth vnto them to grow in the Church: There is no question between vs, about admonition it selfe; but this they deny, that the execution of any discipline (and therefore of this poynt) belongeth vnto

the Eldership; which point is prooued in the seuerall chapters going before: so that I need not saye any thing of this, sauing with (a reason or twayne) to shewe the necessitie

and benefit of it in the Church of God.

1 That whiche private men offended, are commaunded to seeke vnto for the redresse of the offender, is a necessarie, and an ordinary way for the amendment of them that doe offend in the Church of God: But such is the admonition of those that are in authoritie, and cary the name of the Church, Matth. 18.15. see chap. 14. and the 1. proposition of the same:

Therefore admonition in such cases by the Eldership, is a necessary and ordinary way, for their amendment that do offend.

2 That which is more auaylable to bring the offender to repentance, then private admonition, eyther by one, or moe, that same is verye profitable and necessarie in the Church of God: But such is the publike admonition by the governours of the Church, as appeareth by this, that Christe maketh it a remedy, when the other two will not prevaile, Mat. 18. 15. Therfore it is very profitable and necessary in the church of God.

3 That which maketh men more afraide to offend, then any admonition that private men can give, is profitable and necessary in the church of God: But such is the Eldership, before whom men know they shalbe brought if they doe not amend: Therefore it is very profitable and necessary in the

Church of God.

4 That which hath a greater promise to do good, then private admonition, is very necessary in the Church of God: But suci. is the admonition that is given by the Eldership, because it prevayleth when the former doth not: Therefore it

is profitable in the Church of God.

5 That without which, all duties of charity cannot be exercised towards sinners, is needful to be in the Church of God: But without admonition by the Eldershipp, all duties of charitie cannot be exercised towards sinners: Therfore it

is needfull to be in the Church of God.

6 That which woulde bridle the outragious sinnes of some, and keepe in the derision and mockery, that private admonitions do receive, is needful to be in the Church of God: But this would admonition by the Eldershipp doe; for if men knewe that they should answere vnto the Churche for their ill demeanour, to them that rebuke them for sinning; they woulde refraine (at least for feare) from such kinde of outrage: Therefore it is needful to be in the Churche of God.

Therefore seeing publike admonition by the Eldership is to The Conclusion be sought, by those that are offended, and cannot be satisfied; seeing it is more auayleable then private admonition; seeing it maketh men more afraid to offend; seeing it hath a greater promise; seeing without it all duties of charity, cannot be exercized towards the sinner; lastly

seeing it would bridle the outragious sinnes of many; Therefore it must needs followe, that it is very profitable, and necessary to be in the Church of God.

CHAP. 18.



Hose that be not reclaimed from their faultes by admonition, are by the Eldership to be suspended from the Lords supper, or being officers of the church, from the execution of their office, vntil they

do eyther giue good testimony of their amendment, or iust cause to be further proceeded against. Neyther is there any controuersie betwixt them and vs, about this poynt; sauing that (as in the former) they will denie it to appertaine to the Eldership, which is prooued before.

T will therefore (for their vnderstanding that desire direction in the trueth) firste, shewe that it is a course that hath warrant in the scriptures; secondly, that it is of very profitable vse in the Church of God: the first is thus proued.

1 Whatsoeuer is enjoyned, as a duetie to be done by euery christian, if he leaue it vndone, he is to be com- Suspention pelled by the gouernours of the Church to doe it, warranted by the word, Luke. 14. 17. 23. But if a mans brother haue any being ypon such grounds thing against him, and he make no conscience to as the worde leave his gifte there, and be first reconciled, Matth. 5. 24. he is to be compelled to do it: Therefore

separation from the Lordes supper, is warranted by the word. 2 If that commandement of Christe, Matth. 7. 6. give not that which is holy vnto doggs, can neyther be properly vnderstood of them, that were neuer of the Churche, nor them that be excommunicated; then is it a warraunt for such separation of the vnworthy, and consequently, that separation is warranted in the word: But the former is true, as appeareth by this, that the meanest of the Iewes did knowe, that holy things belonged to neyther of them, and so the commandement had beene needlesse: Therefore suspention is warranted by the word.

3 If there be sinners that are not to be excommunicated, and yet it were offensive to give them the Lords supper, then is this course warranted by the word, for els should Christ haue left his Church destitute of direction, in common and vsual difficulties, which is prooued in the first chap terl. to be otherwise: But such sinners there are as the notorious sinner repenting; men mainly suspected of notorious transgressions, &c. Therefore suspention hath his warrant in the worde.

4 The course that God prescribed in the shadow, for corporal purifyings, must in the body (in respect of the substaunce) be observed in the spiritual clensing of every member of the Church: But many were separated from the publike sacrifices for a season, by reason of their corporall vncleanes, who, yet were not worthy to be excommunicated: Therefore must also some be kept from the Lordes supper for a season, who yet appeare not so haynously to have sinned, as to deserve excommunication.

5 The church cannot without great offence, suffer one that hath fallen into some open sin, or that is vehemently suspected, to have haynously offended, continue in the administration of any publike function: But the Churche

cannot iustly displace suche a man at the first, making shew of repentance, or standing vpon his purgation: Therefore he

must be separated for a time.

6 That which was commaunded vnder the law to be done to the priest, that was vncleane in body, or suspected to be a leaper; that same must much more vnder the Gospell, be done vnto the minister, or other Church officer, that hath sinned, or is suspected to have committed a great sinne: But such a priest was to be separated from offring of sacrifices for a certaine time: Therefore much more must the like be done to a Church officer in the like case.

Therefore, if the Churche bee to compell a private man to The Conclusion doe his duetie; if, give not holy things to doggs, be vnderstood of them within the church; if there be sinners that cannot with out offence be admitted to the Lords supper, and yet deserve not excommunication; if for corporall vncleannes vnder the law, they were to abstaine a certaine time; and if the Church can not without great offence, suffer him that hath committed an open sinne (though he repent) or that is vehemently suspected of a notorious sinne, continue in the execution of his office, vntil the

congregation be satisfied; Lastly, if the priest that was vncleane, or suspected of leprosie, might not offer sacrifices: then is it plaine, that both the separation of some men from the Lords supper, and other from the execution of their publik[e] function for a time; is a thing warranted by the word of God.

The latter part, which is that this kind of suspention hath a profitable vse in the profitable in the Church.

church of God, is thus prooued.

1 That whiche keepeth the godly in more carefull obedience, and keepeth in the hypocrites, that they breake not out, is very profitable for the Church of God: But such is the vse of the separation from the Lordes supper, and from executing publike function in the church: Therefore it is profitable in the church of God.

2 That which removueth (euen) the appearance of offence, from the Churche of God, is very profitable for the same: But such is the separation: Therefore it is profitable for the

Church of God.

3 That which declareth vnto the world, that the Church of God is carefull to practize that which it professeth, is very profitable: But such is this separation, for it sheweth that they cannot away with vngodly life; no, not among themselues: Therefore it is profitable for the church of God.

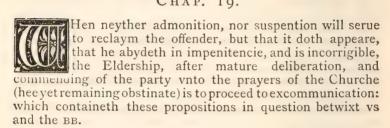
4 That which giueth occasion to the church, to be exercised in the actions of religion, with more sound comfort, is profitable for the same: But such is this separation, for every one shall see thereby, the vnworthy (for whose sakes, God might be angrie with them all, Iosh. 7. 11.) weeded from among them: Therefore it is profitable for the Church of God.

5 That whiche is a special meanes to procure the Lord (in mercie) to continue his word vnto his Church, is profitable for the same: such is this seperation; for it is a notable meanes to keepe men in obedience to that which they professe: Therfore it is profitable for the chur [c] h of God.

Therefore, if separation of the knowne, or suspected sinner, from the Lords supper, and such a church The Conclusion officer from the execution of his publike function, doe keepe men in obedience that be godly, and restrayneth

hypocrites from outrage; if it remooue the very appearance of euil; if it let the world see, that the Churche laboureth to practize that which it doth professe; if it make euerye member of the Churche to be exercized in the actions of religion, with greater comfort; lastly, if it be a special mean to procure the Lord in mercie, to continue his word; then must it needs follow, that it is of very profitable vse vnto the Church of God.

CHAP. 19.



- 1 It may not be done, but vpon great and wayghtie occasion.
- 2 It may not be done by any one man, but by the Eldership, the vvhole Church consenting therevnto.

The former is holden by vs, T.C. 1. book, pag[e] 183. Discipl. Eccles. 130. and denied by them in their practize, that send it out (many times) for not paying of sixe pence.

Jut our assertion is thus prooued, and their godlesse practize disprooued.

1 That which Christ hath ordayned for the last remedie The proofe against sinne, and onely to be vsed when neyther admonition, reprehension, nor separation from the externall communion of the saynts for a time will serue; that same is not to be vsed, but vpon great extremitie: But such is excommunication, as appeareth, Math. 18. 15. Therefore it may not be vsed, but vppon most wayghtie occasion, that is in the case (onely) of extremitie, when no other meanes

2 That whiche cutteth a man of [f] from the Church of God,

will serue the turne.

and giueth him ouer vnto Satan, as one in a desperate case, that same may not be vsed but in greatest extremitie: But such is excommunication, being vsed according as God hath left it vnto his Churche, I. Cor. 5. 5. Therefore it may not

bee vsed, but in greatest extremitie.

3 That which a man will doe in the cutting off, of his hand or his foote, that same must the Church doe, in excommunication; for it is the cutting off, of a member: But a man will trie all other wayes, and will neuer cut of[f] his hande or his foote, vntill he see it incurable, and ready to infect the other parts of his bodie: Therefore excommunication

may not be vsed, but in case of greatest extremitie.

4 That which is contrary to naturall affection, and worketh that whiche a louing heart doth tremble to thinke of; that same may not be done but in greatest extremitie: But such is the excommunication, for it depriueth the party excommunicated of our loue, and throweth him into the most wretched case, that can befall vnto man in this life: Therefore it may not be done, but in cases of greatest

extremity.

Therefore if excommunication be ordained of Christe, as a remedie, onely when all other helpes will not The Conclusion serue; if it cut the partie from Gods Churche, and giue him ouer vnto Satan; it it must be proceeded vnto, as a man doth to the cutting off of his hand or foote; lastly, if it be a worke contrary vnto the naturall affection of man, and effecteth that which a louing hart doth tremble to think vpon: then must it needs follow, that it is to be proceeded vnto, only in the cases of greatest extremitie, and after that all other meanes have bene vsed, and do appeare not to prevaile.

The latter poynt (which is, that excommunication may not be done by one man, but by the Eldership, the whole Church consenting therevnto) is holden by The proofe of the 2. vs, T.C. booke 1. page 183. Discipl. Ecclesiast: proposition. 130. &c. and denyed by them, VVhitgift, page 662. and their continuall practise; But our assertion is thus proued, and their opinion and practize, founde to be erroneous and vngodly.

1 That which Christ commanded to be done by the Church, may not be done by one man, vnles you take my

L. Grace for the Churche as VVhitgifte doth, page, 662. which needeth no confutation: But Christe commanded that excommunication should be done by the church, Matth. 18. 15. Therefore it may not be done by one man.

2 That which Paule enjoyned the Churche, when they were met together, to doe, may not be done by one man But he commanded them to excommunicate the incestuous person, when they were met together, I Cor. 5. 5. Therefore

it may not be done by one man.

3 That which hath need of greatest aduice, and greatest authority, may not be done by one man: But such is the matter of excommunication, being the denouncing of that against a man, which he will most hardly beleeue, and being the wayghtiest poynt of discipline: Therefore it may not be done by one man.

4 Those must excommunicate, that are to deale in the other partes of discipline, as shall appear in the resons following, and (as I think) no man will denie: But the other partes of discipline are exercized not by one, but by the Church, as hath bene prooued: Therefore not one, but the

Church is to excommunicate.

5 As it was ministred among the Iewes, so must it be in the Church for euer; which appeareth by this, that it is translated vnto vs from them (as the Greeke word Synedrion, being by a corrupt imitation, called Sanedrim, by the Rabbins, doth import) and had nothing ceremoniall in it: But it was executed among them by the Church, and not any one, John Therefore the Church is to excommunicate, and not one man.

6 Sayth, he would neuer do any thing in his Cyprian lib. 3. charge, without the counsell of his Elders, and

consent of the people.

7 The elders, and other church-officers, haue as wel power to absolue, as the byshop.

8 For so much as absolution belongeth vnto all, Epist. 19.

I alone dare not do it.

9 If there be any that have committed such a fault, that he is to be put away from the partaking of the prayers of the Church, &c. There do beare rule, certayne of the most approoued auncients or elders of the Church, which have obtained this honour, not by money, but by good report.

10 It helpeth much to make the party more ashamed, that Angust lib. 3 he be excommunicated by the whole Church: also in his bookes of Baptisme, against the Donatists often.

11 The Elders haue interest in other censures Ierom ad Demetriad. of the Church, and the Church it selfe in Epist, 1.

excommunication.

12 S. Paule accuseth the Corinthians, for that Bucer de regno Christi lib. 1. the whole Church had not excommunicated the cap. 9. incestuous person.

13 The Elders had the gouernement in P Martyr in 1. Cor. 5.

excommunication.

14 It is very dangerous to permit so weightie a matter to one man, and therefore that tyrannie may be The same upon auoyded, and this censure executed with greater the same place fruite and grauitie, the order that the Apostle there vseth, is still to bee observed.

15 Hee sheweth that it pertayneth not to one man, that it is a wicked fact that one should take the authoritie Caluin Institut. to himselfe, that is common to others; that it sect. 6. openeth a way to tyrannie; taketh from the Church their right, and abrogateth the Ecclesiasticall senate, ordayned by Iesus Christ.

16 The byshops, when they excommunicated of themselues alone, did it ambitiously, contrary to the decrees Chap. 12. of godly cannons: See Bucer against Gropper, and sect. 6. vpon Ephes. 4. De animi Cura, also Zuinglius in Ecclesiast.

17 It is plentifully forbidden (euen) by that filthie See Abstract puddle, the cannon law, and therefore it must needs page 165.

be a haynous sinne, when it findeth fault with it.

Therefore if excommunication be to be executed (by the commaundement of Christe) of the Churche; if The Conclusion S. Paule enjoyned it vnto the Church; if it have need of greatest aduice and authoritie; if it belong to them that may execute the other partes of Discipline; if it was so executed among the Iewes; if to absolue, be as well in the Elders power, as the Byshops; if Cyprian durst not do it alone; if it was the action (in Tertul lians time) of the most approoued Elders; if to be by the whole Churche, helpeth much to make the partie more ashamed; if the whole Churche haue interest in it; if the whole Church at Corinth was

reprodued, for not doing it; if it be too weighty a matter for one man; if the executing of it by one, ouerturneth the order appoynted by Christ; bringeth in tyrannie; maintayneth ambition; and lastly, be forbidden by the cannon law it selfe. Then must it needes followe, that it belongeth not vnto one man to excommunicate, but vnto the Eldershipp, and that with the consent of the whole Church.

Their objections herevnto in defence of their owne practize be these.

1 Objection The right of excommunication, was in S.

Paule and not in the rest.

Answere He gaue onely direction in that, as in all other matters, whiche hee wrote of vnto them, but if they had not throwne out the incestuous person, he had remayned still vnexcommunicated, for all that which S. Paule had sayd vnto them.

2 Objection Christ gaue Peter and euery Apostle power to binde, and lose in earth and in heauen, which interpreters

expound by Matth. 18. 15.

Ansyvere That power was of denouncinge Gods iudgements, or pronouncing his mercie in preaching, and not of this action: they are expounded one by another, because of the ratifying of them both in heauen alike.

3 Objection Paule did excommunicate Hymeneus and

Philetus.

Answere That is, beeing moderator of the action, he pronounced it, not that he did it alone; The same answere, is to be made vnto the fathers, as Ambrose, &c. who are said to excommunicate.

TheConclusion of the whole booke.

a Chap. 1.

Herefore vpon these grounds of Scriptures, Fathers, Councels, Emperours, Lawes, Histories, newe writers, and cleare light of reason. I conclude, that ^aChrist hath

prescribed vnto vs an exacte, and perfect platforme of gouerning his church at all times, and in all bChap.10.&11. places; which is this bthat there ought to be no ministers of the the word, but pastor and teachers,

whiche are to be called by the people, and c Chap. 4. ordained by the Eldership, are of dequall autho- d Chap. 7. ritie in their seuerall congregations, muste fwith e Chap. 10. all faythfull diligence imploye themselves, in the f Chap. 10. ministery of the worde and sacramentes, gthat g Chap, 21, there are to be in every congregation certaine elders, whose office is to ouersee the behaviour of the people, and assist their pastour, in the gouernment of the church; halso Deacons, who are to be h Chap. 13. imployed onely in receiving, and bestowing the liberallity and goods of the church to the reliefe of the poore, and other necessary vses: 'Lastly, i Chap. 14. that there must be in euery congregation an eldershipp of pastour, teacher (if they can have any) and elders, who are in common, to see that the church be well gouerned, not onely in maintayning the profession and practize of the worde in generall, but also in admonishing, reprehending, or sepe- k Chap. 17 rating from the Lords supper, them that walke 1 Chap. 18. offensiuely, and "lastly in excommunicating them, m Chap. 19.

that bye no other meanes can be reclaimed. So that all and euery gouernement, contrary or besides this, whether in part or in whol[e], swarueth from that order, which Christhath set downe in his word, and therefore is vnlawfull.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

[These have been applied to the text.]



The English Scholar's Library etc.

No. 5.

The State of the Church of England &c.



The English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works.

[Rev. JOHN UDALL.]

The State of the Church of England

laid open in a Conference between DIOTREPHES a Bishop, TERTULLUS a Papist, DEME-TRIUS a Usurer, PANDOCHUS an Innkeeper, and PAUL a Preacher of the word of GOD.

[April 1588.]

Edited by EDWARD ARBER, F.S.A., etc., LLCTURER IN ENGLISH LITERATURE ETC. UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

SOUTHGATE, LONDON, N. 15 April, 1879. No. 5.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

For a list of the principal works up to 1606, on both sides of this Controversy, see PETER FAIRLAMPE, The Recantation of a Brownist Or a Reformed Puritan. 1606. 4to.

I. SOME ANTECEDENT ENGLISH WORKS IN THIS CONTROVERSY.

[With Press Marks of some copies in the British Museum.]

1574.

IWALTER TRAVERS 1 A full and plaine declaration of Ecclesiasticall Discipline out off the word of God, and off the declininge off the churche of England from the same. Imprinted [evidently abroad] M.D.LXXIIII. [3932. e.] See p. q.

1575.

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT'S Second Reply to Dr. WHITGIFT'S Second Answer. [9] The History of the Troubles at Frankfort.

1577.

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT. The rest of the Second Reply to Dr. WHITGIFT'S Second Answer. See p. 10. 1582.

[ROBERT BROWN, the Brownist.] A book which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians. Middleburg. [Two copies are in Lambeth Library.]

1583.

[?] An Abstract, of certaine Acts of Parliament : of certaine her Maiesties Injunctions [697, f. 2'1]: usually referred to as the Abstract. There were two undated editions. One in black letter without pagination [697. f. 2/1]: the other in Roman letter and paged. [697. f. 15.] [See p. 12.]

[RICHARD COSIN.] An Answer to the two first and principall Treatises of a certeine factious libell, put foorth latelie, without name of Author or Printer, and without approbation by authoritie, vnder the title of An Abstract & C. [697, f. 2/2].

*[Dubley Kenner, Minister at Middleburgh.] A Counter Poyson modestly written for the time,

to make answere to the objections and reproches, wherewith the aunswerer to the Abstract,

would disgrace the holy Discipline of Christ. [1360, a.] See 2. 9. [2] A Fruitefull Sermon, you the 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. and 8. verses, of the 12. Chapiter of the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romans, very necessary for these times to be read of all men, for their further instruction and edification, in things concerning their faith and obedience to saluation. [C. 46. a/2.] Printed by WALDEGRAVE. See p. 9.

[7] A Briefe and plaine declaration, concerning the desires of those faithfull Ministers, that have and do seeke for the Discipline and reformation of the Church of Engkunde: Which may serue for a just Apologie, against the false accusations and slaunders of their aduersaries. [C. 46. a 1.] Printed by Waldersaries. This work is usually referred to (from its headline) as A learned Discourse of Ecclesiasticall Gouernment.

1585.

A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty, By Way Of Suppl'ca ion To The High Court Of Parliament, For A Learned Ministery. In Anno 1585. [4103. b.]
 The Vnlawful Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, The Maintainers Of The

Discipline Of God. [111. a. 8.]

*[?] The Judgment of a most reuerend and learned Man from beyond sees, concerning a threefold order of Bishops (i.e. of God, of man, and of the Devil.) (Not seen. See Hernig & Mess Typ, Ant. p. 1654. Ed. 1790.

*For printing these last three tracts, WALDEGRAVE is imprisoned, see p. xi.

* These works are reprinted in A Parte of a register & c. [Edinburgh 1593.] [697. f. 14.]

II. DIOTREPHES.

ISSUES IN THE AUTHOR'S LIFETIME.

As a separate publication.

1. [April 1588. London. 8vo.] See title on p. 1.

ISSUES SINCE HIS DEATH.

As a separate publication.

2. 15 April 1879. Southgate, London, N. 8vo. The present impression.



INTRODUCTION.





HIS satirical Dialogue, quoted for shortness at the time as *Diotrephes*, was written against the administration of the Anglican Bishops, by the Rev. John Udall, the Preacher at Kingston upon Thames; and was printed to his utter ruin, by Robert Waldegrave, the Puritan printer and publisher living at this date outside Temple Bar.

WALDEGRAVE was a Worcestershire man, as is

proved by the entry of his apprenticeship in the Stationers' Registers-

GREFFETH ROBERTE WALGRAVE the sonne of RYCHARD WALGRAVE late of BLACKLAY in the Countye of Worcestre yeoman Deceased hath put bym self apprentes to WYLLIAM GREFFETH, Cetizan and stacioner of London/from the feaste of the nativite of saynte John bapteste [24 June] anno 1568 viij yeres

Transcript &c., i. 372. Ed. 1875.

He would have been entitled to his freedom of the Company in the summer of 1576; but as the *Register* for that year has long been lost, there is no precise record of the date from which he would be entitled to publish a book in London.

He had in 1588, been actually publishing works, chiefly religious, for some ten years past: and—especially since the advent of WHITGIFT to the Primacy—had suffered many things at the hands of the Bishops, of some which MARTIN MARPRELATE has preserved to us the following accounts—

Which Harmonie/was translated and printed by that puritan Cambridg printer/Thomas Thomas. And although

the booke came out by publike authoritie/yet by your leaue the Bishops haue called them in/as things against their state. And trust me / his grace will owe that puritane printer as good a turne / as hee paid vnto Robert Waldegraue for his sawcines/in printing my frend and deare brother Diotrephes his Dialogue. Well frend Thomas I warne you before hand/look to your selfe.—The Epistle [Nov.

1588], p. 8. Ed. 1879.

Pitifully complayning / is there any reason (my Lords grace) why knaue Thackwell the printer/which printed popishe and trayterous welshe bookes in wales/shoulde haue more fauour at your gracelesse handes/then poore Walde-graue/ who neuer printed book against you / that contayneth eyther treason or impietie. Thackwell is at libertie to walke where he will and permitted to make the most he could of his presse and letters: whereas Robert Walde-graue dares not shew his face for the bloodthirstie desire you have for his life / onely for printing of bookes which toucheth the bishops Myters. You know that Walde-graues printing presse and Letters were takken away: his presse being timber/was sawen and hewed in pieces/the yron work battered and made vnseruiceable/his Letters melted/with cases and other tooles defaced (by Iohn Woolfe / alias Machiuill/Beadle of the Stationers/ and most tormenting executioner of Walde-graues goods) and he himselfe vtterly deprived for euer [of] printing againe / hauing a wife and sixe small children. Will this monstrous crueltie neuer bee reuenged thinke you? When Walde-graues goods was to be spoiled and defaced/there were some printers/that rather then all the goods should be spoyled / offered money for it / towardes the reliefe of the mans wife and children/but this coulde not be obtayned and yet popishe Thackwell / though hee printed popish and trayterous bookes/may have the fauor to make money of his presse and letters. And reason to ol. For Walde-graues profession ouerthroweth the popedome of Lambehith/but Thackwels popery maintayneth the same.

And now that Walde-graue hath neither presse nor letters / his grace may dine and sup the quieter. But looke to it brother Canterburie / certainly without your repentance / I feare me / you shalbe *Hildebrand in deed. Walde-graue A fyrebrand hath left house and home / by reason of your in deed. vnnaturall tyrannie: hauing left behinde him a poore wife and sixe Orphanes / without any thing to relieue them. (For the husband you haue bereaued both of his trade and goods) Be you assured that the crie of these will one day preuaile against you / vnlesse you desist from persecuting.—The Epistle, pp. 22, 23.

Concerning Walde-graue / its no matter how you deal with him/heez a foolish fellow/to suffer you to spoyle his presse and letters: an a had bin my worships printer/ide a kept him from your clouches. And yet it is pitie to belye the diuell: and therefore you shall not belye / him and goe scotfree. As for the presse that Walde-graue solde / he did it by order/vz. He solde it to an allowed printer/I.C. one of his owne companie/with the knowledge of his Warden/Henry Denham / &c. And cal you this fauor / in releasing him after long imprisonment? But I will give you a president of great fauor in deede/wherein you may see what an vngrateful fellow Walde-graue is to his grace/who hath bin so good vnto him from time [to] time. There being a controuersie betweene another printer and Walde-graue (all matters of printing being committed by the LL. of the Counsell to his grace) Walde-graue made one of his company his friende (who could do much with his grace) to deale for him/who brake the matter to his worship/being at Croydon in his Orcharde: so soone as the partie named Walde-graue/he sweetly aunswered him/saying: if it had bin any of the company saue him/he would have graunted the suite/but in no case to Walde-graue. Well Walde-graue/obtayned the Right. Honorable Lord Treasurers letter in his behalfe to his grace / who when he had read it / said / I will answer my L. Treasurer: with that Walde-graue intreated for his fauorable letter to the Wardens of his companie / which in the end

through D. Coosins he obtained (though late) yet went home at night / thinking to deliuer it in the morning: but before he was ready/the Wardens were with him/and [ar]rested him with a Purciuant vpon his graces commandement/Waldegraue telling them there was a letter from his grace / which he received late the last night at Croidon: who answered / they knew it well inough / but this is his pleasure now: so they A new reuenge so good vnto him / as to help him with an hundred marks over the caried Walde-graue to prison/and in this/his grace was fauour / God keepe me from you / ka M. Marprelate. Bishops haue justly received according to their desertes / hauing found greater fauour at my worships hands than euer they deserved / being notorious / disobedient and godlesse persons / vnthrifty spenders and consumers of the fruits / not of their own labors / (as you say Walde-graue was) but of the possessions of the church / persons that have violated their faith to god/his church/hir majesty/and this whol[e] kingdom/ and wittingly bring vs al without the great mercy of god to our vndoing: so that our wives / children and servants / have cause to curse al L. Bb. Lo T.C. you see that I have a good gift in imitation / and me thinkes I have brought your wordes into a marueilous good sense/wher as before in the cause of Walde-graue / they were ilfauoredly wrested: and as for his wife and children/they have just cause to curse Iohn of London / and Iohn of Canterburie / for their tyrannizing ouer him: by imprisoning and spoyling his goods / and vexing his poore wife and children/with continuall rifeling his house with their purciuants; who in November [1588] last / violently rusht into his house/breaking through the maine wall thereof after midnight / taking away his goods / for some of the purciuants solde his books vp and downe the streats / to watchmen and others. Ah you Antichristian prelats / when will you make an ende of defending your tyrannie/by the blood and rapine of her maiesties subjectes? You have bin the consumers of the fruits of Walde-graues labors: for

haue you not sent him so often to prison / that it seemed you made a common occupation thereof? For assoon as any book is printed in the defence of Christs holy discipline or for ye detecting of your Antichristian dealings/but your rauening purciuantes flye citie and countrie to seeke for Walde-graue/ as though he were bound by statute vnto you / either to make known who printed seditious books against my L. Othe greatnes of his graces fauor. with the racke. And are you not ashamed to say / that he euer violated his fayth? you know wel inough/that he is neither Archb. nor L. B. The case thus stood / after he had remained a long time in prison / not that time when Hartwell his graces secretary wisht that his grace might neuer eat bit of bread after he released him. Nor at that time when you profane T.C. told him / that all puritans had traiterous hearts. Nor at that time Walde-graue tolde his grace / that he was worse than Bo'n ner in regard of the time. Nor that time when he was straungely released by one of the Lorde of good Londons Swans. Neither was it at yat time / when his grace (good conscionable noble man) violated his promise / in that he told the wardens of the stacioners/that if Walde-graue woulde come quietly to him / and cease printing of seditious bookes/he would pardon what was past/and the wardens promised his wife / that if he were committed / they would lye at his graces gate til he were released / and for al this / yet he was committed to the white Lyon / where he laye sixe weekes. Nor it was not at that time / when his grace allowed Watson the purciuant / to take of Walde-graue / 13.s.4. pence / for cariyng of him to the white Lyon. But it was that time / when his grace kept him 20. weekes together in the white lyon / for printing the Complaint of the comminaltie/the Practize of prelats/A learned mans judgment/&c. Means being vsed for his liberty/his frend who was bound for him told him/his liberty was obtained in maner following. You must be bounde saith he/in a 100. pounds/to print no more books hereafter / but such as shalbe authorized by hir Maiesty

or his grace or such as were before lawfully authorized: wherunto he answered / that it was not possible for him to containe himselfe within the compasse of that bond/neither

Whereby it

should his consent euer go to the same (the same wil D. Coosins witnes (that maidenly Doctor/who may appeare he swore not to his friend. sits cheek by ioll with you) if he will speake a trueth/which words Walde-graue vttered to him/going in the old pallas at westminster with his keeper before he was released) yet he woulde gladly haue his libertie if he might lawfully. For saide he/I being a poore workeman to my companie / cannot possibly obserue it. For many bookes heretofore printed/had cum privilegio, and yet were neuer authorized: and againe/that it were but a folly for him to sue to her Maiestie/the office were very base and vnfit for her. And he might be wel assured that Caiphas of Cant. would never authorize any thing for his behoofe/and so it fell out. And thus Martin hath prooued you in this / as in all other things/to be lyars. And what is it that you Bb. and your hangones will not saye by Walde-graue / whom you would hang if you could.—Hay any worke for Cooper [23 March, 1589], pp. 43-46. Ed. 1880.

As we shall see in our Introductory Sketch &c., that it was WALDE-GRAVE himself that set up in type these different accounts of his maltreatment, as parts of these two Martinist productions printed by him at the wandering secret press; we cannot but regard them as his personal contribution to the Controversy.

II.

HE process of Waldegrave's ruination is thus officially described in the Records of the Stationers' Company—

May 13, 1588. Whereas Master Coldock Warden, THOMAS WOODCOCK, OLIVER WILKES, and JOHN WOLF, on the 16 of April last, vpon search of

ROBERT WAL DE GRAUES house, did seise of his and bring to Stationers hall, according to the late decrees of the Starrechamber, and by vertue thereof A presse with two paire of cases, with certaine Pica Romane, and Pica Italian letters, with divers books entituled: The state of the Churche of England laid open &c. For that the said WAL[DE]GRAVE without aucthority, and contrary to the said Decrees had printed the said book. Yt is now in full court—ordered and agreed by force of the said decrees, and according to the same, That the said books shall be burnte, and the said presse, letters and printing stuffe defaced and made vnserviceable.

W. HERBERT's Edition of AMES's Typ. Ant., ii. 1145. Ed. 1786.

In the Stationers' Registers at this date also occur the following entries—

Item Delyvered to John Wolf the xvjth day of Apryll [1588]

to goe to Croydon to my Lordes grace about WAL[DE]
GRAVE iiij^s/

for breakinge a presse and meltinge of letters . . . xij^d/ Transcript, i. 528. Ed. 1875.

Strangely enough, in another part of the *Registers* occurs the following entry on the very day of the promulgation of the above decision—

13 Maii [1588].

ROBERTE A copie whereof he is to bring the title vj^d WAL[DE]GRAVE Transcript, ii. 490. Ed. 1875.

This title he never did bring: but disappears from all avowed printing from this date until March 1590, when he is established in Edinburgh as the Royal Printer for Scotland; from which country he did not return till the accession of JAMES I. to the English throne.

III.



HIS Dialogue — which also helped to bring about JOHN UDALL's premature death—is but a brief, yet quietly sarcastic statement of the general social War between the Bishops and the Presbyters in England, which will be more fully noticed in our Introductory Sketch &c.; and in respect to its effects

on UDALL himself, in our reprint of his *Demonstration of Discipline*.

There are some striking points incidentally touched upon in this tract.

It is an additional confirmation, if any were wanted, of Lord BURLEIGH's

Execution of Justice in England, that there had not been even a slight casual persecution of Roman Catholic Englishmen, as Roman Catholics, under Queen ELIZABETH; as there had been of Protestants, under her sister MARY.

It is a testimony to the rapid growth of Puritanism in the four years that had now elapsed since Whitelett's advance to the Primacy, and so is another evidence of the utter futility of a policy of repression in matters of

religious belief.

The stolid obduracy of the Bishops, their utter unwillingness to make the least concession, and so to satisfy moderate men; that significant absence in them of least movement for reform in Parliament, which drew on them the censure of Lord BACON in his *Advertisement*, is also clearly brought out in this, the forerunning tract of the *Martin Marprelate* Controversy.

The strong delusion in all the religious teachers of the time—Protestant as well as Puritan — that the Lending of Money at Interest was a sin, is depicted in the character of **Demetrius**. It was not (as may be seen in Lord Bacon's Essay on *Usury*, 1626) till another generation had passed away, that Political Economy, aided by the growing surplus wealth of the nation, overcame this vulgar error, which sprang from a confusing of things human and divine.

Lastly, we may note, the vast influence which the mind of CALVIN still exercised on the faith of millions: so that to differ from his views, was thought to be a departing from GOD. This comes out clearly in the following attack on the "freewil men;" that is, on the Arminians before Arminius.

Diotrep. Doe you not also like of the preaching of predestination?

Paul Yea, or els should I dislike of preaching the trueth,

for it is a part of Gods reuealed will.

Diotreph So do not I in these daies, when there be so manye weake ones, I thinke it to be a very break-necke of all religion.

Paul I have heard of freewil men that have saide so, but I neuer heard [a] man of learning affirme it, but one that was a byshoppe in a Sermon, but his wordes were no lesse than blasphemie, and so are yours, and al they that say or think the same are guiltie of no lesse sinne.—pp. 14-15.

Altogether, while written with a quietude of expression which must have been difficult to the writer, this *Conference* is as vigorous a bit of Puritanism us anything that has come down to us from that age.

The state of the Church of

Englande, laide open in a conference betweene Diotrephes a Byshopp, Tertullus a Papiste, Demetrius an vsurer, Pandochus an Inne-keeper, and Paule a preacher of the worde of God.

PSAL. 122. 6.

Pray for the peace of Hierusalem, let them prosper that love thee.

REVEL. 14.9 10.

And the third Angel folowed them, saying with a loud voice, if any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his marke in his forhead, or on his hand, the same shall drinke of the wine of the wrath of God.



THE PRÆFACE.



Entle Reader, I haue sette down here in a Dialog, the practize of Satan which he vseth (as I haue observed by experience) to subuert and vtterly ouerturne the course of the Gospel here in England;

the names of the speakers, containe in them for the most part, the matter that they defend, and the affection that they are of. For thou knowest that Diotrephes was he of whom S. Iohn speaketh in his third Epistle, verse 9. that louing to have the preheminence, disturbed the course of good things in the Church, and therfore sustaineth the person of a Byshopp, or Byshoply prelate. Tertullus is he of whom Luke speaketh in the 24. Acts, that was the speaker in the ambassage from Ierusalem to Fœlix the gouerner, against Paule, in the defence of ceremonies abrogated, for the ouerthrowe of the Gospel, and so representeth the papists, that maintaine their traish, to the rooting out of true religion. Demetrius is he of whom mention is made, in Actes 19, that was enemie to Paule, because he lived by an vnlawfull trade, and for that cause doth play the part of an vserer. Paule was the defender, you knowe of the Gospel in sinceritie, and he whose pen the holy Ghost did vse to expresse the discipline of the church most clerely, and therefore speaketh for the ministers of our time, that stand for reformation. Pandochus is an In-keeper in Greeke, and it is as much as to saye, a receiver of all, and a soother of euerye man for his gaine; so that the persons in their nature thus considered: it remaineth that thou wouldest be intreated by me, whosoeuer thou art, to whom this little booke shall come, that thou wouldest in reading of it, set al affection aside, and neither believe it, because on'e' of thy disposition did pen it, neither yet reject it, because it was not composed by one of thy complexion; but consider well of the speeches vttered by euery partie, and compare them with the practize of the worlde, and then looke what it is, that so

hardeneth Pandochus in atheism, Demetrius in vsery, and Tertullus in papistrie; and you shall (I doubt not) plainly perceiue, that the cause of all vngodlines so to raigne in euery place, and of the papists so to increase in strength and number, ariseth from our byshops and their vnlawfull gouernement; on the other side, look into the answers that Diotrephes maketh to Paul, and the counsel that Tertullus giueth to Diotrephes, and compare them with the practize of the B. in all poyntes, and you shall euidently perceive that the cause why the gospel beeing so longe preached, hath taken so little root, ariseth from them onely, forsomuch as they have weakened the knees of the true preachers, and euery way crossed them in all good actions. I have touched thinges verie briefely of purpose, partly for that they who see what reformation meaneth, wil quickly vnderstand my meaning, and partly for that I would have him that vnderstandeth not mine intent and would be resolued, to confer at large of it with some godly learned of his further instruction. Now I pray thee, let me intreat thee to think thus of mine intent; namely, that it is not of purpose to disgrace any man, albeit we ought to disgrace them, by whom the sonn of God is disgraced: but especially to this end, that every man in his calling, might see howe he is or hath beene made an instrument to do harme, or for want either of knowledge, or prouident forecast, being ouertaken vnder collour of right and law, and lastly that we all seing the subtleties of the deuill against the kingdom of Christ Iesus, may first of al returne to God by speedy repentance, from the wickednes that wee haue in our hands, which in deede is the cause of this curse vpon vs; and then praye vnto his Maiestie, that he would detect the craftie subtilties of all his aduersaries, reueale the trueth to those that are seduced and abused, and erect the kingdome of his sonne Christ Iesus amongst vs, by the forme

of that discipline that his owne worde expresseth vnto vs.

The state of the Church of England.

Diotr



Ine hoste, I pray you staye with me and my friende M[aster]. Tertullus, and tell vs some newes, for wee are lately come out of Scotland, and would heere before wee com nereLondon, in what state things doe stande, lest we comming on a sudden, speede as ill as we did at Edenborough,

and S. Andrewes.

Pandoch Good my Lorde, I can tell you no great newes, for I go not so farre as to Church once in a moneth, but if I doe happen to go, one of my seruants doth come for me in all haste, to make merrie with one gueste or other, but there bee two in this house, that came from London, if it please your L[ordship]. I wil intreat one of them to come vnto you, it may be he can tell you some thing.

Diotr I pray thee doe so? you are welcome my friend, I vnderstand that you came from London, I pray you tell me some newes, for I having bene in Scotlande some space, have

not hearde muche of the state of England.

Demet My L[ord]. I heare no newes, but that our byshoppes (Gods blessing haue their harts for it) say prettie well, by one and by one, to these precise and hot preachers, for some of them are put to silence, some of them close prisoners in the Gate-house, some wel loaden with yrons in the White-lyon, and some in the Clinke, I hope to see them one day all put downe, for they trouble the whole land, and are neither contented to obey the authority of these holy fathers, neither yet will suffer vs to liue as our fore-fathers haue done before

vs, and here is a good fellowe, which I met yesterday vpon

the way, who is just of their opinion.

Pandoch I know not what religion he of whom you speake is of, but I am sure that hee hath many of our preachers quallities, for which I like him the wors[e], for since our preacher came, I haue not gained halfe so much as heretofore I did, but if I had but euerye night suche a guest, within one moneth all men would refraine from comming to mine house, and so I might beg.

Diotre Why mine hoste, what are his quallities, that you

dislike so much?

Pandoch What? I will tell you, as soone as euer he lighted, my man that tooke his horse, chanced but to sweare by God, and he was reproouing of him by and by, and a gentleman cannot come all this euening, in any place where he is, but he is finding faut with him for one thing or another: and when he should go to supper with other gentlemen, sitting at the lower ende of the table, he would needs saye grace (forsooth) before and after supper, and so stay them that were hungrie, from their meat the longer, and from their sleepe afterward: but one wiser then the rest, serued him in his kind, for he started vp, saying my father had no grace before me, neither wil I haue any.

Diotr. I perceive he is one of these peeuish Puritanes, that troubled the Churche, when my friend and I went into Scotland, have not the bishops yet suppressed them, neither

by countenance, nor by authoritie?

Tertul Suppressed? No my Lord, a friende of mine writt vnto mee, that one of theyr Preachers said in a pulpit, hee was perswaded that there were 10000. of them in Englande, and that the number of them encreased daily in eueric place of all estates and degrees.

Diotreph I am sorie for that, I maruel that you neuer

told me of it?

Tertul I did of purpose conceale it, least, together with your ill successe that you, and so consequently I, had in Scotland, your griefe should have bene agravated, for I know how that the growing of them doth grieve you.

Diotr. You may be sure that it would have grieved me, if you had tolde mee that, when you tolde mee of the increasing of your friendes the papistes, I thinke I should have died

for sorow.

Tertul I knowe that, therefore did I keepe it cloase, but if newes had come in like manner, of the growing of the Catholique religion vnto your man, that puritane knaue, hee would haue tolde it you at the firste, and so haue molested you the more.

Diotre You say well, and I perceiue it is better to haue a papist, then a puritane in an house, and more charitie to

doe for them.

Pandoch Your Lorshippe asked me for some newes, but your speeche of your being and ill successe that you hadd in Scotland, giueth me occasion, to enquire of you (if I may bee

so bolde) some Scottish newes.

Diotr. Ah my hoste, though it grieue mee to thinke vpon it, yet it easeth my stomacke to tell it. The puritanes in Scotland, hadd got vp their discipline, and vtterly ouerthrowen all the soueraigntie of byshopps, by which they preuailed so mightilie, that wee feared our fall in England shortly to ensue, wherevpon I was sent together with this my friend, who came out of Fraunce into England, to goe and seeke the subuersion of their generall assemblies, and the rest of their iurisdiction, wherein I preuailed a while, but now it is worse, then euer it was.

Pandoch How came it to passe, that when you had

gotten some ground, you helde it not?

Diotr Because the whole land cried out for Discipline againe, and the noble men so stiffely did stand to it; and lastly, the Ministers that came home from England, dealte so boldly with the king that I was vtterly cast out wythout all hope, euer to do any good there again, and nowe I make homewarde in haste, least I loose all there also, but I praye you helpe me to speake with that puritane, I shall learne more by him, because he is better acquainted with the cause then eyther of you.

Demetri Hee may soone knowe more in that case then I, for I promise you, mine onely studie is in my counting house, to see my money, and when eache parcell is due vnto me.

Pandoch And I meddle with nothing but my Inkeeping, as for these controuersies and this Scripturing, I neuer trouble my selfe with it, but I will go to him to see whether I can get him to come to your Lordship, but before I goe, I must be seech you to saye nothing to him as

from me, for you know, I must be frendly to all, least I leese my custome, and driue away some of my guests.

Diotr. Great reason, for euerie man muste liue of his

trade, neither must you tell him what I am.

Pandoch Sir, heere bee certaine gentlemen in another chamber, that hering of your comming from London, would gladly speake with you.

Paul Whence are they, can you tell?

Pandoch They are English men, but they are new come out of Scotland.

Paul I am willing to goe to them, though it be late, and so much the rather, because I long to heare some good news from thence.

Pandoch Here is the Gentleman that you desired to

speake withall.

Diotre You are welcom my friend, I was desirous to speak with you for that I perceiue you came from London, I praye you can you tell vs any good newes?

Paul No surely, for I am a verie ill obseruer of such

things.

Diotr. You seeme to be a minister, can you tell me what good successe my Lordes the bishops haue in their proceedings?

Paul They have too good successe, they wax worse and worse, they growe even to the height of their iniquity, so that

I hope their kingdom wil not stand long?

Diotr. Why sir: what do they, that they offend you so

grieuously?

Paule They stop the mouth of the sheepeheards, and set at libertie the rauening wolues, and turne the foxes among the lambes,

Diotr I muste desire you to expresse youre minde more plainely, for you seeme to bee so possessed with discontentment that it maketh you to speak (as it were) snatchingly?

Paul I confesse my selfe discontented, and greatly grieued, but yet not so much, as to make me lesse able to expresse my minde.

Diotr. I pray you therefore, laye open your former

speches that I may vnderstand your meaning?

Paul My meaning is this, there are three abhominations committed by them: The firste is, that they doe beare suche an enimitie against the kingdome of Iesus Christe, that they put to silence one after another, and will neuer cease (if God bridle them not) vntill they have rooted out of the Church, al the learned, godly, and painfull teachers: The second is, that they enlarge the libertie of the common enemies the papists: The last is, that they commit the feeding of the flockes of Christe, vnto those that prey vpon them, and either cannot, or will not labour to reclaime the wandering sheepe. So that the conclusion that may bee gathered vppon their actions, must needes be the euersion and overthrow of the gospell, and so consequently the bringing in of popery and atheisme.

Diotr. They put none to silence, but the puritans, who

do in deed more hurt then good.

Paul I know no puritanes, if there be any, it is meete that they be put to silence, But Sathan taught the papistes, so too name the ministers of the Gospell, and you are his instrument in continuinge the same terme.

Diotr. I meane them, that are not contented with the state, but mislike the gouernment of the Churche, and woulde have a newe forme of gouernement, which would

marre all.

Paul Woulde you have them contented with Antichristian prelates, to be rulers of the spouse of Christ, when as the word of God hath prescribed expresly, another form

direct contrary to that?

Diotre I am a doctor of diuinitie at the lest, and yet coulde I neuer read any thinge in the worde of God, contrarie to this gouernement, neither yet to speake of any other, but that the ordering of the Churche is left to the discretion of the wise and learned.

Paule Yes, you have read it, if God had given you eies to see it: But if your studie had bene principally to advance Gods glorie and benefite his Church, (which you never aimed at, but rather preferred vaine glorie and gaine) you should easily have found it. I pray you therefore, when you come to London, see if you can get these books: the Ecclesiastical Discipline: a lerned discourse of Ecclesiastical government: The Counterpoison: a Sermon on the 12, to the romans, and

M. Cartwri[gh]tes last replye: some of which bookes haue beene extant this dozen yeres, and yet are none of them answered, and you shall finde it otherwise.

Diotr If their Lordsh[ips]. were taken away, the credit of the Gospell would fall to the ground, and men would not

regard it.

Paule Nay, their iurisdiction maketh it not to bee regarded, for the simplicitie of the gospell, cannot matche with suche outward pompe, it was of more credit before their calling was hatched, then cuer it was since.

Diotr. I hope neuer to see them ouerthrown, and I thinke

they wil neuer giue ouer their bishoppricks?

Faul I am of your minde, that they wil neuer give them ouer, they have suche experience of the gaine of them, the vse of the bagg, prevailed so much with one of the Apostles, that rather then hee woulde lacke money he would sell Iesus Christ himselfe.

Diotr. You speak too vnreuerently and vncharitably of

these holy fathers.

Paul Sure I have so much experience of their impious dealing, that I canne no better esteeme of them in respecte of their places, then of the enemies of God, but as they be men, I wil not ceas[e] to pray for them, that God would open their eyes, that they may see their sins, and repent, whiche is the best way to deale charitably with them.

Diotre I pray you tell me why these men be put to

silence, I am sure it is for their notorious misdemeanour.

Paul I will tell you wherefore some of them were put to silence, one had conference with a bishop about subscription, and he was restrained for that hee gaue his friende a copie of his conference, another because he taught that the Churche of Antichrist was no parte of the Churche of God, another because his prayers before and after sermons were too long, and such like.

Diotre A way, it is rather for not obseruing the book of common prayer, then for any such thing as you speake of.

Paul Indeed many are suppressed therfore but if any man will give them their titles and authoritie, they will give him leave to vse his discretion wyth the book, as we see by experience, for they vse the booke and ceremonies as bridles to curbe them that kicke at their lordlines, which is the onely thing that they minde.

Diotrep. Well, I loue not to heare these reuerend fathers so abused, and therefore I praye you talke no more of it, but

if it please you, you may depart.

Paul I am contented, onely let me request you this one thing, that for so much as God hath given you som[e] lerning, you woulde praye vnto God, to guyde you with his grace, that you abuse it not to your owne destruction, but imploye it to his glory, and the good of his Church

Diotr I thanke you for your good counsel, and so fare

you wel, we will talke more in the morning.

Paul With a good will; I praye God our talke may tend to a good end.

Diotr. Master. Demetrius and mine host, howe like you this tellow? is he not a sawcie merchant? to presume thus to speake against those that were preachers before he was borne? but this is the myserie of our nation, that euerye young boy will take vpon him to teache the ancient, and to reproue them, for that their greene heades thinke not to bee true?

Pandoch Your Lordship saith verie well, I pray you forget not to vrge him with that in the morning: For it

muste needes make him mute.

Demet I promise you, he is a bolde fellowe, it is no maruaile if suche as hee is, doe stand stiffe against vs that be vnlerned, seeing they be so bolde with you, I tell you, he tooke me vp as if I had bin but a kitchin boye, and all because I saide I lived by my money, and was of no other trade, calling me caterpiller, thief, and murtherer, and saide plainly, that he that robbed in Stan-gate-hole, was an honester man then I.

Diotre You must take heed, that you do not oppresse your brother too muche, but as for these fellowes, it is their manner to be so bitter and sharpe, that they do ever with

their preaching, more hurte then good.

Demet. I hope you wil course him to morow for it; but I pray you my L[ord], let me haue a little talke between you and me, of a matter that now commeth in my minde; this man that is with you, and went and came in your company, what is he?

Diotrep. To be plaine with you he is a papist.

Demet Papists are enemies to the Queenes religion and lawes: I do therfore much maruail, that he should be put

in trust by the byshops?

Diotre The cause is this, he light into the familiaritie of one of our friendes, who confuted a booke called the Abstract, and helped him so painefully with reasons out of the Rhemishe Testament, and other such like writers, to confute the Puritans, that he was thought a fit man aboue all other of his religion, to goe with me.

Demetri Why? coulde you not have had another of your religion, but you muste needes have a papist your assistant?

Diotr. No no, if I had not had a papist with me, I could

neuer haue looked to haue preuailed.

Demetri Why so? I pray you tel me the reason of that. Diotr Because our dignities and gouernement, commeth wholy and euery part thereof from the Pope, and is ruled and defended by the same canons, wherby his popedome is supported. So that if I had wanted their helpes, I had had none authoritie, eyther from God or man, no helpe either by reason or learning, whereby I coulde have bene furthered.

Demetri Why did you not rather take some doctour of

the Arches, to go with you?

Distreph That was consulted vppon before I went, but it was not thought meet, because the most of them woulde neuer deale in that lawe at home, but onely because they knowe not else howe to liue, and therfore it was feared that they would not be sufficientlie diligent in a matter that concerneth others. And for the rest (who in deed) be the same men they were in Queen Maries time, we durst not carrie anie of them from home, for none defend our kingdome thorowly but they.

Demet. Me thinks this man should be an vnfit assistant, for he be a right papist, he will labor to erect the popes

kingdom, and so crosse you.

Diotr No question but hee did so, and that made for vs, for all be it wee woulde if wee might, of the twaine, keepe rather the protestantes religion with our dignities then the other, vet had we rather change our religion, then to forgo our priviledges: this I tel you between you and me, but I would have it go no further?

Demetri Do the old popish doctors stand you in such

gret steed, me think you might have had learned lawyers for everye place before this time, and have turned them out?

Diotre It is true, but we have retained them of purpose (man) for we can beare, I tel you, with their religion, so that they do beare vp our authoritie; doe you not see likewise, that we have reserved many popish prists in the ministery, wherof divers doe yet remaine, which wee have done vpon special consideration; to wit, lest there should bee too many learned, not one whereof wil stand to vs, save onely that they either have, or look to have better preferment, or live more easilie then S. Paules Epistles wil allow them.

Demetri I haue bin bolde to trouble your Lordship. I will now leave you for this time, and wil come vnto you in the

morninge, to breakfast.

Diotr. You shall be welcome vnto me at all times, for I perceiue you are none of them that fauour the puritans?

Pandoch My L[ord]. your breakfast is ready, wil you haue

them come vnto you that were here yesternight.

Diotr I would have him that taried yesternight so late, for hee is a verye honest gentleman and a quiet, but in any case let not the puritane come vntil breakfast be done, for he is to o precise: I must needes be mery, and if he be here, he wil not let to reprodue vs, if we do but fortune to swear at vnawares, so that I shal be a feard of him in every word I speak

Pandoch Here is but simple cheare this morning, because

it is fasting-day.

Diotr Master. Tertullus wil eat no eggs to day: wil you Master. Demetrius?

Demetri Yea by S. Marie, I am a protestant, for I loue

to eat flesh on the Friday?

Diotr. It is well saide, but I pray you, thinke not ill of M aster. Tertullus for it, for Saynte Paule hath taught vs, that we that eat, must not iudge them that eat not: for we being strong, must beare with the infirmities of the weake.

Demetri. You promised yester-night, to sende for the puritane, to talke further with him, I pray you do so, for I

would have him taunted thorowly?

Diotrep. By my trothe I had forgotten him, mine host

the Church of Lington. [April 1588.

Pandoch Here is the gentleman you willed me to call?

Diotr. You are welcome, this Gentleman M[aster]. Demetrius telleth me that you and hee had great controuersie on the way yesterday, and he is very desirous that I might heare your reasons, and give my iugement of them for his satisfaction.

Paul Sir, I saide nothing to him but the truth out of the word of God, in condemning of vsurie, by which he sayde he liued, and shewed him the horriblenes of the sinne, the inconveniences temporal that come of it in the commonwealth, and the iudgements of God against the practisers thereof.

Diotrep. Vsurie in deed in some sort is vnlawfull, but it seemeth that you dealt not with the man, as meaning to win him, but rather by such sharpenes as might harden him.

Paul Surely my desire was to winne him, and therefore my purpose in reasoning was, to lay open the sinne vnto him, and the cause why I dealt somwhat roundly, was this. He confessed the scriptures that I alleadged, but so cauelled and wrangled against the cleare light therin conteined, that it appeared vnto me his purpose was, not onely to abide an ysurer, but also to justifie it by the word of God.

Diotre Such chollericke fellowes as you doe mar all, for you cannot deale mildelie and so you trouble the conscience,

and disquiet the minde of the weake.

Paul His conscience must be troubled by launcing, before that euer his soul can be cured.

Diotre Then I perceive you like wel of them that pre a ch

the law, so much as they do.

Paule Yea, or els shoulde I not like of bringing men vnto Christ, which can neuer be vntil they be humbled by the law, and made pore therby to receue the gospel

Diotrep. Doe you not also like of the preaching of

predestination?

Paul Yea, or els should I dislike of preaching the trueth,

for it is a part of Gods reuealed will.

Diotreph So do not I in these daies, when there be so manye weake ones, I thinke it to be a very break-necke of all religion.

Paul I have hearde of freewil men that have saide so, but I neuer heard [a] man of learning affirme it, but one that was a

byshoppe in a Sermon, but his wordes were no lesse than blasphemie, and so are yours, and al they that say or think the same are guiltie of no lesse sinne.

Diotr. Are you a preacher and speake so of these reuerend fathers, it may be it was your owne ordinary to whom you

are sworne, to giue canonical obedience.

Paul It was the byshop indeed, who vsurped ouer the place where I dwelt, but I neuer sware him any obedience.

Diotr. Wel, wee are gone from our matter.

Paul And I praye you let vs tarrie a little longer from it, to consider one thing before we doe returne, whiche the talking of the byshops bringeth into my head.

Diotr. What is that?

Paul Surely, that I thinke you are either a B. or els brought vp in the schoole of a B. and woulde faine bee one, for you doe vse your selfe verie like, as I haue knowne them do.

Diotre Wherein?

Paul In this, that whereas we reasoning of vsurie, wherin your conscience is clear with me, you are contented for the fauor of him, and for that you like not me, to maintain the same, and to disgrace the truth, because of the partie that defendeth it, who is not according to your humor.

Diotrep. You may bee ashamed to speake so of these holy

fathers, I dare save that none of them euer did so.

Paul If mine eares had not heard it, mine eies not sene, and mine own person had not felt the experience therof, I should have bene of your minde, for I once liked them, and their verie wicked dealings made me looke into the lawfulnes of their calling, which I see now to be meere Antichristian, but shall I tell you one example among many?

Diotr I am willing to heare you, but I can neuer be

brought to thinke so.

Paule Yet will I tell it you, that you maye thinke of it, I was accused vnto the B. of suche crimes as were most slaunderous and false, whervpon I desired him to send for mine accusers, and see how they could prooue them, that I (if I were conuicted) might be punnished, or els they might have the reward that molesters of the preachers of the Gospell do deserve: he graunted it me, and appoynted a day, which being come, rather then I (whom he thought not to favour his authoritie) should have any helpe at his handes, hee made

mee a sleeuelesse aunswere and sent me away. Thus are byshoppes contented to bee bawds vnto all kinde of sinners, rather then they wil any way seeme to further the ministerie of those whom they fauour not, and euen thus doe you: for your hatred vnto my person, maketh you to stand with that monstrous vsurer, but take heede of it, for God will not be mocked, he seeth your dealing, and wil iudge you accordingly, howsoeuer you can pretend the contrarie to the world.

Diotr As for mine owne parte, I passe not what you speake, but let me aske you one question concerning these holy fathers, and that is this, what reason is there that they should do any good in any respect vnto any of you, seing they

knowe you to bee professed foes vnto their dignities?

Paul Because they taking them-selues to be the fathers of the Churche, shoulde have a regarde to the good cause,

and defend it, without respect of persons.

Diotr No sir, I see no reason in that, for aboue all things, they must looke to themselves, without whose authoritie the Gospel would be troden vnder foote: and therefore they may defend no cause nor person further then may stand with their owne safetie.

Paul Suppose that were lawful, what hinderance is this to themselues, to see them that bee common and knowne drunkards, vsurers, adulterers, and profane persons punished, for that they are railers at mee, for teachinge the trueth of religion, and reproouing sharply their godles conversation.

Diotr Oh you are a simple man, it is great hindrance, for they can doe nothing in defence of you, though it be in matters wherein you and they do agree, but it tendeth to the derogation of their owne estimation, such is the contarietie

betwixt your building and theirs.

Paul By that meanes shal we be so wearied with aduersaries, that wee shall neuer haue any hope to doe good,

but even to be constrained to give over the ministerie.

Diotr. I would I might see that once come to passe, we have labored for it hitherto, and neuer could attaine vnto it, neither will the Churche euer be in quiet vntill you be all turned out.

Paul So thought the Sodomites, that they should neuer be wel, so long as Lot was in their city, but when he was gone, fire from heauen consumed them: but I pray you tel me, if all wee were turned out, how should the people be taught, for it is euident, that none els (almost) maketh a conscience of his duetie that way?

Diotreph You think teaching would fail without you:

No sir, teaching woulde bee more regarded then it is.

Paule Shew me how that can be?

Diotr. We would have none to preache aboue once a moneth, and then should he do it profoundly, and confirme his matter out of the fathers, and humane writers substantially. whereas you taking vpon you to prech three or four times a week, must not only of necessity, handle your matters very

rawly, but also breed loathsomnes in the people.

Paul Surely my heart waxeth cold, and my flesh trembleth to heare you speake so monstrously: doth preaching consiste in quoting of doctors, and alleadging of poets and philosophers, in what part of his commission hath a minister warrant so to do: you finde fault with our often preachinge, because your selues cannot so doe, but if you would leave off your vaine glorie, in hunting after promotion, and your couetousnesse in adding murther vnto theft, I meane liuing to liuing, and betake your selues to studie and prayer, bending your wholfe endeuor to the glory of God, and edifying of his people, you should see the blessing of God so aboundantly vpon you, that you shold preach foure times every weeke, with more fruit then you can doe now foure times every yeere. for while you bee minded as you are, the lords iugement is voon your gifts, and his curse voon your labours, that you appeare ridiculous euen vnto children. And whereas you say often preaching cloyeth the people, you shewe your selfe plainly to have no feelinge in the sweetnes of the worde of God: for it is so delightfull vnto the childe of God, that the more he heareth and readeth it, the more desirous is he to proceed therein, it is the propertie of the vngodly, to whom the word is folishnes to be cloved with the same.

Diotreph You shal not be my teacher, neyther will I learne at your hands, I know well inough what I have to do?

Paul I do not speak as a teacher vnto you, but in brotherly loue doe admonishe you, and if you refuse mine, or rather the councell of the holy Ghost vitered by me, you doe but as they doe, whose condition you defend, I pray God forgiue it you, and laye it neither to your nor their charge.

Diotr. They are great moates in your eyes, they know better what to do then you can tel them, they see what is meet for the Church, being ancient graue men of long experience, better then a sorte of yong boyes start vp

vesterday. Paul Though some of vs be but yong, yet al are not so, for we have som more ancient then they have any, we have of all ages and degrees in schools to compare with the best of them, and yet yeares, and humane learning, and experience, must not carrie away the matter, but the euidence of truth in the old and new testament, and as for experience, they have none, for they were first brought vppe in the vniuersities, then pecame Deanes, and suche iollie fellowes, and now are made Mitred Lordes, so that they canot tell what it is to traine vp a people to the gospel, and reclaime them from ignorance and sinne, for they neuer stooped so low as to labour therein, but if they had euen my experience, they would sing another song, for before I came into the haruest to worke, I liked their hierarchy wel inough, but when I laid it to my labours to further them, I found that they could not possiblie stand together.

Diotre Did the Gospell euer so flourishe in England as it

doth now at this present?

Paul No surely, God be praised for it, and encrease it more and more, but to what end do you speake it?

Diotr To prooue that the authoritie and wise gouernment

of the byshops hath had good successe.

Paule I thought so, but it is (if you would look into the matter with a single eie) cleane contrarye, for the good that hath bin done, the Lord hath brought it to passe by these men whome you despise, and by that course whiche the bishops were euer enemies vnto.

Diotr. How can you proue that I pray you, let me hear your reasons that moueth you to think so, for I am perswaded.

of the cleane contrarie?

Paul It serueth not in this case what you are perswaded of, for a bishoprick hath so blinded your eies, and corrupted your iudgement, that you like nothing but that which agreeth therewithall, but I will shew you my reasons that maketh me of that iudgement, and if you look equallie into the matter, or aske anye indifferent man, you shall see it to bee so.

Diotr. Shewe mee them, for I long to heare them, I am

sure they be wise stuffe?

Paul Firste for the men, what congregation, what towne or people is there in this land, that have bene in the raigne of our soueraign Q Elizabeth, converted to the gospel, that those men haue not bene the instruments to perform, whome the bishops have continuallie persecuted, and for the courses that have been taken, and which God hath greatly blessed. whiche of them have not bene overturned by the B. and the preachers put to silence, assoone as euer the gospell began to appeare? on the other side, tell me if you be able, of any such effect of the ministerie of a B. or bishoply preacher, in anie place of this land, though it hath bene vninterrupted these twenty years, as you shal see in many places by the other sort, euen in few moneths nowe and then, so that the matter is not onely cleare vnto all that will weigh it in the ballance of equitie, but vnto me, if I had no other reason, it is an euident profe that they take the right way, whose labours the Lord doth so blesse, and contrariwise, the curse of God is on the other, for their indirect dealing.

Diotr Thus you imagin, because you please your selfe in your owne peeuish waies, but tel me who are of your opinion?

euen a few puritans like your selfe.

Paul Cal vs as you list, Christ was neuer the worse, for that his enemies called him a seducer and a deceiver of the people, but I am sure, (all for the moste part that feare God) of everye degree and calling are of the same minde, saving those whome you by your subtilties have bewitched.

Diotr. You wil haue but a fewe then in this lande that feare God, and so you will condemne the rest, which is the

manner of you all.

it represented by the fruit of the same mind with a care to liue as a christian, that is not of the same mind with vs: on the other side, marke what kinde of men they bee, that are the patrons and defenders of the bishops, and you shal see them to be men that make no reckoning of sinne, but haue their wayes fraughted with all impietie, if they bee tried with the tenchstone of Gods word.

Diotr. Wel then you confesse yet, that the general sway goeth on our side, and so long as it is so, we care not.

Paul I wil easily grant it, and so haue they from the beginning, and shal to the ending of the world (against al goodnes) but I wil tel you one thing euen of them, that few of them like you in deed.

Diotr. How can these two stande together, many are

with vs, and few like of vs, they be meare contrary?

Paul I wil tel you how, the papist is on the B. side, because he can find shilter vnder them to hide his idolatry. The atheist is tooth and naile for them, because by them he inioyeth carnal liberty, the man of most notorious life defendeth them, because he can from them, redeem the corporal punishment of his sins by mony, but non[e] of these like of them indeed. The first, because they keep the possession of the seats of their popishe prelats, the other, because they are so greedie of their courts for money, that euen euerye man crieth shame on them, who then do loue them indeed, and stick to them, onely these three hangbies, that depende upon them and live by them, as their chaplins and servants: the Cananit[e]s(I should say) the canonists: and such ministers as either cannot, or wil not labour in their function, to conuert soules vnto God, so that they doe stinke in the nostrels both of God and man, especially in these three last veres of their tyrannie, that I do verily hope their sinne is very neere the heigth, and the Lord in mercie will ease vs of them shortly.

Diotre You are a strange fellow, and please your selfe with wonderful persuasions, but I pray you tel me what maketh you saye, they are nowe more hated, seeing that in these last yeeres, the best means haue bene vsed to establish the ministerye in a consent and conformitie vnto them?

Paul Let the meanes be as good as it will, I praise God for the successe of it, howsoeuer the contrary was ment.

Diotre Why praise you God for it, I am sure you neuer

liked of it?

Paul The meanes in deede, I neuer liked, neither I thinke, did euer any reasonable man, but it being a brittle wal, daubed with vntempered morter, had that successe that such sandie foundations do deserue.

Diotrep. Why man, what successe had it, I am sure the

very long.

Paul Wel, sooth vp your selfe in your own perswasion, and brag of the multitude of subscribers, if it were to do againe, hundreds of them would neuer doe it, because they were subtilly circumuented and deceiued (they meaning wel, and tendring the peace of the Church) but (being now sorie for it) wil stand in defence of the cause (I dare say for them) with their brethren, euen vnto death: So that the bish[ops]. haue but their names written: And yet, that (if they would also shew the protestations, and conditions, by which they were induced, and wherof the B[ishops]. made alowance) it would plainly appeare, that either they dealt wickedly to admitte exceptions, if the articles were true, or more vngodly if they wer[e] not, euer to attempt any such matter.

Diotre Tel mee nowe, what is that wherein you seeme to

reioyce, as though the issue of it fel on your side?

Paul It is euen this, that the bish[ops]. straight dealing, made men looke so narrowly into the cause, and to seeke the reasons on both sides, for their owne satisfaction, that there are at this day (I am fully perswaded) ten times as many of all degrees, that are fully perswaded of the matters of reformation as were before, so gratious God is vnto his seruants, to make euen their enemies to do them good, and so tender is hee ouer his owne cause and gloric, that he wil make the very meanes intended to oppugne it, bee notable wayes to aduance it.

Diotre. I do not beleeue you, albeit I cannot controlle you in it, because I haue not beene in England of late, but what

wil come of it, if it be so?

Paul Euen the gouernment of the church, by the rules of that Discipline whiche Christe himselfe hath prescribed in his word, which I do perswade my selfe to see before it bee long.

Diotr You woulde bee examined before a justice and punished, for saying you hope to see an alteration, you cannot be the Queen's), friende that thus looke for innovations in the state.

Paule Examine me when you will, and punish mee as God shall give you leave, I will be tried to be so far the Q[ucen's].

friend, as that I wishe so wel vnto her as vnto mine owne soule, and al that I save or desire, is not to inuert any thing in the state that is good, but to have the corruptions therof remooued, and her Maiestie more honoured before God and men, in drawing more neere vnto her God, in aduauncing the kingdome of his sonne more gloriously within her dominions.

Diotr These be but feigned words, I do not belieue that

you speake as you thinke?

Paul It is because you measure me by your selfe, who in deede care neyther for O[ueen]. Countrie, nor your owne soule, but for a byshoppricke, but I thanke God in Christ, my conscience beareth me witnesse, that they bee all verye deare vnto me.

Diotr. Awaye thou rayling hypocrite, I will talke with thee no longer, if I catche thee in London, I will make thee

kiss the Clinke for this geare.

Paul In deede the Clynke, Gate-house, White-lyon, and the fleet, haue bin your onely argumentes whereby you haue proued your cause these many yeeres, but you shall preuaile no longer, for your wickednesse is made manifest vnto all men, which God will shortly repaye into your owne bosomes seuen folde, but pray to God to giue you repentance, that those things hapen not vnto you.

Diotr. Pray thou for thy selfe, and care not for mee? I knowe well inough what I have to do without thy counsel,

but it is your maner to teach all men?

Tertul Out vpon him, what a fellow is this my Lord: I

neuer hearde such a one in my life,

Diotr I can tell you he gesseth shrewdlie, I perceiue that our course whiche wee haue taken, and our intent in our

actions, haue bene descried by one means or other.

Tertul My Lorde, it was a thing observed in the Puritans at Geneua, and in France, while I was in Rhemes, that we coulde neuer inuent any practize, for the furtheraunce of the Catholicke religion, but they knew it often before wee put it in execution, so that for the moste part, they preuent all our determinations.

Diotrep. Howsoeuer it be, I am wonderfullie sorie that they seeme so to triumphe, and that our matters have no better successe, it behoueth vs to looke about vs, we will speed our selues to London, to take some way in hast, least it be too late, in the meane while, I pray you tel me (for you must be my counseller when al is done) what way you thinke best to be taken?

Tertul I will doe the best I can, but I must first request

one thing of you before I joyne to helpe you.

Diotrep. What is that? if it be not vnreasonable, you may assure your selfe of it, for you know, that I have never

bin strait laced againste you, or anye of your friends.

Tertul I doubt not of it, but how can I haue it before I aske it of you? you knowe, that we received letters from England, that there were very hard lawes made this last Parliament against the Catholiks: this is it therefore I must request, that you would vse meanes that the rigour of them be not inforced, for you knowe that wee haue manye both in Court and countrie, that shall else bee in great daunger.

Diotr I am very well contented to doe so, but what way

shall I take to doe it?

Tertul Surely, suche a way as shall also make greatly for your owne cause, and that is this, complaine of the domesticall foes the puritans, and say, that they be woorse then we, and that you shall neuer preuaile against vs, vntill firste they be suppressed, and desire that wee may be let alone for a time, and that al men would bend their forces against them.

Diotr. This is excellent, I am verye willinge to do this, for it wil helpe forward our owne cause: nowe go on, and tell

mee what is to be done further?

Tertul The first thing you must take in hand, must be the suppression of those preachers in London, and in other countries, that be of most special note, for their forwardnes against you, and you must do it very wisely: that is, you may not suppresse them all at once, neyther all of them in a long time, for you must take heede that the world do not conceiue opinion of you, to be enemies to the Gospel, for then have you no way but to turne wholie vnto vs.

Diotr That will be a verye good waye, but how shal we have good matter against them, for their lives are thought to be very vpright, and they have learned of late to be more pollitike then heretofore, for if they speak against any thing established, they doe it so cunningly, that advantage cannot

be taken against them by law?

Tertul Neuer doubt of that, was there euer any man that ment to beat a dogg, but he could easily finde out a staffe to doe it, you muste in this case preferre your safetie before your credite, or the estimation of anye that belongeth vnto you?

Diotr. Yea, but shew me some perticulars, for I promise

you, I see not how to doe it?

Tertul You must be sure to let none preach at Paules crosse, but they of whom you have experience to like well of you, and you must give them instructions before hand, that they invey mightily against the reformation that your adversaries desire, and there wil one or other of them speake against that, and so you may have sufficient advantage against them.

Diotre But these fellowes be verye sharpe to finde a faulte? what and if the matter which our friend preacheth be false,

and so the other take occasion to confute it?

Tertul Then must you vrge him to defende that which he hath said, and so shal you have more occasion to intrappe the adversarie.

Diotrep. But in so doing, he whome we set on worke shall

lose his credit.

Tertul what and if he doe, do you compare his credit with the waight of your byshopricks? there is no comparison?

Diotr You saye true, but what if it shall fall out, that the adversarie be not blameworthie, neither in matter nor maner?

Tertul If he maintaine the controuersie, it is sufficient cause to put him to silence thogh he haue the better part, for you must maintain the peace of the church

Diotr But this is not all, for how shal we do for the courte, that is the place, whiche aboue all we must fortifie,

or els we are gone?

Tertul In deede there is great care to be had of it, and there be many wayes to preuent vs there, but we will doe what we can in it. First you must take heed from time to time, what chaplains be put to the Q[ueen]. seeing they are the teachers of the whole court, namelie, that they be eloquent of toong, and good companions, not too precise in their conversation.

Diotr. It is verie true, for they may els mar all, I haue hearde some of them speake daungerouslye, euen before her Maiestie.

Tertul Therefore you must take heede, that they be such as can be contented with the course of the worlde, and then if they happen to speake home now and then (as it is a thing incident vnto a rethorician to be girding) the courtiers will neuer regard his wordes, because they see hee walketh not according to that himselfe.

Diotre But I am afraid that the court shal in time come

to knowlege by their preaching, and then we are gone.

Tertul Feare not that? I read once in a book made by one of the puritans, that if a man would have the blessing of God (as he termed it) vpon his hearing, he must submit himselfe to an ordinarie teacher, which thing (I promise you) is some-what: for I see, that the greatest knowlege of their religion, is in those places, and men that have the same ordinarie teacher: and therefore keep them from anye more preaching, than on everye Sunday, and that by divers men, and I warrant you that gappe is stopped for ever.

Diotr. It is something that you say, and I will not forget to looke vnto it, but there is another thing which is greater then that, which is, howe we may keepe the Queene on our side, for I have often feared her, seeing (there is no question)

but she is grounded in the foundation of religion.

Tertul How have you kept in with her all this while?

Diotr. Marie thus, we have bene verie careful to take heede who bee admitted to preache before her in the Lent: There was one Deering, that by our neglygence preached once: if he and such as he, had but continued the whol[e] Lent, I am afraide, there would have bene neuer a Lord Byshop left in England before the next Lent had come againe.

Tertul That I like very well, but that is not all, they wil make books, and it cannot bee but some of them do come to her hands, how will ye do if she like well of them, and the

matter of Discipline in them?

Diotr. I promise you I cannot tel, you must helpe vs at

that dead lift, or else we are vndone.

Tertul It is an easie matter to remedie, you must when you hear her speake of such things, make her beleeue that al is wel, and that the drift of these men is not seene, for they woulde haue no Magistrate, and so would pul downe Kinges and Princes, and this wil be sure to preuaile, and make them to bee esteemed the vilest men aliue.

Diotr. Howe can I tell her that all is well, when I have beene constrained to tell divers preachers, that have so sore vrged me with the text, that I could wish things were

amended: but the O[ueen]. wil not at any hand?

Tertul Surely, you are a very simple man, my Lord, (as though) the Queene heares what you saye to them, or they, what you saye to the Queene, you must still continue that course of excusing all thinges to her, for shee beleeueth that you are learned, and lay all the blame when you talke with them on her, (for you cannot ouerthrow them by Scripture) and so you shall not onelye keepe the Q[ueen]. on your side: but also make the preachers haue a tollerable opinion of you, that you would haue some things refourmed if it lay in you.

Diotr. That is a notable way, I will alwaies observe and practise that, but there be many noble men, counsellors, and great courtiers, that seeme to like wel of our adversaries: how shall we do to retayne them, or to bridle them that are

gone from vs?

come of these?

Tertul That wil be somewhat hard to doe: yet the best counsell I can see meete to be taken, is this: you must shewe your selues very affectionate vnto those that desire glorie and estimation, you must winke at the vices of all of them whatsoeuer they be, and not reproue them, much lesse correct them; and those of them that bee needie, you must haue them to beg the Byshoppricks, Deanries, and such great places, and let them that shall haue them pay wel for them. So shall you not onelye haue them beholding vnto you for a benefitte, but keepe them still on your side, in hope to haue the like bootie another time.

Diotr. This is very well, and shal bee alwaies observed: but there is yet an other thing, I heard of late, that there be verie manye gentlemen and gentlewomen in the Court, that like vs not, and it hath often times bene, that kings and princes, have beene induced by information of meane menne, to doe that which greate counsellours coulde not beat into their heads, how shall we do to stay the mischiefe that may

Tertul Easilie, you must consider that they be of two sorts: either they be such as bee highly in fauour, or they bee common courtiers, if they bee of the former sort, You

must when you have o[p]portunity to speake to her, tel her, that shee must take heede of such, and such persons: for though they be verie wise and discreet (bicause you must not dyslike anye that shee liketh) yet are they (being of a good nature) deceived, by the fair pretence of Puritans, and for the other you may say they do great harm, by reason of their countenaunce in the court, with fauoring the Puritanes, so that it shall come to passe, by these informations, that the Queene shall not onely reject their speeches, (if they use any against you) but also take them vp roundly, that they shall not dare to speake any more.

Diotr. This pleaseth mee at the very heart, but how shall we doe to be sure at the Counsell table, for they are wise, and manye of them like vs but from the teeth outwarde, and

we have received many a foyle there?

Tertul That is even the hardest of all: I know not in the whole world any way but one.

Diotr. Tell me that one, for if once I knowe it, we will

say wel to it, but we wil bring it to passe?

Tertul This is it, in King Edwardes dayes ther werfel Bb. of the counsel: now if you could get (though it were but one) to be a counseller, then might he very wel, whensoeuer any matter of complaynt came, tell the Lords it pertained to ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, and he and his brethren woulde heere it at large: so might he stop their mouthes quickly, and then hee might for fashions sake, heare the cause, but sende the plantifes away with a flea in their eare. And thus very quickly would all complaintes to the counsell cease.

Diotr. Oh moste notable deuice, all our friends in England shal fayle vs, but we will have this take place: there is yet another thing that must bee helped, and that is the vniuersities, for they have great priviledges, and puritanes starte vp there

euery day.

Tertul So there will do some do what you can, vnlesse you have fire and fagotte, (which weapon of ours, you only lack, and none else) the best course that I knowe to be taken is this, let no Colledge chuse his owne head, but let him haue a Mandamus, procured from the Queene, and see that he be such a one as hath bene a non-resident before, and let him haue divers livings: and so that will draw with it formalitie. Let him be the O | ueen's |. chapline, or at the least brought nowe and then to preache in the Lent, and that will so set him a gog for a Bishoppricke, that you shalbe sure he wil suppresse your aduersaries as they arise, and let the heades of the houses be admonnished from time to time, that they chuse none to be fellowes that be puritans, but such as like the state, and for the more assurance, let them be vrged to subscribe, yea, to sweare to your authoritie, before they be admitted.

Diotrep, Shall we go to Cambridge, and see this put in

execution as we go?

Tertul Nay soft, be sure of the court, before you enterprise any other where, least you marre all.

Diotr. You say very well: nowe how shall we doe for the

parsons and vickers, of the countrie that like vs not?

Tertul I promise you, those that be in alreadie, will say harde vnto you, and those that bee to come also, if they will subscribe to the articles, so far as they concerne faith and sacraments, the statute law fauors them too much.

Diotr But haue we no helpe by the canon lawe?

Tertul Yes, there is helpe inough in the canon law, if they will take it: but I will tell you one thing in your eare, which I would not for a thousand pounds were knowne abroad, and that is this: if the statute made in the 28. of H. oct. cap. 19 and the reuiuing of it in the 1. of Elizabeth, cap. 1. were thorowly sifted, I am afraid, not any cannon lawe would be found good law in England, and so what woulde become of you, and your aucthoritie? but I knowe to whome I do speake it.

Diotr What shall we doe then?

Tertul You must set a good face vpon the matter, and pretend law, both statute, and cannon, especially cannon, bicause they know not that, then depriue them of their liuings, which if they (though they know you do them wrong) could remedie by law, yet are not their purses so wel filled as yours, and so lack of liuing wil make them to yeeld at length, as we see it hath done many.

Diotr. But may we not well suppresse them, for not vsing

the surplice, and book of common prayer in all points?

Tertul I tell you there is no law in England to hurt them, for any thing that they have done concerning the surplice, the Iudges having bene set on by you and vs, have indited

them for it, but it is more then they can warraunt by lawe, and as for the booke it is cleare, that the strickte keeping of it was meant against vs, but wee thanke you for turning the edge to them from vs. Summum ius, must be your best help in this case, and looke that you practize it continuallie.

Diotrep. This will do very wel, how shal we do to keep the Ministerie from too much knowledge, for that must bee

doone, though we pretend the contrary?

Tertul In deede, it is a thing that you must looke narrowlve vnto, and therefore take heed aboue al things, that the exercises of prophesie come not vp again, for you know what harme they did vnto you in euery place where they were kept, and especiallie where men were moderators therin. that had bene beyond the seas, to see the practise of them at Geneua, and you must beware of the exercises that ministers have at their meetings: for you knowe, that in Leicester-shire, they furthered knowledge greatly.

Diotre But how shall we do with this, the exercise of prophesie is expresly set down in the 14. of the 1. to the Cor. and it is knowne that they whome you and we set on worke to gette it forbidden, confessed since that they knewe it not, but tooke it to be foretelling of things to come, and

not expounding of the scriptures.

Tertul You must answere it as you do the rest of their reformation, the particulars whereof are expressed in the newe Testament: namely, that they were things onely for that time, and for them that helped you, what if they confessed their ignoraunce? you must stil accuse their exercises to bee vnlawful assemblies, and conventicles to breed sectes and schismes, and your authoritie wil beare you out in al this and more to[o].

Diotr. But what shall wee doe to make the worlde beleeue

we would have the ministery learned?

Tertul Make them first ministers, and then set them too schoole, enjoyning them to get som[e] part of M aster. Nowels Catechism, or of Bullingers Decades by heart, and so you shall seeme to desire a learned ministerie, as wel as these reformers.

Diotr. Wee wil not faile to put this also in practize, is there anye more that you knowe, that may serue our turnes, for the further establishment of our dignities?

Tertul No nothing of any great waight, but it may be referred to some one of these pointes, but the particulars of euerye braunche are many, which your owne wisedome may easily looke vnto.

Diotr Then let vs go, for I long vntil I do set these things

abroach.

Tertul Yet I pray you remember to do somthing for vs poore Catholikes, seeinge you stande by our helpe especially.

Diotr. Great reason we should doe so, or els were wee vngrateful creatures, but you must deuise what must be

done?

Tertul You knowe that some of vs be in prison, and others abroad, for those that are restrained, I pray you that they may have the libertie of the prison, and their friendes to come too them, and when anye of them come before you,

that you would deale fauourably with vs.

Diotr Your request is verye reasonable, for the first you shal see that your friendes shal haue the best chambers in euerye prison, and when anye puritane falleth into our handes, you shal see him haue the most stincking place that can bee found. Now when any of you, yea if you your self com[e] before vs, you must be content to let vs rayle on you, and call you traitors, and threaten you greuously, but you shalbe sure you shall sustaine small harme, if you receive any, you must impute it to the times and not to vs.

Tertul I thanke your Lordship, let vs now be going, for

we have tarried too long in our lodging this morning.

Diotre Hee neuer tarrieth too long that is wel imployed, as we haue beene, it was the best morning that euer I spent.

Demet. How now mine host, what say you to these ioly fellowes, had not they notable talke?

Pandoch Yes sir, I have learned of them, that that will

do me good I hope.

Demet What is that?

Pandoch I have learned howe to course our preacher, and hee shall be sure of it, and though it cost mee the price of a tunne of wine.

Demetri Why, what doth he that deserueth coursing?

Pandoch What? He setteth men together by the eares, the towne was neuer at quiet since he came, he teacheth

such doctrine as some doo like, and some not, and so they fall at variance.

Demetri I pray you tell me some particulars of the worst of all.

Pandoch This for one: our towne standeth on vittelling, because it is a thorow-fare, and he preacheth against good followship (which hee calleth drunkennesse) and against playing at cardes and tables, wherein, if he might have his wil. I and my neighbors might go on begging within one twelue-moneths, and he hath so preuailed that I take not so much by foure poundes in a weeke, as I was woont to doe: yea I have had ten shillings of one man in a weeke for drincke onelie, that will nowe scarce spend three, but I will looke vnto him.

Demetri Well mine host, deceiue not vour selfe, I perceive that you and I are in a wrong boxe, you are an enimy to the Preacher, because he speaketh against your vnlawfull gaine, and so was I vesterday with him that tooke the same course to amend me: and I thought he had spoken falsly, because he was a Puritan: and when I came to heare my matter debated, the bishop disallowed my course, and yet tooke my parte. And why? Because I might defend him in his vnlawfull calling. But I see their jugling wel inough, and if the manne, with whome I was so offended be not gone, I will talke further with him, for I perceive that hee meant better vnto me than they did.

Pandoch I perceive we shall have a Puritan of you, if you would so faine speake with him, he is but newe gone out at the gate, you may ride after him: but as for our Preacher, I will in hand with him, because I cannot tel howe I shall else gaine my liuing, and maintain my selfe as heeretofore I

haue doone.

THE CONCLUSION.

Rethren, ye see by lamentable experience, howe iniuriouslie the church of GOD in England is dealte withall, by taking away, and stopping the mouths of their faithful teachers, and by thrusting vppon vs

vnlearned and vnsufficient menne, which neither have wil nor abilitie, with wholsome barking to drive away the woolfe, but contrariwise dooth giue priuie encouragement vnto the enemie, to continue in his wickednesse, whereby the church of God is assailed most dangerouslie: and Sathan doth not cease by al meanes possible, to ouerthrow that good worke which is begunne in England: and therefore it behooueth vs brethren, to looke about vs, and not to suffer the enemie to growe so strong against vs, if by anie meanes wee may let and hinder his wicked enterprises. And now, my brethren. what is to bee done on our partes? Surelie I am one of the simplest of a thousand, to give aduise to proceede in any good course in so waightie a matter. But this, in my iudgement were a good waye, euento ioyne our selues together, so manie as feare GOD, and to frame our moste humble supplication vnto her Highnesse, shewing vnto her Maiestiethe greate dammage and losse that the Churche dooth sustayne. for that they can not have the voyces of their faithfull pastors, which have diligently, and with great paines labored to draw men backe from superstition, and the false worship of God, vnto the true and sincere worship of his maiestie. and laying downe before vs most purely, the doctrine of the Scriptures, to the end, that we should know what wee ought to doe, and what to leaue vndoone, leading vs, as it were, euen by the hand, vnto the true worship of God, and our loyall dutie vnto her Maiestie, and al her officers. And these men (we can not tel by what meanes) are letted and stopped from dooing those notable dueties of their calling, and are not permitted to speake anie more vnto vs in the name of the Lord, whereby we hir poore subjects sustaine great dearth and scarcitie, euen of the foode of our soules. Therefore wee her loial subjects, most humbly do entreate her highnesse, that shee woulde looke vpon the affliction of the poore Churche, and let vs haue our true teachers restored vnto vs againe. And so we her subjects should yeeld continual thanks vnto her highnesse, praying vnto God alwayes for her prosperitie. And (our brethren) if this way shall be thought good, when there shalbe some aduice taken vpon it. Then to choose out some fitt man that can indite and frame our supplication, one that feareth God, that hath a feelinge of this plague in his hearte (as the Scripture speaketh) I meane of the want and lacke of these good preachers.

And this beeing doone, then to appoint other godly and honest men, to present our supplication, two or three, as it shall bee thought good vnto you, and the rest to ayd them with money, or in what other daunger may fal out: so that they present it in the name of the whole congregation, or otherwise, if it shalbe thought good. First to moue our sute vnto some of the Byshops, as Winchester or Salisburie, or both, or anie other that you shall thinke good: I beseech you let vs not sit stil, when wee are touched so neer, but as those good men haue ventured their libertie and liuing for our good: so let vs take some paines for them, to aduenture some daunger of reproofe, or what else maye fall out.

Better is the day of death (saith Salomon) then the day of birth, man that is borne of a woman, liueth but a short time, and is replenished with many miseries, but happie are the dead, that die in the Lord.

Man is borne of woman in trauell, to liue in miserie, man through Christe, doth die in ioy, and liue in felicitie. He is borne to die, and dieth to liue. Straight as hee commeth into the worlde, with cries, hee vttereth his miserable estate, straight as he departeth, with songs he praiseth God for euer. Scarce yet in his cradle, three deadlie enemies assault him: after death no adversary can anoy him: whilest hee is here, hee displeaseth God: when he is dead, he fulfilleth his will. In this life, here he dieth thorow sinne, in the life to come, he liueth in righteousnes, thorowe many tribulations in earth, he is still purged: with iov ynspeakable in heauen, is he made pure for euer: here hee dieth euerie howre, there hee liueth continuallye: heere is sinne, there is righteousnesse: heere is time, there is eternitie: heere is hatred, there is loue: heere is paine, there is pleasure: heere is miserie, there is felicitie: heere is corruption, there is immortalitie: here we see vanity, there shall wee behold the maiestie of God, with triumphant and vnspeakable ioye in glorie euerlasting.

Seeke therefore the things that are aboue, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God the father, to whom with the sonne and the holie ghost, be al honour and glorie, worlde without ende Amen.

The English Scholar's Library etc.

No. 7.

The Seven deadly Sins of London &c.



The English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works.

THOMAS DECKER.

The Seven deadly Sins of London

drawn in seven several coaches, through
the seven several gates of the
City; bringing the plague
with them.

[October] 1606.

Edited by EDWARD ARBER, ES.A., etc.

LECTURER IN ENGLISH LITERATURE ETC., UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

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Lying or the second day's Triumph Lying is father to Falsehood, and grandsire to Perjury. Fraud (with two faces) is his daughter. Treason (with hairs like snakes) is his kinsmen.
Candlelight [i.e. Deeds of Darkness] or the nocturnal
Triumph A striking picture of Lendon by night.
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Triumph 35-37 Wasborn when the Duke of Anjou came over to marry Queen Elizabetth, of a French Tailor and an English Court-seamster. Is supported by Tailors, Haber- dashers, and Embroiderers. The women imitate men's fashious. (Andrew Borne's description of an Englishman stark naked, with shears in his band, and cloth on his arm &c.
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THE SCHEME OF THE SEVEN DEADLY

BANKRUPTCY.

LYING.

ANDLE LIGHT.

is drawn by

two coach horses, COVETOUSNESS and COZENAGE.

Two horses, WAN-TONNESS, and EVIL CUSTOM,

Two rats.

is driven by Hypocrisy, A Fool.

A Chandler.

His Pages

CONSCIENCE. A couple of swear- PAINFULNESS. BEGGARY. PAINFULNESS. STUDY.

and Attendants.

Knights of the Post, scambling ignorant Pettifoggers, &c.

DARKNESS, CONSPIRACY, OPPORTUNITY, STRATAGEMS, FEAR.

and Followers. { Tradesmen, Merchants, Serjeants, Bailiffs, &c. } Some of every trade. } Some of every trade. | Diggers in mines, Engravers, School lars, Mariners, Nurses, Drunkards, Unthrifts, Shrode Husbands, INGRATITUDE.

Diggers in mines,

Enters through Lud Gate.

Moor Gate. Alders Gate.

The Plague is threatened, but not described;

Ald Ciate.

THE TRIUMPHS OF SINS OF LONDON ETC

OF LONDON ETC. SLOTH. APISHNESS. SHAVING. CRUELTY. Is framed of ragged flints, that as Made of nothing it runs, strike one A horse lifter overbut cages stuck full another, and heat of parrots' feagrown with moss out fire that is on the outside, and thers, in which are Richly adorned. able to consume in the inside quiltall the strangest eities. The spokes ed throughout with and most outlandof the many wheels down pillows. ish birds that can are the shin bones be got. of wretches eaten by misery in prison (A Fawn and a / A couple of unshod Four beasts. A Lamb in winter. A couple of tigers, Asses, SLEEP and Wolf, and a She In summer it goes MURDER and PLENTY leading Bear, and after two alone by the mo-RASHNESS. the fore Ass. Blood Hounds. tion of wheels. A pursy doublechinned LANA An Italian moun- An Informer. riding by on a SELE-WHIL tebank (in winter). / sumpter horse, is the Litter-driver. A Dancing boy, and a Tumbler, in An Irish Beggar. light coloured Two disbarred IGNORANCE. One that says "He has been a sol-dier." Pettifoggers. full of butterflies OBDURATION. with wings that flutter with the wind. Wit (his Steward) SICKNESS, WANT, FOLLY, LAUGH-AUDACITY, IGNORANCE, IN-TER, INCONSTAN-SHIFTING, FAMY, BONDAGE, CY, RIOT, NICE-INEXORABILITY. PALENESS, None will stay NESS, VAIN-DISQUIETNESS BLOCKISHNESS, long with him. OF MIND. CARELESSNESS. Only REPENT-Tobacconists, ANCE follows afar Anglers, Dumb Shuttlecock - ma off. i.e. unpreaching Ministers, Playkers. Feather-ma-Skeldering Sol-Cobwebers, Exchange kers, diers, and begging lawn weavers, Perwenches. Gam-Scholars, fumers, Young sters, Panders, Whores, and Fidcountry Gentle-

having been so recently experienced.

lers.

Bishops Gate.

men, Fools,

Cripple Gate.

New Gate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.



ISSUE IN THE AUTHOR'S LIFETIME.

As a separate publication.

1. [Oct.] 1606. 4to. See title at p. xv.

The registration at Stationers' Hall is as follows:-

6 Octobris [1606.]

Nathaniel Butter. Entred for his copie vnder the handes of master Hartwell and master Warden white A Book called The Schen deadly synnes of London, drawen in 7 severall coaches throughe the. 7 gates of the City.

vjd. w.

Transcript &c. iii. 330. Ed. 1876.

... It is stated in the copy (10.452) in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum, that this is "the rarest of Dekker's pieces."

ISSUES SINCE HIS DEATH.

A. As a separate publication.

2. 1866. London. 4to. Privately printed (edition of Forty copies only). Illustrations of Old English Literature. Vol. ii. Edited by J. PAYNE COLLIER, F.S.A. The Seven deadly Sins &-c. is one of the distinct reproductions comprising this Series.

Mr. Collier says, "We are aware of nothing precisely like it in our language, either for invention, or for accuracy and vivacity of description."

3. 15 April, 1879. Southgate, London, Svo. The present impression.

B. With other works.

None known.



INTRODUCTION.





ULL of striking invention and imagery conceived in as religious a spirit as that of JOHN BUNYAN; written in a strong yet quaint and bedecked style, which appears to be an engrafting of the punning of JAMES's reign on the Euphuism of Elizabeth's time; so rich in words, similes, and allusions of the day as to be capable of almost indefinite annotation; replete with so many graphic touches of life and character: this intensely

earnest Apologue—at once a sermon, a pageant, and a satire—dashed off in a week by one who was both a Poet and a Dramatist, will amply repay the close attention of the student of the Golden Age of our Literature.

BI.

F the framework and outward form of this old Interlude of Iniquity, the abstract given at pp. vi. and vii. will here suffice.

Let us see "what a number of colours are here grounded, to paint out" by a Londoner (p. g), the sights and sounds of ordinary life in the metropolis in the fourth year of JAMES I.: sights and sounds which we can well suppose were as well noted by the observant

eye of SHAKESPEARE, during his late residence of nearly twenty years in town, as then by his younger and lesser compeer DECKER.

Here is a short sketch of London by day.

In every street, carts and Coaches make such a thundring as if the world ranne vpon wheeles: at everie corner, men, women, and children meete in such shoales, that postes are sette vp of purpose to strengthen the houses, least with justling one another they should shoulder them downe. Besides, hammers are beating in one place, Tubs hooping in another, Pots clincking in a third, water-tankards running at tilt in a fourth: heere are Porters sweating vnder burdens, there Marchants-men bearing bags of money, Chapmen (as if they were at Leape frog) skippe out of one shop into another:

Tradesmen (as if they were dauncing Galliards) are lusty at legges and neuer stand still: all are as busie as countrie Atturneves at an Assises. p. 31.

To which may be added an afternoon performance, say, at the Blackfriars Theatre

The Players prayed for his comming, they lost nothing by it, the comming in of tenne Embassadors was neuer so sweete to them, as this our sinne was; their houses smoakt euerye after noone with Stinkards, who were so glewed together in crowdes with the Steames of strong breath, that when they came foorth, their faces lookt as if they had beene perboylde: And his Comicall Tearme-time they hoped for, at the least all the summer, because tis given out that Sloth himselfe will come, and sit in the two-pennie galleries amongst the Gentlemen, and see their Knaueries and their pastimes. p. 32.

And finally the arrival of candle light at nightfall.

No sooner was he aduaunced up into the moste famous Streetes, but a number of shops for joy beganne to shut in: Mercers rolde vp their Silkes and Veluets: the Goldsmithes drew backe their Plate, and all the Citty lookt like a private Play-house, when the windowes are clapt downe, as if some Nocturnal, or dismall Tragedy were presently to be acted before all the Trades-men. But Caualiero Candle-light came for no such solemnities: No he had other Crackers in hand to which hee wacht but his houre to give fire. Scarce was his entrance blown abroad, but the Bankrupt, the Fellon, and all that owed any mony, and for feare of arrests, or Iustices warrants, had like so many Snayles kept their houses ouer their heads al the day before, began now to creep out of their shels, and to stalke vp and down the streets as vprightly, and with as proud a gate as if they meant to knock against the starres with the crownes of their heads. p. 25.

III.



T the same time, mere description of life was not primarily intended by the writer. It is a half-religious, half-dramatic invective against the iniquity of the day that was unpunishable by law, such as DANIEL DE FOE might have written; and on

account of which the writer prognosticates a renewal of the recent plague

of 1603. The various classes that are satirized in it, are specified in the Contents at ϕ . v. Let us see his warning to the best of them, the clergy.

There is yet one more, whome I would not heare to Cry Guilty, because (of all others) I would not have them slothfull. O you that speak the language of Angels, and should indeed be Angels amongst vs, you that have offices aboue those of Kinges, that have warrant to commaund Princes, and controle them, if they do amisse: you that are Stewards ouer the Kings house of heaven, and lye heere as Embassadors about the greatest State-matters in the world: what a dishonour were it to your places, if it should bee knowne that you are Sloathfull? you are sworne labourers, to worke in a Vineyard, which if you dresse not carefully, if you cut it not artificially, if you vnderprop it not wisely when you see it laden, if you gather not the fruites in it, when they bee ripe, but suffer them to drope downe, and bee eaten vp by Swine. O what a deere account are you to make him that must give you your hire? you are the Beames of the Sun that must ripen the grapes of the Vine, and if you shine not cleerely, he will eclipse you for euer: your tongues are the instruments that must cut off rancke and idle Sprigs, to make the bearingbraunches to spred, and vnlesse you keepe them sharpe and be euer pruning with them. he will cast you by, and you shall be eaten vp with rust. The Church is a garden and you must weede it: it is a Fountaine, and you must keepe it cleere: it is her Husbands Jewell, and you must pollish it: it is his best belooued, and you must keepe her chast.

Many Merchants hath this Cittie to her Sonnes, of al which you are the most noble, you trafficke onely for mens Soules, sending them to the Land of Promise, and to the heavenly Ierusalem, and receiving from thence (in Exchange) the richest Commoditie in the world, your owne saluation. O therefore bee not you Slothfull: for if being chosen Pilots, you Sleepe, and so sticke vpon Rockes, you hazard your owne shipwracke more then theirs that venture with you.

pp. 33, 34.



HE Induction to the Book and those numerous apostrophes in London, as Thou, thy country's darling! Thou leader of so great a kingdom! Fair Troy-novant! show how much the mind of the writer was imbued with the style of the old Hebrew

prophets; and how sure he was that that style would find a response in the hearts of his readers.

There is also the following quaint description of the human body, with which we must here conclude.

Man (doubtlesse) was not created to bee an idle fellow, for then he should bee Gods Vagaboud: he was made for other purpose then to be euer eating as swine: euer sleeping as Dormise: euer dumb as fishes in the Sea, or euer prating to no purpose, as birdes of the ayre: he was not set in this Vniucrsall Orchard to stand still as a Tree, and so to bee cut downe, but to be cut downe if he should stand still.

And to have him remember this, he carries certaine Watches with Larums about him, that are ever striking: for all the Enginous Wheeles of the Soule are continually going: though the body lye never so fast bownde in Slumbers, the imagination runnes too and fro, the phantasic flyes round about, the vitall spirits walke vp and downe, yea the very pulses show activitie, and with their hammers are still beating, so that even in his very dreames it is whispered in his eare that hee must bee dooing something. If hee had not these prompters at his elbowe ye everie member of his body (if it could speake woulde chide him) if they were put to no vse, considering what noble workmanship is bestowed.

For man no sooner gets vpon his legges, but they are made so that either hee may run or goe: when he is weary, they can giue him ease by standing still, if he will not stand, the *Knees* serue like Hindges to bow vp and downe, and to let him kneele. His armes have artificiall cordes and stringes, which shorten or flye out of their length at pleasure: They winde about the bodye like a silver Girdle, and being held out

before, are weapons to defend it.

At the end of the armes are two beautiful Mathematicall Instruments, with five severall motions in each of them, and thirtie other mouing Engines, by which they stirre both.

His head likewise standes vpon three *Skrewes*, the one is directly forward to teach him *Providence*, the other two are on eather side one, to arme him with *Circumspection*: How busic are both the eyes, to keepe danger from him. pp. 30, 31.

THE

Seuen Deadly Sinnes

of London:

Drawn in seuen seuerall Coaches,
Through the seuen seuerall Gates of the
Citie

Bringing the Plague with them.

Opus septem Dierum.

Tho: Dekker.



At London

Printed by E.A. for Nathaniel Butter, and are to bee sold at his shop neere Saint Austens gate.

1000.





To the Worshipfull and very worthy Gentleman Henry Fermor Esquire, Clarke of the Peace for the

Countie of Middlesex.



Am sory (deare Sir) that in a time (so abundant with wit) I shold send vnto you no better fruit then the sins of a City: but they are not common, (for they were neuer gathered till this yeare) and therefore I send them for the Rarity: Yet now I remember my selfe, they

are not the Sinnes of a Citie, but onely the picture of them. And a Drollerie (or Dutch peece of Lantskop) may sometimes breed in the beholders eye, as much delectation, as the best and most curious master-peece excellent in that Art. Bookes being sent abroad after they are begotten into the world, as This of mine is, are in the nature of Orphans; But being received into a Gardianship (as I make no doubt but this shall) they come into the happie state of adopted children. That office must now be yours, and you neede not bee ashamed of it, for Kings have beene glad to doe them honour, that have bestowed such a neuer-dying honour vppon them. The benefite

you shall receive, is this, that you see the building vp of a tombe (in your life time) wherein you are sure so to lie, as that you cannot bee forgotten; and you read that very Epitaph that shal stand over you, which by no Envie can bee defaced, nor by any time worne out. I have made choise of you alone, to bee the onely Patron to these my labours: by which word (onely) I chalenge to my selfe a kinde of Dignitie: for there hath beene a Generation of a sort of strange fellowes (and I thinke the race is not vet eaten out) who when a Booke (of theire owner hath bin borne in the lawfull Matrimonie of Learning, and Industrie, have basely compeld it either like a bastard, to call a great many father (and to goe under all their names) or else (like a common fellow at a Sessions) to put himselfe (as the tearme is) vpon twelve godfathers. In which case (contrarie to all law) the Foreman is most dishonoured. That art of Skeldring I studie not, I stand upon stronger Bases. The current of a mans Reputation, being divided into so manie Rivolets must needes grow weake. If you give intertainment to this in your best affection, you will

binde me (one day) to heighten your name, when by some more worthy Columne (by me to be erected)

I shall consecrate that and your selfe
to an euerlasting and sacred Memorie.

Most affectionately desirous to be yours.

Tho. Dekker.



Reader,

T is as ordinarie a custome (for vs that are Bookish)

to haue a bout with thee, after wee haue done with a Patron, as for Schollers (in the noble Science) to play at the woodden Rapier and Dagger at the ende of a Maisters prize. In doing which we know not vpon what Speeding points wee runne, for you (that are Readers) are the most desperate and fowlest players in the world, you will strike when a mans backe is toward you, and kill him (if you could for shame) when he lies vnder your feete. You are able (if you have the tokens of deadly Ignorance, and Boldnes at one time vpon you) to breede more infection on in Pauls Church-yard, then all the bodies that were buried there in the Plague-time, if they had beene left still aboue ground. You stand somtimes at a Stationers stal, looking scuruily (like Mules champing vpon Thistles) on the face of a new Booke bee it neuer so worthy: and goe (as il fauouredly) mewing away: But what get you by it? The Booke-seller euer after when you passe by, pinnes on your backes the badge of fooles to make you be laught to scorne, or of sillie Carpers to make you be pittied: Conradus Gesner neuer writ of the nature of such strange beasts as you are: for where as we call you Lectores, Readers, you turne your selues into Lictores, Executioners, and tormenters. I wold not have him that writes better than I, to Reade this, nor him that cannot doe so well, to Raile, or if hee cannot chuse but Raile, let him doe it to my face: otherwise (to me being absent) it is done cowardly: for Leonem mortuum mordent etian Catuli: Cats dare scratch Lions by the face when they lie dead, and none but Colliers will threaten a Lord Major when they are farre enough

from the Cittie. I have laide no blockes in thy way: if thou findest Strawes,

(Vade valc.) caue ne titubes.



The names of the Actors in this old Enterlude of Iniquitie.

- I Politike Bankeruptisme.
- 2 Lying.
- 3 Candle-light.
- 4 Sloth.
- 5 Apishnesse.
- 6 Shauing.
- 7 Crueltie.

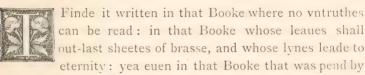
Seuen may easily play this, but not without a Diuell.





The Induction to the

Booke.



the best Author of the best wisedome, allowed by a Deity, licensed by the Omnipotent, and published (in all Languages to all Nations) by the greatest, truest, and onely Diuine, thus I find it written, that for Sinne, Angels were throwne out of heauen; for Sinne, the first man that euer was made, was made an outcast: he was driven out of his living that was left vnto him by his Creator: It was a goodlier liuing, than the Inheritance of Princes: he lost Paradice by it (he lost his house of pleasure:) hee lost Eden by it, a Garden, where Winter could neuer have nipt him with cold, nor Summer have scorcht him with heate. He had there all fruits growing to delight his taste, all flowers flourishing to allure his eye, all Birds singing to content his eare; he had more than he could desire: yet because he desired more than was fit for him, he lost all. For Sinne, all those buildings which that greate Worke-master of the world had in sixe dayes raysed, were swallowed at the first by waters, and shall at last be consumed in fire. How many families hath this Leuiathan denoured?

how many Cities? how many Kingdoms? Let vs awhile leaue Kingdomes, and enter into Cities. Sodom and Gomorrah were burnt to the ground with brimstone that dropt in flakes from heauen: a hot and dreadfull vengeance. Icrusalem hath not a stone left vpon another of her first glorious foundation: a heavy and fearefull downefall. Icrusalem, that was Gods owne dwelling house; the Schoole where those Hebrew Lectures, which he himselfe read, were taught; the very Nursery where the Prince of Heauen was brought vp; that Icrusalem, whose Rulers were Princes, and whose Citizens were like the sonnes of Kings: whose Temples were paued with gold, and whose houses stood like rowes of tall Cedars; that Ierusalem is now a dezert; It is vnhallowed, and vntrodden: no Monument is left to shew it was a City, but only the memoriall of the Iewes hard-hartednes, in making away their Sauiour: It is now a place for barbarous Turks, and poore despised Grecians; it is rather now (for the abominations committed in it) no place at all.

Let vs hoyst vp more Sayles, and lanch into other Seas, till wee come in ken of our owne Countrey. Antwerp (the eldest daughter of Brabant) hath falne in her pride, the Citties of rich Burgundy in theyr greatnes. Those seuenteene Dutch Virgins of Belgia, (that had Kingdomes to theyr dowries, and were worthy to be courted by Nations) are now no more Virgins: the Souldier hath deflowred them, and robd them of theyr Mayden honor: Warre hath still vse of their noble bodyes, and discouereth theyr nakednes like prostituted Strumpets. Famine hath dryed vp the fresh bloud in theyr cheekes, whilst the Pestilence digd vp theyr Fields, and turned them into Graues. Neither haue these punishments bin layd vpon them onely; for bloud hath bin also drawne of their very next neighbours. France lyes yet panting vnder

the blowes which her owne Children haue giuen her. Thirty veeres together suffred she her bowels to be torne out by those that were bred within them: She was full of Princes, and saw them all Ive mangled at her feete: She was full of people, and saw in one night a hundred thousand massacred in her streetes: her Kings were eaten vp by Ciuill warres, and her Subjects by fire and famine. Ogallant Monarchy, what hard fate hadst thou, that when none were left to conquer thee, thou shouldst triumph ouer thy selfe! Thou hast Wynes flowing in thy veynes: but thou madest thy selfe druncke with thine owne bloud. The English, the Dutch, and the Spanish, stoode aloofe and gaue ayme, whilst thou shotst arrowes vpright, that fell vpon thine owne head, and wounded thee to death. Wouldst thou (and the rest) know the reason. why your bones have bin bruzed with rods of Iron? It was, because you have risen in Arch-rebellion against the Supremest Soueraigne: You have bin Traytors to your Lord, the King of heauen and earth, and have armed your selves to fight against the Holy Land. Can the father of the world measure out his love so vnequally, that one people (like to a mans yongest child) should be more made of than all the rest, being more vnruly than the rest? O London, thou art great in glory, and enuied for thy greatnes: thy Towers, thy Temples, and thy Pinnacles stand vpon thy head like borders of fine gold, thy waters like frindges of siluer hang at the hemmes of thy garments. Thou art the goodliest of thy neighbors, but the prowdest; the welthiest, but the most wanton. Thou hast all things in thee to make thee fairest, and all things in thee to make thee foulest; for thou art attir'de like a Bride, drawing all that looke vpon thee, to be in loue with thee, but there is much harlot in thine eyes. Thou sitst in thy Gates heated with Wines, and in thy Chambers

with lust. What miseries have of late overtaken thee? yet (like a foole that laughs when hee is putting on fetters) thou hast bin merry in height of thy misfortunes: She (that for Call Ales almost halfe a hundred of yeres) of thy Nurse became thy Mother, and layd thee in her bosome, whose head was full of cares for thee, whilst thine slept vpon softer pillowes than downe. She that wore thee alwayes on her brest as the richest Iewell in her kingdome, who had continually her eve vpon thee, and her heart with thee; whose chaste hand clothed thy Rulers in Scarlet, and thy Inhabitants in roabes of peace: euen she was taken from thee, when thou wert most in feare to lose her: when thou didst tremble (as at an earth-quake) to thinke that bloud should runne in thy Channels, that the Canon should make way through thy Portcullises, and fire rifle thy wealthy houses, then, euen then wert thou left full of teares, and becamst an Orphan. But behold, thou hadst not sat many howres on the banks of sorrow, but thou hadst a louing Fatherthat adopted King James his Coronation. thee to be his owne: thy mourning turnd presently to gladnes, thy terrors into triumphs. Yet, lest this fulnesse of ioy should beget in thee a wantonnes, and to try how wisely thou couldst take vp affliction, Sicknes was sent to breathe her vnwholsome agrees into thy nosthrils, so that thou, that wert before the only Gallant and Minion of the world, hadst in a short time more diseases (then a common Harlot hath) hanging vpon thee; thou suddenly becamst the by-talke of neighbors, the scorne and contempt of Nations.

Heere could I make thee weepe thy selfe away into waters,

*1 Booke so
cided, written
by calling back those sad and dismall houres,
in the Author, wherein thou consumedst almost to nothing with
describing the
shrikes and lamentations, in that *Wonderfull
Playment
10.3, when yeere, when these miserable calamities entred in

at thy Gates, slaying 30000. and more as thou there dyed heldst them in thine armes, but they are fresh disease. in thy memory, and the story of them (but halfe read ouer) would strike so coldly to thy heart, and lay such heavy sorrow vpon mine (Namque animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit) that I will not be thine and my owne tormentor with the memory of them. How quickly notwithstanding didst thou forget that beating? The wrath of him that smot[e] thee, was no sooner (in meere pitty of thy stripes) appeased, but howrely (againe) thou wert in the company of euill doers. euen before thou couldst finde levsure to aske him forgiuenes.

Euer since that time hath hee winckt at thy errors, and suffred thee (though now thou art growne old, and lookest very ancient) to goe on still in the follyes of thy youth: he hath ten-fold restor'de thy lost sonnes and daughters, and such sweete, lively, fresh colours hath hee put vpon thy cheekes, that Kings haue come to behold thee, and Princes King of to delight their eyes with thy bewty. None of all England, and these fauours (for all this) can draw thee from thy King of

wickednes: Graces have powred downe out of heaven

vpon thee, and thou art rich in all things, sauing in goodnes: So that now once againe hath he gone about (and but gone about) to call thee to the dreadfull Barre of his Judgement. And no maruaile: for whereas other Citties (as glorious as thy selfe,) and other people (as deare vnto him as thine) haue in his indignation bin quite taken from the face of the earth, for some one peculiar Sinne, what hope hast thou to grow vp still in the pride of thy strength, gallantnes and health, having seven deadly and detestable sinnes lying night by night by thy lasciulous sides? O thou beawtifullest daughter of two vnited Monarchies! from thy womb received I my being, from thy brests my nourishment; yet giue me

leave to tell thee, that thou hast seven Divels within thee, and till they be cleane cast out, the Arrowes of Pestilence will fall vpon thee by day, and the hand of the Inuader strike thee by night. The Sunne will shine, but not be a comfort to thee, and the Moone looke pale with anger, when she gives thee light. Thy Louers will disdayne to court thee: thy Temples will no more send out Diuine oracles: Justice will take her flight, and dwell else-where; and that Desolation, which now for three yeeres together hath houered round about thee, will at last enter, and turne thy Gardens of pleasure into Church-yards; thy Fields that seru'd thee for walks, into Golgotha; and thy hye built houses, into heapes of dead mens Sculs. I call him to witnes, who is all Truth, I call the Cittizens of heauen to witnes, who are all spotlesse, that I slander thee not, in saying thou nourishest seven Serpents at thy brests, that will destroy thee: let all thy Magistrates and thy officers speake for me; let Strangers that have but seene thy behauiour, be my Iudges: let all that are gathered vnder thy wings, and those that sleepe in thy bosome, give their verdict vpon me; yea, try me (as thy brabblings are) by all thy Petit and Graund Iurors, and if I belye thee, let my Country (when I expire) deny me her common blessing, Buriall. Lift vp therefore thy head (thou Mother of so many people:) awaken out of thy dead dangerous slumbers, and with a full and fearelesse eye behold those seuen Monsters, that with extended iawes gape to swallow vp thy memory: for I will into so large a field single euery one of them, that thou

and all the world shall see their vglinesse, for by seeing them, thou mayst anoyd them, and by anoyding them, be the happiest and most renowned of Citties.



Politick Bankruptisme, Or,

The first dayes Triumph of the first Sinne.



T is a custome in all Countries, when great personages are to be entertained, to have great preparation made for them: and because London disdaines to come short of any City, either in Magnificence, State, or expences upon such an occasion, solemne order was set downe, and seven severall solemne dayes were appointed to receive these seven Potentates: for they

carry the names of Princes on the earth, and wheresoe're they inhabit, in a short time are they Lords of great Dominions.

The first dayes Triumphs were spent in meeting and

conducting Politick Bankruptisme into the Freedome: to receive whom, the Master, the Keepers, and all the Prisoners of Ludgate in their best clothes stood most officiously readie: for at that Gate, his Deadlinesse challenges a kind of prerogative by the Custome of the Citie, and there loves he most to be let in. The thing they stood vpon, was a Scaffold erected for the purpose stuck round about with a few greene boughes (like an Alehouse booth at a Fayre) and covered with two or three threed-bare Carpets (for prisoners have no better) to hide the vnhandsomnes of the Carpenters worke: the boughes with the very strong breath that was prest out of the vulgar, withered, and like Autumnian leaves dropt to the ground, which made the Broken Gentleman to hasten his progresse the more, and the rather, because Lud and his two sonnes

stood in a very cold place, waiting for his comming. Being vnder the gate, there stood one arm'd with an extemporall speech, to give him the onset of his welcome: It was not (I would you should well know) the Clarke of a country parish, or the Schoolemaster of a corporate towne, yat every yeere has a saying to Master Major, but it was a bird pickt out of purpose (amongst the Ludgathians) that had the basest and lowest voice, and was able in a Terme time, for a throat, to give any prisoner great ods for ye box at the grate: this Organ pipe was folunde to rore for the rest, who with a live sound and glib delivery, made an Encomiastick Paradoxicall Oration in praise of a prison, prouing, that captiuity was ye only blessing vat could happen to man, and that a Politick Bankrupt (because he makes himselfe for euer by his owne wit) is able to liue in any common wealth, and deserues to go vp the ladder of promotion, when fine hundred shallowpated feollowes shall be turnd off. The poore Orator having made vp his mouth, Bankruptisme gaue him very good words, and a handful or two of thanks, vowing he would euer liue in his debt. At which, all the prisoners rending the ayre with shouts, the key was turnd, and vp (in state) was he led into king Luds house of Bondage, to survey the building, and to take possession of ye lodgings; where he no sooner entred, but a lusty peale of welcomes was shot out of Kannes in stead of Canons, and though the powder was exceeding wet, yet off they went thick and threemiseris socios fold. The day was proclaymed Holiday in all the wardes; euery prisoner swore if he would stay amongst them, they would take no order about their debts, because they would lye by it too; and for that purpose swarmd about him like Bees about Comfit-makers, and were drunke, according to all the learned rules of Drunkennes, as Vpsy-Freeze, Crambo, Parmizant, &c. the pimples of this ranck and full-humord ioy rising thus in their faces, because they all knew, that though he himselfe was broken, the linings of his bags were whole; and though he had no conscience (but a crackt one) yet he had crownes yat were sound. None of all these hookes could fasten him to them: he was (like their clocks) to strike in more places than one, and though he knew many Citizens hated him, and that if he were encountred by some of them, it might cost him deere,

yet vnder so good a protection did he go (as he said) because he owed no ill will euen to those that most sought his vndoing; and therefore tooke his leaue of the house, with promise, to be with them, or send to them once euery quarter at the least. So that now, by his wise instructions, if Missing makes a Puny were there amongst them, he might learne more cases, and more quiddits in law within seuen dayes, than he does at his Inne in fourteene moneths.

The Politician beeing thus got into the City, caries himself so discreetly, that he steales into the hearts of many: In words, is he circumspect: in lookes, graue: in attire, ciuill: in diet, temperate: in company affable: in His qualities. his affaires serious: and so cunningly dooes he lay on these colours, that in the end he is welcome to, and familiar with the best. So that now, there is not any one of all the twelue Companies, in which (at one time or other) there are not those that have forsaken their owne Hall, to be free of his: yea some of your best Shop-keepers hath he enticed to shut themselves vp from the cares and busines of the world, to liue a private life; nay, there is not any great and famous Streete in the City, wherein there hath not (or now doth not) dwell, some one, or other, that hold the points of his Religion. For you must understand, that the Politick Bankrupt is a Harpy that lookes smoothly, a Hyena His disguises. that enchants subtilly, a Mermaid that sings sweetly, and a Cameleon, that can put himselfe into all colours. Sometimes hee's a Puritane, he sweares by nothing but Indeede, or rather does not sweare at all, and wrapping his crafty Serpents body in the cloake of Religion, he does those acts that would become none but a Diuell. Sometimes hee's a Protestant, and deales justly with all men, till he sees his time, but in the end he turnes Turke. Because you shall beleeue me, I will giue you his length by the Scale, and Anatomize his body from head to foote. Heere it is.

Whether he be a Tradesman, or a Marchant, when he first sets himselfe vp, and seekes to get the world into *His policy*. his hands, (yet not to go out of ye City) or first talks of Countries he neuer saw (vpon the *Change*) he will be sure to keepe his dayes of payments more truly, then Lawyers keepe their Termes, or than Executors keepe the last lawes that the dead inioyned them to, which even Infidels themselves

will not violate: his hand goes to his head, to his meanest customer, (to expresse his humilitie;) he is vp earlier then a Sarieant, and downe later then a Constable, to proclaime his thrift. By such artificiall wheeles as these, he wind [e]s himselfe vp into the height of rich mens fauors, till he grow rich himselfe, and when he sees that they dare build vpon his credit, knowing the ground to be good, he takes vpon him the condition of an Asse, to any man that will loade him with gold: and yseth his credit like a Ship freighted with all sorts of Merchandise by ventrous Pilots: for after he hath gotten into his hands so much of other mens goods or money, as will fill him to the vpper deck, away he sayles with it, and politickly runnes himselfe on ground, to make the world beleeve he had sufferd shipwrack. Then flyes he out like an Irish rebell, and keepes aloofe, hiding his head, when he cannot hide his shame: and though he haue fethers on his back puld from sundry birds, yet to himselfe is he more wretched, then ye Cuckoo in winter, that dares not be seene. The troupes of honest Citizens (his creditors) with whom he hath broken league and hath thus defyed, muster themselues together, and proclaime open warre: their bands consist of tall Ycomen, that serue on foot, commanded by certaine Serieants of their bands, who for leading of men, are knowne to be of more experience then the best Low-country Captaines. In Ambuscado do these lye day and night, to cut off this enemy to the City, if he dare but come downe. But the politick Bankrupt barricadoing his Sconce with double locks, treble dores, inuincible bolts, and pieces of timber 4. or 5. storyes hye, victuals himselfe for a moneth or so; and then in the dead of night, marches vp higher into ye country with bag and baggage; parlies then are summond; compositions offred; a truce is sometimes taken for 3. or 4. yeeres; or (which is more common) a dishonorable peace (seeing no other remedy) is on both sides concluded, he (like the States) being the only gayner by such ciuill warres, whilst the Citizen that is the lender, is the loser: Nam crimine ab vno disce omnes, looke how much he snatches from one mans sheafe, hee gleanes from euery one, if they bee a hundred.

The victory being thus gotton by basenes and trechery, back comes he marching with spred colours againe to the City; aduances in the open streete as he did before; sels the

goods of his neighbor before his face without blushing: he iets vp and downe in silks wouen out of other mens stocks, feeds deliciously vpon other mens purses, rides on his ten pound Geldings, in other mens saddles, and is now a new man made out of wax, thats to say, out of those bonds, whose seales he most dishonestly hath canceld. O veluct-garded Theores! O yea-and-by-nay Cheaters! O civill, ô Grave and

Right Worshipfull Couzeners!

What a wretchednes is it, by such steps to clime to a counterfetted happines? So to be made for euer, is to be vtterly vndone for euer: So for a man to saue himselfe, is to venture his own damnation; like those that laboring by all meanes to escape shipwrack, do afterwards desperatly drown themselues. But alas! how rotten at the bottom are buildings thus raised! How soone do such leases grow out of date! The Third House to them is neuer heard of. What slaves then doth mony (so purchast) make of those, who by such wayes thinke to find out perfect freedome? But they are most truly miserable in midst of their ioyes: for their neighbors scorn them, Strangers povnt at them, good men neglect them, the rich man will no more trust them, the begger in his rage vpbraydes them. Yet if this were all, this all were nothing. O thou that on thy pillow (lyke a Spider in his loome) weauest mischeuous nets, beating thy braynes, how by casting downe others, to rayse vp thy selfe!

Thou Politick Bankrupt, poore rich man, thou ill-painted foole, when thou art to lye in thy last Inne (thy loathsome graue) how heavy a loade will thy wealth bee to thy weake corrupted Conscience! those heapes of Silver, in telling of which thou hast worne out thy fingers ends, will be a passing bell, tolling in thine eare, and calling thee to a fearefull Audit. Thou canst not dispose of thy riches, but the naming of every parcell will strike to thy heart, worse then the pangs of thy departure: thy last will, at the last day, will be an Inditement to cast thee; for thou art guilty of offending those two lawes (enacted in the vpper House of heaven) which directly forbid thee to steale, or to court thy neighbors

goods.

But this is not all neither; for thou lyest on thy bed of death, and art not carde for: thou goest out of the world, and art not lamented: thou art put into the last linnen yat euer

thou shalt weare, (thy winding-sheete) with reproch, and art sent into thy Graue with curses: he that makes thy Funerall Sermon, dares not speake well of thee, because he is asham'd to belye the dead: and vpon so hatefull a fyle doest thou hang the records of thy life, that even when the wormes have pickt thee to the bare bones, those that goe over thee, will set vpon thee no Epitaph but this, Here lyes a knawe.

Alack! this is not the worst neither: thy Wife being in the heate of her youth, in the pride of her beauty, and in all the brauery of a rich London Widow, flyes from her nest (where she was thus fledg'd before her time) the City, to shake off the imputation of a Bankrupts Wife, and perhaps marries with some Gallant: thy bags then are emptied, to hold him vp in riots: those hundreds, which thou subtilly tookst vp vpon thy bonds, do sinfully serue him to pay Tauerne bills, and what by knauery thou got[e]st from honest men, is as villanously spent vpon Pandars and Whores: thy Widow being thus brought to a low ebbe, grows desperat: curses her birth, her life, her fortunes, yea perhaps curses thee, when thou art in thy euerlasting sleepe, her conscience perswading strongly, that she is punished from aboue, for thy faults: and being poore, friendlesse, comfortlesse, she findes no meanes to raise her selfe, but by Falling, and therfore growes to be a common woman. Doth not ye thought of this torment thee? She lives basely by the abuse of that body, to maintaine which in costly garments, thou didst wrong to thine owne soule: nay more to afflict thee, thy children are ready to beg their bread in that very place, where the father hath sat at his dore in purple, and at his boord like Diucs, surfeting on those dishes which were earnd by the sweat of other mens browes. The infortunate Marchant, whose estate is swallowed vp by the mercilesse Seas, and the provident Trades-man, whom riotous Seruants at home, or hard-hearted debters abroad vndermine and ouerthrow, blotting them with the name of Bankrupts, deserve to be pitied and relieved, when thou that hast cozend even thine owne Brother of his Birth-right, art laught at, and not remembred, but in scorne, when thou art plagued in thy Generation.

Be wise therefore, you Graue, and wealthy Cittizens; play with these Whales of the Sea, till you escape them that are denourers of your Merchants; hunt these English Wolues

to death, and rid the land of them: for these are the Rats that eate vp the provision of the people: these are the Grashoppers of Egypt, that spoyle the Corne-fields of the Husbandman and the rich mans Vineyards: they will haue poore Naboths piece of ground from him, though they eate a piece of his heart for it. These are indeede (and none but these) the Forreners that live without the freedome of your City, better than you within it; they live without the freedome of honesty, of conscience, and of christianitie. Ten dicing-houses cheate not yong Gentlemen of so much mony in a yeare, as these do you in a moneth. The theefe that dyes at Tyburne for a robbery, is not halfe so dangerous a weede in a Common-wealth, as the Politick Bankrupt. I would there were a Derick to hang vp him too.

The Russians have an excellent custome: they beate them on the shinnes, that have mony, and will not pay their debts; if that law were well cudgeld from thence into England, Barbar-Surgeons might in a tew yeeres build vp a Hall for their Company, larger then Powles, only with the cure of Bankrupt

broken-shinnes.

I would faine see a prize set vp, that the welfed Vsurer, and the politick Bankrupt might rayle one against another for it: ô, it would beget a riming Comedy. The Challenge of the Germayne against all the Masters of the Noble Science, would not bring in a quarter of the money: for there is not halfe so much loue betweene the Iron and the Loadestone, as there is mortall hate betweene those two Furies. The Vsurer liues by the lechery of mony, and is Bawd to his owne bags, taking a fee, that they may ingender. The Politick Bankrupt liues by the gelding of bags of Siluer. The Vsurer puts out a hundred pound to breede, and let it run in a good pasture (thats to say, in the lands that are mortgag'd for it) till it grow great with Foale, and bring forth ten pound more. But the Politick Bankrupt playes the Alchimist, and having taken a hundred pound to multiply it, he keepes a puffing and a blowing, as if he would fetch the Philosophers stone out of it, yet melts your hundred pound so leng in his Crusibles, till at length he either melt it cleane away, or (at the least) makes him that lends it thinke good, if every hundred bring him home five, with Principall and Interest.

You may behold now in this Perspective piece which I have

drawne before you, how deadly and dangerous an enemy to the State this Politick Bankruptisme hath bin, and still is: It hath bin long enough in the Citty, and for any thing I see, makes no great haste to get out. His triumphs haue bin great, his entertainement rich and magnificent. He purposes to lye heere as Lucifers Legiar: let him therefore alone in his lodging (in what part of the Citty soeuer it be) tossed and turmovled with godlesse slumbers, and let vs take vp a standing neere some other Gate, to behold the Entrance of the Second Sinne: but before you go, looke vpon the Chariot that this First is drawne in, and take speciall note of all his Attendants.

The habit, the qualities and complexion of this Embassador sent from Hell, are set downe before. He rides in a Chariot drawne vpon three wheeles, that run fastest away. when they beare the greatest loades. The bewty of the Chariot is all in-layd work, cunningly and artificially wrought, but yet so strangely, and of so mony seuerall-fashiond pieces, (none like another) that a sound wit would mistrust they had bin stolne from sundry worke-men. By this prowd Counterfet ran two Pages; on the left side Conscience, raggedly attirde, ill-fac'd, ill coloured, and misshapen in body. On the right side runs Beggery, who if he out-live him, goes to serve his children. Hipocrisy drives the Chariot, having a couple of fat well-coloured and lusty Coach-horses to the eye, cald Conctonences and Cosenage, but full of diseases, and rotten about the heart. Behind him follow a crowd of Trades-men. and Merchants, euery one of them holding either a Shopbooke, or an Obligation in his hand, their seruants, wives and children strawing the way before him with curses, but he carelesly runnes over the one, and out-rides the other; at the tayle of whom (like the Pioners of an Army) march troopewise, and without any Drum struck vp, because the Leader can abide no noyse, a company of old expert Saricants, bold Yeomen, hungry Baylifs, and other braue Martiall men, who because (like the Switzers) they are well payd, are still in Action, and oftentimes have the enemy in execution; following the heeles of this Citty-Conqueror, so close, not for any loue they owe him, but only (as all those that follow great men do) to get mony by him. We will leave them lying in Ambush, or holding their Courts of Gard, and take a muster of our next Regiment.



2. Lying. Or,

The second dayes Triumph.



Hen it came to the eares of the Sinfull Synagogue, how the rich Iew of London, (Barabbas Bankruptisme) their brother, was receyued into the Citty, and what a lusty Reueler he was become, the rest of the same Progeny (being 6. in number) vowd to ryde thither in their greatest State, and that euery one should challenge to himselfe

he could enter) a seuerall day of Tryumph; for so he might doe by their owne Customes. Another therefore of the Broode, being presently aptly accoustred, and armed Cap-a-pe, with all furniture fit for such an Inuader, sets forward the very next morning, and arriu'de at one of the Gates, before any Porters eyes were vnglewd. To knocke, hee thought it no policy, because such fellowes are commonly most churlish, when they are most intreated, and are keycold in their comming downe to Strangers, except they be brybed: to stay there with such a confusion of faces round about him, till light should betray him, might call his Arrivall, being strange and hidden, into question; besides, he durst not send any Spy he had, to listen what newes went amongst the people, and whether any preparation were made for him, or that they did expict his approche, because indeede there was not any one of the Danned Crewe that followed his tayle, whom he durst trust for a true word. He resolues therefore to make his entrance, not by the sword, but by some sleyght,

what storme or fayre weather soeuer should happen: And for that purpose, taking as under his Charriot, (for it stood altogether like a Germane clock, or an English Iack or Turne-spit, vpon skrewes and vices) he scatters his Troope vpon the fielde and bye-way, into small companies, as if they had bene Irish beggers; till at last espying certayne Colliers with Carts most sinfully loaden, for the Citty, and behind them certayne light Country Horse-women ryding to the Markets, hee mingled his Footemen carelesly amongst these, and by this Stratagem of Coales, brauely thorow Moore-gate, got within the walles, where marching not like a plodding Grasyer with his Droucs before him, but like a Citty-Captayne, with a Company (as pert as Taylours at a wedding) close at his heeles, (because nowe they knewe they were out of feare) hee musters together all the Hackneymen and Horse-coursers in and about Colman-streete.

No sooner had these Sonnes and Heyres vnto Horse-shooes. got him into their eyes, but they wept for ioy to behold him; vet in the ende, putting vp their teares into bottles of Hay, which they held vnder their armes, and wyping their slubberd cheekes with wispes of cleane Strawe (prouved for the nonce) they harnessed the Grand Signiors Caroach, mounted his Cauallery vpon Curtals, and so sent him most pompously

(like a new elected Dutch Burgomaster) into the Citty.

He was lookt vpon strangely by all whom he met, for at the first, few or none knew him, few followed him, few bid him welcome: But after hee had spent heere a very little peece of time, after it was voyc'd that Monsieur Mendax came to dwell amongst them, and had brought with him all sorts of politick falshood and lying, what a number of Men, Women and Children fell presently in loue with him! There was of euery Trade in the City, and of euery profession some, that instantly were dealers with him: For you must note, that in a State so multitudinous, where so many flocks of people must be fed, it is impossible to haue some Trades to stand, if they should not Lye.

How quickly after the Art of Lying was once publiquely profest, were false Weights and false Measures invented! and they have since done as much hurt to the inhabitants of Citties, as the invention of Gunnes hath done to their walles: for though a Lye haue but short legs (like a Dwarfes) vet

it goes farre in a little time, Et crescit eundo, and at last prooues a tall fellow: the reason is, that Truth had ever but one Father, but Lyes are a thousand mens Bastards, and are

begotten euery where.

prospers not.

Looke vp then (Thou thy Countryes Darling,) and behold what a diuelish Inmate thou hast intertained. The Genealogy of Truth is well knowne, for she was borne in Heauen. and dwels in Heauen: Falshood then and Lying must of necessity come out of that hot Country of Hell, from the line of Diuels: for those two are as opposite, as day and darkenes. What an vngracious Generation wilt thou mingle with thine, if thou draw not this from thee: What a number of vnhappy and cursed children will be left vpon thy hand? for Lying is Father to Falshood, and Grandsire to Periury: Frawd (with two faces) is his Daughter, a very Monster: Treason (with haires like Snakes) is his kinsemen; a very Fury! how art thou inclos'd with danger? The Lye first deceiues thee, and to shoote the deceit off cleanly, an oath (like an Arrow) is drawne to the head, and that hits the marke. If a Lye, after it is morullded, be not smooth enough, there is no instrument to burnish it, but an oath: Swearing giues it cullor, and a bright complexion. So that Oathes are Crutches, vpon whych Lyes (like lame soldiers) go, and neede no other pasport. Little oathes are able to beare vp great lves: but great Lyes are able to beate downe great Families: For oathes are wounds that a man stabs into himselfe, yea, they are burning words that consume those who kindle them.

What fooles then are thy Buyers and Sellers to be abused by such hell-hounds? Swearing and Forswearing put into their hands perhaps the gaines of a little Siluer, but like those pieces which *Iudas* received, they are their destruction. Welth so gotten, is like a tree set in the depth of winter, it

But is it possible (Thou leader of so great a Kingdome) that heretofore so many bonfires of mens bodies should be made before thee in the good quarrell of Trueth? and that now thou shouldst take part with her enemy? Haue so many Triple-pointed darts of Treason bin shot at the heads of thy Princes, because they would not take Truth out of thy Temples, and art thou now in League with false Witches vat would kill thee? Thou art no Traueler, the habit of Lying therefore will not become thee, cast it off.

He that gives a soldier the Lyc, lookes to receive the stab: but what danger does he run vpon, that gives a whole City the Lye? yet must I venture to give it thee. Let me tell thee then, that Thou doest Lye with Pride, and though thou art not so gawdy, yet art thou more costly in attiring thy selfe than the Court, because Pride is the Queene of Sinnes, thou hast chosen her to be thy Concubine, and hast begotten many base Sonnes and Daughters vpon her body, as Vainglory, Curiosity, Disobedience, Opinion, Disdaine, &c. Pride, by thy Lying with her, is growne impudent: She is now a common Harlot, and every one hath vse of her body. The Taylor calls her his Lemman, he hath often got her great with child of Phantasticallity and Fashions, who no sooner came into the world, but the fairest Wives of thy Tennants snatcht them vp into their armes, layd them in their laps and to their brests, and after they had plaid with them their pleasure, into the country were those two children (of the Taylors) sent to be nurst vp, so that they liue sometimes there, but euer and anon with thee.

Thou doest likewise Lye with Vsury: how often hast thou bin found in bed with her! How often hath she bin openly disgraced at the Crosse for a Strumpet! yet still doest thou keepe her company, and art not ashamed of it, because you commit Sinne together, even in those houses that have paynted posts standing at the Gates. What vngodly brats and kindred hath she brought thee? for vpon Vsury hast thou begotten Extortion, (a strong, but an vnmannerly child,) Hardnes of heart, a very murderer, and Bad Conscience, who is so vnruly, that he seemes to be sent vnto thee, to be thy euerlasting paine. Then hath she Sonnes in law, and they are all Scriveners: those Scriveners have base sonnes, and they are all common Brokers; those Brokers likewise send a number into the world, and they are all Common Theeues.

All of these may easily give Armes: for they fetch their discent from hell, where are as many Gentlemen, as in any

one place, in any kingdome.

Thou doost lye with sundrie others, and committest strange whoredomes, which by vse and boldnesse growe so common, that they seeme to be no whoredomes at all, Yet thine owne abhominations would not appeare so vilely, but that thou makest thy buildings a Brothelry to others: for thou

sufferest Religion to lye with Hipocrisie: Charity to lye with Ostentation: Friendship to lye with Hollow-heartednes: the Churle to lye with Simony: Instice to lye with Bribery: and last of all, Conscience to lye with euerie one. So that now shee is full of diseases: But thou knowest the medicine for al these Feauers that shake thee: be therfore to thy selfe thine owne Phisitian, and by strong Pilles purge away this second infection that is breeding vpon thee, before it strike to the heart.

Falshood and Lying thus have had their day, and like Almanackes of the last yeare, are now gon out: let vs follow them a step or two farther to see how they ride, and then (if we can) leave them, for I perceive it growes late, because Candle-light (who is next to enter vpon the stage) is making himself ready to act his Comicall Scenes. The Chariot then that Lying is drawne in, is made al of whetstones; Wantonnes and euil custome are his Horses; a Foole is the Coachman that drives them: a couple of swearing Fencers sometimes leade the Horses by the revnes, and sometimes flourish before them to make roome. Worshipfully is this Lord of Limbo attended. for Knights themselves follow close at his heeles; Mary they are not Post and Poyre-Knightes but one of the Post. Amongst whose traine is shuffled in a company of scambling ignorant Pctti-foggars, leane Knaues and hungrie, for they liue vpon nothing but the scraps of the Law, and heere and there (like a Prune in White-broth) is stucke a spruice, but a meere prating vnpractised Lawyers Clarke all in blacke. At the tayle of all (when this goodly Pageant is passed by) follow a crowde of euerie trade some, amongst whome least we be smothered, and bee taken to bee of the same list, let vs strike downe my way.

Namque odi profanum Vulgus.



3. Candle-light. Or.

The Nocturnall Tryumph.



Candle-light! and art thou one of the Cursed Crew? hast thou bin set at the Table of Princes, and Nobelmen? have all sortes of people doone reuerence vnto thee, and stood bare so soone as euer they have seene thee? haue Theeues, Traytors, and Murderers been affraide to come in thy presence, because theyknewetheeiust, and that thou wouldest discouer them? And art thou now a

harborer of all kindes of Vices? nay, doost thou play the

capitall Vice thy selfe?

Hast thou had so many learned Lectures read before thee, and is the light of thy Vnderstanding now cleane put out, and haue so many profound schollers profited by thee? hast thou doone such good to Vniuersities, beene soch a guide to the Lame, and seene the dooing of so many good workes, vet doest thou now looke dimly, and with a dull eye vpon al Goodnes? What comfort have sickmen taken (in weary and irkesome nights) but onely in thee? thou hast been their Phisition and Apothecary, and when the rellish of nothing could please them, the very shadow of thee hath beene to them a restorative Consolation. The Nurse hath stilled her wayward Infant, shewing it but to thee. What gladnes hast thou put into Mariners bosomes, when thou hast met them on the Sea? What Ioy into the faint and benighted Trauailer when he has met thee on the land? How many poore Handy-craftes men by Thee have earned the best part of their living? And art

thou now become a Companion for Drunkards, for leachers. and for prodigalles? Art thou turnd Reprobate? thou wilt burne for it in hell, And so odious is this thy Apostacy, and hiding thy self from ye light of the truth, yat thy death and going out of the world, euen they yat loue thee best, wil tread thee vnder their feete: yea I yat haue thus plaid the Herrald, and proclaimed thy good parts, wil now play the Cryer and cal thee into open count, to arraigne thee for thy misdemeanors.

Let the world therefore vnderstand, that this Tallow-facde Gentleman (cald Candle-light) so soone as euer the Sunne was gon[e] out of sight, and that darkenes like a thief out of a hedge crept vpon the earth, sweate till hee dropt agen, with bustling to come into the Cittie. For having no more but one onely eye (and that fierie red with drinking and sitting vp late) he was ashamed to be seene by day, knowing he should be laught to scorne, and hooted at. He makes his entrance therefore at Aldersgate of set purpose, for though the streete be faire and spatious, yet few lightes in mistie euenings, vsing there to thrust out their golden heads he thought that the aptest circle for him to be raised in, because there his

Glittering would make greatest show.

What expectation was there of his comming? setting aside ve bonfiers, there is not more triumphing on Midsommer night. No sooner was he aduaunced vp into the moste famous Streetes, but a number of shops for joy beganne to shut in: Mercers rolde vp their silkes and Veluets: the Goldsmithes drew backe their Plate, and all the Citty lookt like a private Play-house, when the windowes are clapt downe, as if some Nocturnal, or dismall Tragedy were presently to be acted before all the Trades-men. But Caualiero Candle-light came for no such solemnitie: No he had other Crackers in hand to which hee wacht but his houre to give fire. Scarce was his entrance blown abroad, but the Bankrupt, the Fellon, and all that owed any mony, and for feare of arrests, or Iustices warrants, had like so many Snayles kept their houses ouer their heads al the day before, began now to creep out of their shels, and to stalke vp and down the streets as vprightly, and with as proud a gate as if they meant to knock against the starres with the crownes of their heads.

The damask-coated Cittizen, that sat in his shop both

forenoone and afternoone, and lookt more sowerly on his poore neighbors, then if he had drunke a quart of Vineger at a draught, sneakes out of his owne doores, and slips into a Tauerne, where either alone, or with some other that battles their money together, they so plye themselues with penny pots, which (like small-shot) goe off, powring into their fat paunches, that at length they have not an eye to see withall, nor a good legge to stand vpon. In which pickle if anye of them happen to be justled downe by a post (that in spite of them will take the wall) and so reeles them into the kennell, who takes them vp or leades them home? who has them to bed, and with a pillow smothes this stealing so of good liquor, but that brazen-face Candle-light? Nay more, hee intices their verie Prentices to make their desperate sallyes out, and quicke retyres in (contrarie to the Oath of their Indentures) which are seuen yeares a swearing, onely for their Pintes, and away.

Tush, this is nothing! yong shopkeepers that have newly ventured vpon the pikes of marriage, who are euery houre shewing their wares to their Customers, plying their businesse harder all day then Vulcan does his Anuile, and seeme better husbands than Fidlers that scrape for a poore liuing both day and night, yet euen these if they can but get Candle-light, to sit vp all night with them in any house of Reckning (thats to say in a Tauerne) they fall roundly to play the London prize, and thats at three seuerall weapons, Drinking, Dauncing, and Dicing, Their wives lying all that time in their beds sighing like widowes, which is lamentable: the giddie-braind husbands wasting the portions they had with them, which lost once, they are (like Maiden-heades) neuer recouerable. Or which is worse, this going a Bat-fowling a nights, beeing noted by some wise yong-man or other, that knowes how to handle such cases, the bush is beaten for them at home, whilest they catch the bird abroade, but what bird is it? the Woodcocke.

Neuer did any Cittie pocket vp such wrong at the hands of one, ouer whom she is so iealous, and so tender, that in Winter nights if he be but missing, and hide himselfe in the darke, I know not how many Beadles are sent vp and downe the streetes to crie him: yet you see, there is more cause she should send out to curse him. For what Villanies are not

abroad so long as Candle-light is stirring? The Scruing-man dare then walke with his wench: the Private Puncke (otherwise called one that boords in London) who like a Pigeon sits billing all day within doores, and feares to steppe ouer the thresholde, does then walke the round till midnight, after she hath beene swaggering amongst pottle pots and Vintners boyes. Nay, the sober Perbetuana suited Puritane, that dares not (so much as by Moone-light) come neere the Suburb-shadow of a house, where they set stewed Prunes befor e you, raps as boldly at the hatch, when he knowes Candle-light is within, as if he were a new chosen Constable. When al doores are lockt vp, when no eyes are open, when birds sit silent in bushes, and beasts lie sleeping vnder hedges, when no creature can be smelt to be vp but they that may be smelt every night a streets length ere you come at them, euen then doth this Ignis fatuus (Candle-light) walke like a Fire-drake into sundrie corners. If you will not beleeue this, shoote but your eye through the Iron grates into the Cellers of Vintners, there you shall see him hold his necke in a Iin, made of a clift hoope-sticke, to throttle him from telling tales, whilest they most abhominably iumble together all the papisticall drinkes that are brought from beyond-sea: the poore wines are rackt and made to confesse anie thing: the Spanish and the French meeting both in the bottome of the Cellar, conspire together in their cups, to lay the Englishman (if he euer come into their company) vnder the boord.

To be short, such strange mad musick doe they play vpon their Sacke-buttes, that if Candle-light beeing ouer come with the steeme of newe sweete Wines, when they are at worke, shoulde not tell them tis time to goe to bedde, they would make all the Hogges-heads that use to come to the house, to daunce the Cannaries till they reeld againe. When the Grape-mongers and hee are parted, hee walkes vp and downe the streetes squiring olde Midwiues to anie house, (verie secretly) where any Bastards are to be brought into the worlde. From them, (about the houre when Spirits walke, and Cats goe a gossipping) hee visits the Watch, where creeping into the Beadles Cothouse (which standes betweene his legges, that are lapt rounde about with peeces of Rugge, as if he had newe strucke of f? Shackles) and seeing the Watch-men to nodde at him, hee hydes himselfe presently, (knowing the token) vnder the flappe of a gowne, and teaches them (by instinct) howe to steale nappes into their heades, because hee sees all their Cloakes have not one good nappe vppon them: and vppon his warrant snort they so lowde, that to those Night walkers (whose wittes are vp so late) it serues as a Watch-worde to keepe out of the reach of their browne Billes: by which meanes they neuer come to aunswere the matter before maister Constable, and the Bench vppon which his men (that shoulde watch) doe sitte: so that the Counters are cheated of Prisoners, to the great dammage of those that shoulde have their mornings draught out of the Garnish.

O Candle-light, Candle-light! to howe manie costly Sackepossets, and reare Banquets hast thou beene inuited by Prentices and Kitchen-maidens? When the Bell-man for anger to spie (such a Purloyner of Cittizens goods) so many, hath bounced at the doore like a madde man, At which (as if Robin Good-fellow had beene conjur'd vp amongst them) the Wenches haue falne into the handes of the Greene-sicknesse, and the vong fellowes into colde Agues, with verie feare least their maister (like olde Ieronimo and Isabella his wife after him) starting out of his naked bed should come downe (with a Weapon in his hande) and this in his mouth: What out-cryes pull vs from our naked bedde? Who calles? &c. as the Players can tell you. O Candle-light, howe hast thou stuncke then, when they have popt thee out of their companye; howe hast thou taken it in snuffe, when thou hast beene smelt out especially the maister of the house exclayming, that by day that deede of darknesse had not beene. One Vennie more with thee, and then I have done.

How many lips have beene worne out with kissing at the street doore, or in ye entry (in a winking blind euening?) how many odde matches and vneuen mariages haue been made there betweene young Prentises and there maisters daughters, whilest thou (O Candle-light) hast stood watching at the staires heade, that none could come stealing downe by

thee, but they must bee seene?

It appeares by these articles put in against thee, that thou art partly a Bawd to diverse loose sinnes, and partly a Coozener: for if any in the Cittie haue badde wares lying deade vppon their handes, thou art better than Aqua vitæ to

fetch life into them, and to sende them packing. Thou shalt therefore bee taken out of thy proude Chariot, and bee carted: vet first will wee see what workmanship, and what stuffe it is made of, to the intent that if it bee not daungerous for a Cittie to keepe anie Relique belonging to such a crooked Saint, It may bee hung vp as a monument to shewe with what dishonour thou wert driven out of so noble a lodging, to deface whose buildings thou hast beene so enuious, that when thou hast beene left alone by any thing that woulde take fire, thou hast burnt to the ground many of her goodlyest houses.

Candle lights Coach is made all of Horne, shauen as thin as Changelinges are. It is drawne (with ease) by two Rats: the Coachman is a Chaundler, who so sweats with yearking them, that he drops tallowe, and that feedes them as prouender: yet are the lashes that hee gives the squeaking Vermine more deadly to them then al the the Ratsbane in Bucklersburie. Painefulnesse and Studdy are his two Lackeyes and run by him: Darknesse, Conspiracy, Opportunitie, Stratagems and Feare, are his attendants: hee's sued vnto by Diggars in Mines, Grauers, Schollers, Mariners, Nurses, Drunkards, Vnthriftes and shrode Husbands: hee destroyes that which feedes him, and therefore Ingratitude comes behinde all this, driving them before her. The next Diuel that is to be commaunded up, is a very lazie one, and will be long in rising: let vs therefore vnbinde this, and fall to other Charmes.





4. Sloth Or The fourth dayes Tryumph.



An (doubtlesse) was not created to bee an idle fellow, for then he should bee Gods Vagabond: he was made for other purpose then to be euer eating as swine: euer sleeping as Dormise: euer dumb as fishes in the Sea, or euer prating to no purpose, as birdes of the ayre: he was not set in this Vniuersall Orchard to stand still as a Tree, and so to bee cut downe, but to be cut

downe if he should stand still. And to have him remember this, he carries certaine Watches with Larums about him, that are ever striking: for all the Enginous Wheeles of the Soule are continually going: though the body lye never so fast bownde in Slumbers, the imagination runnes too and fro, the phantasic flyes round about, the vitall Spirits walke vp and downe, yea the very pulses shew activitie, and with their hammers are still beating, so that even in his very dreames it is whispered in his eare that hee must bee dooing something.

If hee had not these prompters at his elbowe yet eueric member of his body (if it could speake would chide him) if they were put to no vse, considering what noble workmanship is bestowed vpon them. For man no sooner gets vpon his legges, but they are made so that either hee may run or goe: when he is weary, they can giue him ease by standing still, if he will not stand, the *Knees* serue like Hindges to bow

vp and downe, and to let him kneele. His armes haue artificiall cordes and stringes, which shorten or flye out of their length at pleasure: They winde about the bodye like a siluer Girdle, and being held out before, are weapons to defend it: at the end of the armes are two beautiful Mathematicall Instruments, with five severall motions in each of them, and thirtie other mouing Engines, by which they stirre both. His head likewise standes vppon three Skrewes, the one is directly forward to teach him Providence, the other two are on eather side one, to arme him with Circumspection: How busie are both the eyes, to keepe danger from him euerie way.

But admit hee had none of these Wonderfull Volumes to reade ouer, yet hee sees the clowdes alwaies working: the waters euer labouring: the earth continually bringing foorth: he sees the Sunne haue a hye colour with taking paines for the day. The Moone pale and sickly, with sitting vp for the night: the Stars mustring their armyes together to guard the Moone. All of them, and all that is in the world, seruing as Schoolemaisters, and the world it selfe as an Academ v to bring vp man in knowledge, and to put him still into action.

How then dares this nastie, and loathsome sin of Sloth venture into a Citie amongst so many people? who doth he hope wil giue him entertainment? what lodging (thinks he) can be taine vp, where he and his heavy-headed company may take their afternoones nap soundly? for in every street, carts and Coaches make such a thundring as if the world ranne vpon wheeles: at euerie corner, men, women, and children meete in such shoales, that postes are sette vp of purpose to strengthen the houses, least with justling one another they should shoulder them downe. Besides, hammers are beating in one place, Tubs hooping in another, Pots clincking in a third, water-tankards running at tilt in a fourth: heere are Porters sweating vnder burdens, there Marchants-men bearing bags of money, Chapmen (as if they were at Leape frog) skippe out of one shop into another: Tradesmen (as if they were dauncing Galliards) are lusty at legges and neuer stand still: all are as busic as countrie Atturneyes at an Assises: how then can Idlenes thinke to inhabit heere?

Yet the Worshipfull Sir, (that leades a Gentlemans life,

and dooth nothing) though he comes but slowly on (as if hee trodde a French March) yet hee comes and with a great trayne at his tayle, as if the countrie had brought vp some Fellon to one of our Gayles, So is he conuaide by nine or tenne drowsie Malt-men, that lye nodding ouer their Sackes, and even a moste sleepie and still Triumph begins his

entrance at Bishopsgate.

An armie of substantiall Housholders (moste of them living by the hardnesse of the hand) came in Battaile array, with spred Banners, bearing the Armes of their severall occupations to meete this Cowardly Generall and to beate him backe. But hee sommoning a parlee, hammered out such a strong Oration in praise of Ease, that they all strucke vp their Drums, flung vp their Round-Cappes, (and as if it had beene another William the Conqueror came marching in with him) and lodged him in the quietest streete in the

Cittie, for so his Lazinesse requested.

Hee then presently gaue licenses to all the Vintners, to keepe open house, and to emptye their Hogsheades to all commers, who did so, dying their grates into a drunkards blush (to make them knowe from Grates of a prison) least customers should reele away from them and hanging out new bushes, that if men at their going out, could not see the signe, yet they might not loose themselues in the bush. He likewise gaue order that dicing-houses, and bowling alleyes should be erected, wherupon a number of poore handycrafts-men, that before wrought night and day, made stocks to themselues of ten groates, and crowns a peece, and what by Betting, Lurches, Rubbers and such tricks, they neuer tooke care for a good daies worke afterwards. For as Letchery is patron of al your Suburb Colledges, and sets vp Vaultinghouses, and Daunsing-Schooles: and as Drunkennesse when it least can stand, does best hold vp Alehouses, So Sloth is a founder of the Almeshouses first mentioned, and is a good Benefactor to these last.

The Players prayed for his comming, they lost nothing by it, the comming in of tenne Embassadors was neuer so sweete to them, as this our sinne was; their houses smoakt euerye after noone with Stinkards, who were so glewed together in crowdes with the Steames of strong breath, that when they came foorth, their faces lookt as if they had

beene perboylde: And his Comicall Tearme-time they hoped for, at the least all the summer, because tis given out that Sloth himselfe will come, and sit in the two-pennie galleries amongst the Gentlemen, and see their Knaueries and their

pastimes.

But alas! if these were the sorest diseases (Thou noblest City of the now-noblest Nation) that Idleness does infect thee with: thou hast Phisick sufficient in thy selfe, to purge thy bodie of them. No, no, hee is not slothfull, that is onelye lazie, that onelye waistes his good houres, and his Siluer in Luxury, and licentious ease, or that onely (like a standing water) does nothing, but gather corruption: no, hee is the true Slothfull man that does no good. And how many would crie Guilty vnto thee, if this were there Inditement? Thy Maiestrates (that when they see thee most in danger) put vp the swordes that *Iustice* hath guided, to their loynes, and flie into the countrie, leaving thee destitute of their Counsell.

they would crie guilty, they are slothfull.

Thy Phisitions, that fearing to die by that which they liue, (sicknes) doe most vnkindely leaue thee when thou art ready to lye vpon thy death bed, They are slothful, They would crie Guilty. Thy great men, and such as have been thy Rulers, that being taken out of poore Cradles, and nursed vp by thee, haue fild their Cofers with golde, and their names with honour, yet afterwards growing weary of thee, (like Mules having suckt their dammes) most ingratefully haue they stolne from thee, spending those blessings which were thine, vpon those that no way deserue them. Are not These Slothfull? They would crie guiltye. There is yet one more, whome I would not heare to Cry Guilty, because (of all others) I would not have them slothfull. O you that speake the language of Angels, and should indeed be Angels amongst vs, you that have offices aboue those of Kinges. that have warrant to commaund Princes, and controle them, if they do amisse: you that are Stewards ouer the Kings house of heauen, and lye heere as Embassadors about the greatest State-matters in the world: what a dishonour were it to your places, if it should bee knowne that you are Sloathfull? you are sworne labourers, to worke in a Vineyard, which if you dresse not carefully, if you cut it not artificially, if you vnderprop it not wisely when you see it laden, if you

gather not the fruites in it, when they bee ripe, but suffer them to drope downe, and bee eaten vp by Swine. O what a deere account are you to make him that must giue you your hire? you are the Beames of the Sun that must ripen the grapes of the Vine, and if you shine not cleerely, he will eclipse you for euer: your tongues are the instruments that must cut off rancke and idle Sprigs, to make the bearing-braunches to spred, and vnlesse you keep them sharpe and be euer pruning with them, he will cast you by, and you shall be eaten vp with rust. The Church is a garden and you must weede it: it is a Fountaine, and you must keepe it cleere: it is her Husbands Jewell, and you must pollish it:

Many Merchants hath this Cittie to her Sonnes, of al which you are the most noble, you trafficke onely for mens Soules, sending them to the Land of *Promise*, and to the heauenly *Icrusalem*, and receiving from thence (in *Exchange*) the richest Commoditie in the world, your owne saluation. O therefore bee not you Slothfull: for if being chosen Pilots, you Sleepe, and so sticke vpon Rockes, you hazard your owne shipwracke more then theirs that venture with you.

it is his best belooued, and you must keepe her chast.

What a number of Colours are heere grounded, to paint out *Sloth* in his vglines, and to make him loathed, whilst he (yawning, and his Chin knocking nods into his brest) regardes not the whips of the moste crabbish *Satyristes*. Let vs therfore looke vpon his *Horse-litter* that hee rides in, and so leaue him.

A couple of vnshodde Asses carry it betweene them, it is all fluttishly ouergrowne with Mosse on the out-side, and on the inside quilted through out with downe pillowes: Sleepe and Plenty leade the Fore-Asse; a pursie double chind Læna, riding by on a Sumpter-horse with prouander at his mouth, and she is the Litter-Driver: shee keepes two Pages, and those are an Irish Beggar one the one side, and One that sayes he has been a Soldier on the other side. His attendants are Sicknes, Want, Ignorance, Infamy, Bondage, Palenes, Blockishnes, and Carelesnes. The Retayners that wear his cloth are Anglers, Dumb Ministers, Players, Exchange-Wenches, Gamsters, Panders, Whores and Fidlers.



Apishnesse:

0r

The fift dayes Triumph



Loth was not so slow in his march, when hee entred the Citie, but Apishnesse (that was to take his turne next) was as quick. Do you not know him? It cannot be read in any Chronicle, that he was euer with Henrie the eight at Bulloigne or at ye winning of Turwin and Turnay: for (not to belie the specie Gentleman,) he was neither

the shell then, no nor then when Paules-steeple and the Weathercocke were on fire; by which markes (without looking in his mouth) you may safely sweare, that hees but yong, for hees a feirse, dapper fellow, more light headed then a Musitian: as phantastically attyred as a Court leaster: wanton in discourse: lasciuious in behauiour; iocond in good companie: nice in his trencher, and yet he feedes verie hungerly on scraps of songs: he drinkes in a Glasse well, but vilely in a deepe French-bowle: yet much about the yeare when Monsieur came in, was hee begotten, betweene a French Tayler, and an English Court-Seamster. This Signior Ioculento (as the diuell would have it) comes prawncing in at Cripplegate, and he may well doe it, for indeede all the parts hee playes are but con'd speeches stolne from others, whose voices and actions he counterfeites: but so lamely, that all the Cripples in tenne Spittle-houses, shewe not more halting. The Grauer Browes were bent against him, and by the awfull Charms of Reverend Authoritie, would have sent him

downe frome whence he came, for they knew howe smooth soeuer his lookes were, there was a diuell in his bosome: But hee having the stronger faction on his side, set them in a Mutenie, Sauitque animis ignobile vulgus, the manie headed Monster fought as it had beene against Saint George, won the gate, and then with showtes was the Gaucston of the Time, brought in. But who brought him in? None but richmens sonnes that were left well, and had more money giuen by will, then they had wit how to bestow it: none but Prentises almost out of their yeers, and all the Tailors, Haberdashers, and Embroderers that could be got for loue or money, for these were prest secretly to the seruice, by the vong and wanton dames of the Citie, because they would not be seene to shewe their love to him themselves.

Man is Gods Ape, and an Ape is Zani to a man, doing ouer those trickes (especially if they be knauish) which hee sees done before him: so that Apishnesse is nothing but counterfetting or imitation: and this flower when it first came into the Citie, had a prettie scent, and a delightfull colour, hath bene let to run so high, that it is now seeded, and where it

fals there rises vp a stinking weede.

For as man is Gods ape, striuing to make artificiall flowers, birdes, &c. like to the natural: So for the same reason are women, Mens Shee Apes, for they will not bee behind them the bredth of a Taylors yard (which is nothing to speake of) in anie new-fangled vpstart fashion. If men get vp French standing collers, women will have the French standing coller too: if Dublets with little thick skirts, (so short that none are able to sit vpon them), womens foreparts are thick skirted too: by surfetting vpon which kinde of phantasticall Apishnesse in a short time, they fall into the disease of pride: Pride is infectious, and breedes prodigalitie: Prodigalitie after it has runne a little, closes vp and festers, and then turnes to Beggeric. Wittie was that Painter therefore, that when hee had limned one of euery Nation in their proper attyres, and beeing at his wittes endes howe to drawe an Englishman, At the last (to give him a quippe for his follie in apparell) drewe him starke naked, with Sheeres in his hand, and cloth on his arme, because none could cut out his fashions but himselfe.

For an English-mans suite is like a traitors bodie that

hath beene hanged, drawne, and quartered, and is set vp in seuerall places: his Codpeece is in Denmarke, the collor of his Duble t', and the belly in France: the wing and narrowe sleeue in Italy; the short waste hangs ouer a Dutch Botchers stall in Vtrich: his huge floppes speakes Spanish: Polonia giues him the Boates: the blocke for his heade alters faster then the Feltmaker can fitte him, and thereupon we are called in scorne Blockheades. And thus we that mocke euerie Nation, for keeping one fashion, yet steale patches from euerie one of them, to peece out our pride, are now laughing-stocks to them, because their cut so scuruily becomes vs:

This sinne of Apishnesse, whether it bee in apparell, or in diet, is not of such long life as his fellowes, and for seeing none but women and fooles keepe him companie, the one will be ashamed of him when they begin to have wrinckles, the other when they feele their purses light. The Magistrate, the wealthy commoner, and the auncient Cittizen, disdaine to come neare him: wee were best therefore, take note of such things as are aboute him, least on a suddaine hee slip out of

sight.

Apishnesse rides in a Chariot made of nothing but cages, in which are all the strangest out-landish Birds that can be gotten: the Cages are stucke full of Parats feathers: the Coach-man is an Italian Mownti-banck who drives a Fawne and a Lambe, for they drawe the Gew-gaw in Winter, when such beasts are rarest to be had: In Sommer, it goes alone by the motion of wheeles: two Pages in light coloured suites, embrodered full of Butterflies, with wings that flutter vp with the winde, run by him, the one being a dauncing box the other a Tumbler: His attendants are Folly, Laughter, Inconstancie, Riot, Nicenesse, and Vainglorie: when his Court remoues, hee is followed by Tobacconists, Shittlecock-makers, Feathermakers, Cob-web-lawne-weauers, Perfumers. voung. Countrie Gentlemen, and Fooles, In whose Ship whilest they all are sayling, let vs observe what other abuses the Verdimotes Inquest doe present on the lande, albeit they bee neuer reformed, till a second Chaos is to bee refined. In the meane time, In noua fert Animus.



Shauing: Or

The sixt dayes Triumph.



Ow? Shauing! Me thinkes Barbers should crie to their Customers winck hard and come running out of their shoppes into the open streetes, throwing all their Suddes out of their learned Latin Basons into my face for presuming to name the Mysterie of Shauing in so villanous a companie as these seuen are. Is that Trade (say they)

that for so many yeares hath beene held vp by so many heades, and has out-bearded the stowtest in England to their faces, Is that Trade, that because it is euermore Trimming the Citie, hath beene for many yeers past made vp into a Societie, and hath their Guild, and their Priviledges with as much freedome as the best, must that nowe bee counted a sinne (nay and one of the Deadly sinnes) of the Cittie? No, no, be not angry with me, (O you that bandie away none but sweete washing Balles, and cast none other then Rose-waters for any mans pleasure) for there is Shauing within the walles of this Great Metropolis, which you never dreamed of: A shauing that takes not only away the rebellious haires, but brings the flesh with it too: and if that cannot suffice, the very bones must follow. If therfore you, and Fine companies greater then yours, should chuse a Colonel, to lead you against this mightie Tamburlaine, you are too weake to make him Retire, and if you should come to a batteil, you would loose the day.

For behold what Troopes forsake the Standard of the Citie, and flie to him: neither are they base and common souldiers, but even those that have borne armes a long time. Be silent therfore, and be patient: and since there is no remedie but that (this combatant that is so cunning at the sharp) wil come in, mark in what triumphant and proud manner, he is marshalled through Newgate: At which Bulwarke (and none other) did he (in policy) desire to shew himself. First, because he knew if the Citie should play with him as they did with Wiat, Newgate held a number, that though they were false to all the world, would be true to him. Couragiously therfore does he enter: All of them that had once serued vnder his colors (and were now to suffer for the Truth, which they had abused) leaping vp to the Iron lattaces, to beholde their General, and making such a ratling with shaking their chaines for iov, as if Cerberus had bin come from hell to live and die amongst them. Shauing is now lodged in the heart of the Citie, but by whom? and at whose charges? Mary at a common purse, to which many are tributaries, and therfore no maruell if he be feasted royally. The first that paid their mony towards it, are cruel and couetous Land-lords, who for the building vp of a Chimny, which stands them not about 30.s. and for whiting the wals of a tenement, which is scarce worth the daubing raise the rent presently (as if it were new put into ve Subsidy book) assessing it at 3. li. a yeer more then euer it went for before: filthy wide-mouthd bandogs they are, that for a quarters rent will pull out their ministers throte, if he were their tenant: And (though it turn to the vtter vndoing of a man) being rubd with quicksiluer, which they loue because they have mangy consciences, they will let to a drunken Flemming a house ouer his own countryman head, thinking hees safe enough from the thunderbolts of their wives and children, and from curses, and the very vengeance of heauen, if he get by the bargaine, but so many Angels as will couer the crowne of his head.

The next that laide downe his share, was no Sharer among the Players, but a shauer of yong Gentlemen, before euer a haire dare peepe out of their chinnes: and these are Vsurcrs: who for a little money, and a greate deal of trash: (as Fire-shouels, browne-paper, motley cloake-bags, &c.) bring yong Nouices into a fooles Paradice till they haue sealed the

Morgage of their landes, and then like Pedlers, goe they (or some Familiar spirit for them raized by the *Vsurers*) vp and downe to cry *Commodities*, which scarce yeeld the third part

of ye sum for which they take them vp.

There are likewise other Barbers, who are so well customed. that they shaue a whole Citie sometymes in three dayes, and they doe it (as Bankes his horse did his tricks) onely by the eye, and the eare: For if they either see no Magistrate comming towardes them, (as being called back by the Common-weale for more serious imployments) or doe but heare that hee lyes sicke, vpon whom the health of a Cittie is put in hazard: they presently (like Prentises vpon Shoue-tuesday) take the lawe in their owne handes, and doe what they list. And this Legion consists of Market-folkes, Bakers, Brewers, all that weigh their Consciences in Scales. And lastly, of the two degrees of Colliers, viz. those of Char-coles, and those of New-castle. Then have you the Shauing of Fatherlesse children, and of widowes, and thats done by Executors. The Shauing of poore Clients especially by the Atturneyes Clearkes of your Courts, and thats done by writing their Billes of costs vpon Cheuerell. The Shauing of prisoners by extortion, first, taken by their keepers, for a prison is builded on such ranke and fertil ground, that if poore wretches sow it with hand-fulles of small debts when they come in, if they lie there but a while to see the comming vp of them: the charges of the house will bee treble the demaund of the Creditor. Then haue you Brokers yat shaue poore men by most iewish interest: marry the diuils trimme them so soone as they have washed others. I wil not tell how Vintners shaue their Guestes with a little peece of Paper not aboue three fingers broade; for their roomes are like Barbars Chaires: Men come into them willingly to bee Shauen. Onely (which is worst) bee it knowne to thee (O thou Queene of Cities) thy Inhabitants Shaue their Consciences so close, that in the ende they growe balde, and bring foorth no goodnesse.

Wee haue beene quicke (you see) in *Trimming* this *Cutter* of *QueeneHith*, because tis his propertie to handle others so, let vs bee as nymble in praysing his *Household-stuffe*: The best part of which is his *Chariot*, richly adorned, It is drawen by foure beasts: the 2. formost are a *Wolfe* (which will eate till he be readie to burst) and hee is Coach-fellow to a *she-Beare*,

who is cruell euen to women great with childe: behinde them are a couple of *Blood-houndcs*: the Coach-man is as Informer. Two Pettifoggers that have beene turned over the barre, are his Lackies; his Houshold servants are Wit (who is his Steward) Audacitie: Shifting: Inexorabilitie: and Disquietnesse of mind: The Meanie are (besides some persons before named) skeldring soldiers, and begging schollers.





Crueltie;

Or

The seuenth and last dayes Triumph.



hat a weeke of sinfull Reueling hath heere bin with these six proud Lords of Misrule? to which of your Hundred parishes (O you Citizens) haue not some one of these (if not all) remoued their Courts and feasted you with them? your Percullises are not strong inough to keepe them out by day your Watchmen are too sleepy to spie their

stealing in by night. There is yet another to enter, as great in power as his fellowes, as subtill, as full of mis-chiefe: If I shoulde name him to you, you would laugh mee to scorne, because you cannot bee perswaded that such a one should euer bee suffered to liue within the freedome: yet if I name him not to you, you may in time, by him (as by the rest) bee vndone. It is Crueltic, O strange! me thinkes London should start vp out of her sollid foundation, and in anger bee ready to fall vppon him, and grinde him to dust that durst say, shee is possest with such a deuill. Cruclty! the verie sound of it shewes that it is no English word: it is a Fury sent out of hel, not to inhabit within such beautifull walles, but amongst Turkes and Tartars. The other sixe Monsters transforme themselues into Amiable shapes, and set golden, inticing Charmes to winne men to their Circaan loue, they have Angelical faces to allure, and bewitching tongues to inchaunt: But Cruelty is a hag, horred in forme, terrible in voice, formidable in threates, A tyrant in his very lookes, and a murderer in all his actions.

How then commeth it to passe that heere he seekes entertainment? For what Cittie in the world, does more drie vp the teares of the Widdowe, and gives more warmth to the fatherlesse then this ancient and reverend Grandam of Citties? Where hath the Orphan (that is to receive great portions) lesse cause to mourne the losse of Parents? He findes foure and twentie graue Senators to his Fathers instead of one: the Cittie it selfe to bee his Mother; her Officers to bee his Seruants, who see that hee want nothing: her lawes to suffer none to doe him wrong: and though he be neuer so simple in wit, or so tender in yeares, shee lookes as warily to that welth which is left him, as to the Apple of her owne eye. Where have the Leaper and the Lunatick Surgery, and Phisicke so good cheape as heere? their payment is onely thankes: large Hospitalls are erected (of purpose to make them lodgings) and the rent is most easie, onely their prayers: yet for all this, that Charitie hath her Armes full of children, and that tender-brested Compassion is still in one street or other dooing good workes: off from the Hindges are one of the 7. Gates readie to bee lifted, to make roome for this Giant: the Whiflers of your inferior and Chiefe companies cleere the waves before him, men of all trades with shoutes and acclamations followed in thronges behinde him, yea euen the siluer-bearded, and seuearest lookt cittizens haue giuen him welcomes in their Parlors.

There are in Lond on, and within the buildings, yat round about touch her sides, and stand within her reach, Thirteene strong houses of sorrow, where the prisoners hath his heart wasting away sometimes a whole prentiship of yeres in cares. They are most of them built of Freestone, but none are free within them: cold are their imbracements: vnwholsom'e is their cheare: dispaireful their lodgings, vncomfortable their societies, miserable their inhabitants: O what a deale of wretchednes can make shift to lye in a little roome! if those 13 houses were built al together, how rich wold Griefe be, having such large inclosures? Doth cruelty challenge a freemans roome in the City because of these places? no, the politicke body of the Republike wold be infected, if such houses as these were not maintained, to keepe vp those that are visound. Claimes he then an inheritance here, because you have whipping postes in your streete for the Vagabond?

the Stocks and the cage for the vnruely beggar? or because you have Carts for the Bawde and the Harlot, and Beadles for the Lecher? neither. Or is it because so many monthly Sessions are held? so many men, women and Children cald to a reconing at the Bar of death for their liues? and so many lamentable hempen Tragedies acted at Tiburne? nor for this: Iustice should have wrong, to have it so reported. No (you Inhabitants of this little world of people) Crueltie is a large Tree and you all stand vnder it: you are cruel in compelling your children (for wealth) to goe into Mariages. loathed beds, for therby you make them bond-slaues: what ploughman is so foolish to yoake young hecfars and old bullocks together? yet such is your husbandry. In fitting your Coaches with horses, you are very curious to have them (so neere as you can) both of a colour, both of a height, of an age, of proportion, and will you bee carelesse in coupling your Children? he into whose bosome threescore winters have thrust their frozen fingars, if hee be rich (though his breath bee rancker then a Muck-hill, his bodye more drye than Mummi, and his minde more lame than Ignorance it selfe) shall have offered vnto him (but it is offered as a sacrifice) the tender bossome of a Virgin, vpon whose fore-head was neuer written sixteene yeares: if she refuse this living death (for lesse than a death it cannot be vnto her) She is threatned to bee left an out-cast, cursd for disobedience, raild at daily, and reuylde howerlye: to saue herselfe from which basenes, She desp[e]rately runnes into a bondage, and goes to Church to be married, as if she went to be buried. But what glorve atcheiue you in these conquests? you doe wrong to Time, inforcing May to embrace December: you dishonour Age, in bringing it into scorne for insufficiency, into a loathing for dotage, into all mens laughter for iealousie. You made your Daughters looke wrinckled with sorrowes, before they be olde, and your sonnes by riot, to be beggars in midst of their youth. Hences come it, yat murders are often contriued, and as often acted: our countrie is woful in fresh examples: Hence comes it, yat the Courtiers giues you an open scoffe, ye clown a secret mock, the Cittizen yat dwels at your threshald, a ieery frump: Hence it is yat if you goe by water in the calmest day, you are driven by some fatall storme

into ve vnlucky and dangerous hauen betweene Greenewich and London. You have another cruelty in keeping men in prison so long, til sicknes and death deal mildely Against with them, and (in despite of al tyranny) baile Creditors. them out of all executions. When you see a poore wretch that to keep life in a loathed body hath not a house left to couer his head from the tempestes, nor a bed (but the common bedde which our Mother the earth allowes him) for his cares to sleepe vppon, when you have (by keeping or locking him vp) robd him of all meanes to get, what seeke you to have him loose but his life? The miserable prisoner is ready to famish, yet that cannot mooue you, the more miserable wife is readye to runne mad with despaire, yet that cannot melt you: the moste of all miserable, his Children lve crying at your dores, yet nothing can awaken in you compassion: if his debts be heavie, the greater and more glorious is your pitty to worke his freedome, if they be light, the sharper is the Vengeance that will be heaped vpon your heades for your hardenes of heart. Wee are moste like to God that made vs. when wee shew love one to another, and doe moste looke like the Diuell that would destroy vs, when wee are one anothers tormenters. If any haue so much flint growing about his bosome, that he will needes make Dice of mens bones, I would there were a lawe to compell him to make drinking bowles of their Sculs too: and that euerie miserable debter that so dyes, might be buried at his Creditors doore, that when hee strides ouer him he might thinke he still rises vp (like the Ghost in Icronimo) crying Reuenge.

Crueltic hath yet another part to play, it is acted (like the old Morralls at Maningtree) by Trades-men, marrye Against seuerall companies in the Citie haue it in study, and Maristers they are neuer perfect in it, till the end of seauen yeares at least, at which time, they come off with it roundly. And this it is: When your seruants haue made themselues bondmen to inioy your fruitefull hand-maides, thats to say, to haue an honest and thriuing Art to liue by: when they haue fared hardly with you by Indenture, and like your Beasts which carry you haue patiently borne al labours, and all wrongs

you could lay vpon them.

When you have gathered the blossomes of their youth, and reaped the fruites of her strength, And that you can no

longer (for shame) hold them in Captiuitie, but that by the lawes of your Country and of conscience you must vndoe their fetters. Then, even then doe you hang moste weightes at their heeles, to make them sincke downe for euer: when you are bound to send them into the world to live, you send them into the world to beg: they seru'd you seuen yeeres to pick vp a poore liuing, and therein you are just, for you will be sure it shall be a poore living indeede they shall pick vp: for what do the rich cubs? like foxes they lay their heads together in conspiracy, burying their leaden consciences under the earth, to the intent that all waters that are wholesome in taste, and have the sweetnes of gaine in going downe, may be drawne through them only, being the great pipes of their Company, because they see tis the custome of the Citty, to have all waters that come thither, conveyed by such large vessels, and they will not breake the customes of the Citty. When they have the fulnesse of welth to the brim, that it runs over, they scarce will suffer their poore Servant to take that which runs at waste, nor to gather vp the wind-fals, when all the great trees, as if they grew in the garden of the Hesperides, are laden with golden apples: no, they would not have them gleane the scattered eares of corne. though they themselves cary away ve full sheafes; as if Trades that were ordained to the Communities, had lost their first priviledges, and were now turnd to Monopolyes. remember (ô you Rich men) that your Seruants are your adopted Children, they are naturalized into your bloud, and if you hurt theirs, you are guilty of letting out your owne, than which, what Cruelty can be greater?

What Gallenist or Paracelsian in the world, by all his water-casting, and minerall extractions, would judge, that this fairest-fac'de daughter of Brute, (and good daughter to King Lud, who gave her her name) should have so much corruption in her body? vnlesse (that beeing now two thousand and seuen hundred veeres old) extreme age should fill her full of diseases! Who durst not have sworne for her, that of all loathsome sinnes that euer bred within her, she had neuer toucht the sinne of cruelty? It had wont to be a Spanish Sicknes, and hang long (incurably) vpon the body of their Inquisition; or else a French disease, running all ouer that Kingdome in a Massacre; but that it had infected the English, especially the people of this now once-againe New-reard-Troy, it was beyond beliefe. But is she cleerely purg'd of it by those pills that have before bin giuen her? Is she now sound? Are there no dregs of this thick and pestilenciall poyson, eating still through her bowels? Yes: the vgliest Serpent hath not vncurld himselfe. She hath sharper and more black inuenomed stings within her,

than yet haue bin shot forth.

There is a Cruclty within thee (faire Troynouant) worse and more barbarous then all the rest, because it is Against want halfe against thy owne selfe, and halfe against thy Bushall in Dead Sonnes and Daughters. Against thy dead selections children wert thou cruell in that dreadfull, horrid, and Tragicall yeere, when 30000 of them (struck with 1602. plagues from heauen) dropt downe in winding-sheets at thy Thou didst then take away all Ceremonies due vnto them, and haledst them rudely to their last beds (like drunkards) without the dead mans musick (his Bell.) Alack, this was nothing: but thou tumbledst them into their euerlasting lodgings (ten in one heape, and twenty in another) as if all the roomes upon earth had bin full. The gallant and the begger lay together; the scholler and the carter in one bed: the husband saw his wife, and his deadly enemy whom he hated, within a paire of sheetes. Sad and vnsemely are such Funeralls: So felons that are cut downer from the tree of shame and dishonor, are covered in the earth: So souldiers, after a mercilesse battaile, receive vnhan'd some buriall. But suppose the Pestiferous Deluge should againe drowne this little world of thine, and that thou must be compeld to breake open those caues of horror and gastlinesse, to hide more of thy dead houshold in them, what rotten stenches, and contagious damps would strike vp into thy nosthrils? thou couldst not lift up thy head into the aire, for that (with her condensed sinnes) would stifle thee, thou couldst not dive into the waters, for that they being teinted by the ayre, would poison thee. Art thou now not cruell against thy selfe, in not prouiding (before the land-waters of Application come downe againe upon thee) more and more convenient Cabins to lay those in, that are to goe into such farre countries, who neuer looke to come back againe? If thou shouldst deny it, the Graues when they open, will be witnesses against thee.

Nay, thou hast yet Another Cruelty gnawing in thy bosome; Italias went for what hope is there yat thou shouldst have referred pitty over others, when thou art ynmercifull to the thy self! Looke over thy walls into thy Orchards and Gardens, and thou shalt see thy servants and apprentises sent out cunningly by their Masters at noone day ypon deadly errands, when they perceive that the Armed Man hath struck them, yea even when they see they have tokens delivered them from heaven to hasten thither, then send they them forth to walke ypon their graves, and to gather the flowers themselves that shall stick their own Herse. And this thy Inhabitants do, because they are loth and ashamed to have a writing over their dores, to tell that God hath bin there, they had rather all their enemies in the world put them to trouble, then that he should visit them.

Looke againe ouer the walls into thy Fields, and thou shalt heare poore and forsaken wretches lye groaning in ditches, and trauailing to seeke out Death vpon thy common hye wayes. Hauing found him, he there throwes downe their infected carcases, towards which, all that passe by, looke, but (till common shame, and common necessity compell) none step in to give them buriall. Thou setst vp posts to whip them when they are aliue: Set vp an Hospitall to comfort them being sick, or purchase ground for them to dwell in when they be well, and that is, when they be dead.

Is it not now hye time to sound a Retreate, after so terrible The Concinsion. a battaile fought betweene the scuen Electors of the Low Infernall Countryes, and one little City? What armyes come marching along with them? What bloudy cullors do they spread? What Artillery do they mount to batter the walls? How valiant are their seuen Generalls? How expert? How full of fortune to conquer? Yet nothing sooner ouerthrowes them, than to bid them battaile first, and to give them defiance.

Who can denye now, but that Sinne (like the seuen-headed Nylus) hath overflowed thy banks and thy buildings (o thu glory of Great Brittaine) and made thee fertile (for many yeeres together) in all kindes of Vices? Volga, that hath fifty streames falling one into another, never ranne with so swift

and vnres i stable a current as these Black-waters do, to bring

vpon thee an Inundation.

If thou (as thou hast done) kneelest to worship this Reast with Scuen Crowned Heads, and the Whore that sits vpon it, the fall of thee (thou hast out-stood so many Citties) will be greater then that of Babylon. She is now gotten within thy walls; she rides up and downe thy streetes, making thee drunke out of her cup, and marking thee in the forhead with pestilence for her owne. She causes Violls of wrath to be powred upon thee, and goes in triumph away, when she sees thee falling. If thou wilt be safe therefore and recouer realth, rise vp in Armes against her, and drive her (and the Monster that beares her) out at thy Gales. Thou seest how prowdly and impetuously sixe of these Centuares (that are halfe man, halfe beast, and halfe diuell) come thundring alongst thy Habitations, and what rabbles they bring at their heeles: take now but note of the last, and marke how the seventh rides: for if thou findest but the least worthy quality in any one of them to make thee loue him, I will write a Retractation of what is inueved against them before, and pollish such an Apology in their defence, that thou shalt be enamored of them all.

The body and face of this Tyrannous Commander, that leades thus the Reareward, are already drawne: his Chariot is framed all of ragged Flint so artificially bestowed, that as it runnes, they strike one another, and beate out fire that is able to consume Citties: the wheeles are many, and swift: the Spokes of the wheeles, are the Shinbones of wretches that haue bin eaten by misery out of prison. A couple of vnruly, fierce, and vntamed Tygors (cald Murder and Rushnes) drew the Chariot: Ignorance holds the revnes of the one, and Obduration of the other: Selfe-will is the Coachman. In the vpper end of the Coach, sits Cruelty alone, vpon a bench made of dead mens sculls. All the way that he rides, he sucks the hearts of widdowes and father-lesse children. He keepes neither foote-men nor Pages, for none will stay long with him. He hath onely one attendant that euer followes him, called Repentance, but the Beast that drawes him, runnes away with his good Lord and Master so fast before, that Repentance being lame (and therefore slow) tis alwayes very late ere he comes to him. It is to be feared, that Cruclty is of great authority where he is knowne, for few or none dare stand against him: Law only now and then beards him, and stayes him, in contempt of those that so terribly gallop before him; but out of the Lawes hands, if he can but snatch a sheathed sword (as oftentimes hee does) presently hee whips it out, smiting and wounding with it euery one that gives him the least crosse word. He comes into the Citty, commonly at All-gate, beeing drawne that way by the smell of bloud about the Barres, (for by his good will he drinks no other liquor:) but when hee findes it to be the bloud of Beasts (amongst the Butchers) and not of men, he flyes like lightning along the Causey in a madnes, threatning to ouer-runne all whom he meetes: but spying the Brokers of Hownsditch shuffling themselues so long together (like a false paire of Cards) till the Knaues be vppermost, onely to doe homage to him, he stops, kissing all their cheekes, calling them all his deerest Sonnes;

and bestowing a damnable deale of his blessing vpon them, they cry, Roome for Cruelty, and are the onely men that bring him into the Citty:

To follow whom vp and downe so farre as they meane to goe with him,

-Dii me terrent, et Iupiter hostis.

FINIS.

Tho. Dekker.



The English Scholar's Library etc.

No. 6.

The Return from Parnassus &c.

[Acted 1602. Printed] 1606.



The English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works.

The Return from Parmussus or the Scourge of Simony.

Publicly acted by the Students of Saint John's College in Cambridge.

[In January 1602. Printed] 1606.

SOUTHGATE, LONDON, N.

15 April 1879.

No. 6.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY.



ORIGINAL ISSUE.

A. As a separate publication.

- 1. 1606. London. 4to. See title at p. 1, and as to registration at Stationers'
 Hall, at p. xii.
- "Mr. W. C. HAZLITT in his prefatory note to (3) below, states: "Almost all the extant copies of this drama appear to vary in certain literal particulars."

SUBSEQUENT ISSUES.

A. As a separate publication.

2. 15 April, 1878. Southgate, London, N. The present impression; which is reprinted from British Museum copy with press mark, 161. a. 65.

B. With other works.

- 3. 1773. Oxford. 8vo. Thomas Hawkins, M.A. of Magdalen College, Oxford. The Origin of the English Drama, illustrated in its various species, &c. In 3 vols. The Return &c. occupies volume iii. 199-287.
- 4. 1874-1876. London. 8vo. ROBERT DODSLEY. A Select Collection of Old English Plays. The Fourth Edition, in 15 volumes, edited by W. CAREW HAZLITT; by whom the Return &-c. is first introduced into this Selection, and occupies volume ix. 97-217.

JOHN BODENHAM'S LIST OF POETS. HEREIN CRITICIZED BY INGENIOSO AND JUDICIO.

Compare this List with pp. 10-14; and notice the discretion of the Author of the following play, in that the Honourable and Noble personages are not subjected to any censure.



Ow that euery one may be fully satisfied concerning this Garden, that no one man doth assume to him-selfe the praise thereof, or can arrogate to his owne deserving those things which have

been deriued from so many rare and ingenious spirits; I haue set down both how, whence, and where these flowres had their first springing, till thus they were drawne togither into the *Muses Garden*, that euery ground may challenge his owne, each plant his particular, and no one be iniuried in the iustice of his merit.

- [1]. First, out of many excellent speeches spoken to her Maiestie, at Tiltings, Triumphes, Maskes, Shewes, and deuises perfourmed in prograce [progress]: as also out of diuers choise Ditties sung to her, and some especially, proceeding from her owne most sacred selfe: Here are great store of them digested into their meete places, according as the method of the worke plainly deliuereth. Likewise out of priuat Poems, Sonnets, Ditties, and other wittie conceits, giuen to her Honorable Ladies, and vertuous Maids of Honour; according as they could be obtained by sight, or fauour of coppying, a number of most wittie and singular Sentences.
- [2.] Secondly, looke what works of Poetrie haue been put to the worlds eye, by that learned and right royall king and Poet, IAMES king of Scotland, no one Sentence of worth hath escaped, but are likewise here reduced into their right roome and place.
- [3.] Next, out of sundry things extant, and many in priuat, done by these right Honourable persons following

Thomas, Earle of Surrey. The Lord Marquesse of Winchester. Mary, Countesse of Pembrooke. Sir Philip Sidney.

From Poems and workes of these noble personages, extant.

viii John Bodenham's List of Poets.

Edward, Earle of Oxenford. Ferdinando, Earle of Derby. Sir Walter Raleigh. Sir Edward Dyer. Fulke Greuile, Esquier. Sir Iohn Harrington.

From divers essayes of their Poetrie; some extant among other Honourable personages writings; some from private labours and translations.

[4.] Edmund Spencer. VVilliam Shakespeare. Henry Constable Esquier. Thomas Churchyard Esquier. Samuell Daniell. Thomas Nash. Thomas Lodge, Doctor of Thomas Kidde. Physicke. George Peele. Thomas Watson. Robert Greene. Michaell Drayton. Iosuah Syluester. Iohn Dauies. Nicholas Breton. Thomas Hudson. Geruase Markham. Henrie Locke Esquier. Thomas Storer. Iohn Marstone. Robert VVilmot. Christopher Marlow, Christopher Middleton. Beniamin Iohnson. Richard Barnefield.

These being Moderne and extant Poets, that have liu'd togither; from many of their extant workes, and some kept in privat.

[5.] Thomas Norton Esquier.
George Gascoigne Esquier.
Frauncis Kindlemarsh Esquier.
Thomas Atch[e]low.
George Whetstones.

These being deceased, haue left divers extant labours, and many more held back from publishing, which for the most part haue been perused and their due right here guien them in the Muses Garden.

[6.] Besides, what excellent Sentences haue been in any presented Tragedie, Historie, Pastorall, or Comedie, they have been likewise gathered, and are here inserted in their proper places.

To the Reader, prefixed to Belvedére or The Garden of the Muses. 1600.

[*] See the Author's criticism of these poets at pp. 1c-13.

[†] SHAKESPFARE is here regarded by BODENHAM, afterwards by this playwriting critic, more as a lyrical and descriptive poet than as a dramatical one.

[§] These are the rest read by Ingenioso and depreciated by Judicio at pp. 13-14.

ON THE DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THIS PLAY.

T is a matter of considerable importance in the literary history of the time, to fix, with precision, the date of the Composition and First Representation of this anonymous play.

I The following lines prove that it is the last of a series of three plays by the same Author; and is apparently the only one of them that ever came to the press; and even in this case, only after the lapse of some four years after the date of its composition and first representation.

In Schollers fortunes twise forlorne and dead Twise hath our weary pen earst laboured. Making them Pilgrims in Pernassus hill, Then penning their returne with ruder quill. Now we present vnto each pittying eye, The schollers progresse in their misery. p. 5.

II. It was Written and Represented in Elizabeth's reign.

One that made an oration for you once on the Queenes day. \$\nu 28\$.

S. Rad. What day of the month lights the Queenes day on? Im. The 17. of Nouember. \$\nu\$. 38.

Queenes law. Three times on p. 49.

Why will this fellowes English breake the Queenes peace. p. 52.

It were, well if his words were examined, to see if they be the Queenes or no. p. 54.

III. It was Written and Represented subsequent to the 11th August, 1600.

On which day the work attacked on pp. 9-10, was thus entered at Stationers'

II Augusti [1600].

HUGHE ASTLEY. Entred for his copie vnder the handes of master Jackson and the Wardens: A booke called Belvedere or the garden of the Muses

vjd.

IV. It was written for a Christmastide performance at St. John's College, Cambridge.

As TO THE SEASON.

CHRISTMAS. It's but a Christmas toy. p. 4.

But a Christmas iest. p. 5.

I should have gone in mine old clothes this Christmas. p. 42.

The vsuall Christmas entertainment of Musitians. p. 66.

NEW YEAR. Now at this good time of Newyeare. p. 64.

There is nothing in the play to show that it was written earlier than the time of its First Representation. The speech of Momus at p. 4, "What is presented here, is an old musty show, that hath laine this twelue moneth in the bottome of a coale-house amongst broomes and old shooes," is simply the writer's expression of the malice of the critics; and therefore, by contraries, is a testimony to its brand-new composition when first brought out.

As Queen ELIZABETH died on the 24th March 1603: we are, of necessity, shut up to a choice between the Christmastides of 1600-1601, 1601-1602, and

1602-1603 A.D.

In England and Ireland, the Year was reckoned from the 25th March to the 24th March from 1155 A.D. to 1751 A.D.

J. J. BOND, Handy-Book of Rules and Tables for verifying Dates within the Christian Era, p. 91. Ed. 1875.

So that the three feasts above specified would, in that day, be quoted as the Christmastides of 1600, 1601 and 1602.

V. Internal testimony establishes the writing of this play, for a first Representation in the Christmastide of 1601-2, 44 Eliz., possibly for New Year's day, which in 1602 (modern reckoning) fell on a Friday.

All years had, by the old reckoning above stated, two and sometimes even three Year Letters: as in the twelve months from Lady Day 1601.

25 March 1601. 31 December 1601. Letter D. 1 January 1602. Letter C. 24 March 1602.

J. J. BOND, Handy Book &-c., p. 408. Ed. 1875.

The following play upon the Year Letters, determines, beyond all question, the First Representation, at Christmastide, to have been in 1601–1602: and (as the C is first mentioned), rather in the first six days of January 1602, than in the last six of December 1601; probably on New Year's day 1602, as we now reckon.

Sir Rad. What is the Dominicall letter? Im. C. sir, and please your worship.

Sir Rad. A very good answer, a very good answer, the very answer of the booke, write downe that, and referre it to his skill in Philosophy.

Pag[e]. C. the Dominicall letter: it is true, craft and cunning do so dominere: yet rather C and D, are dominicall

letters, that is crafty Dunsery. p. 37.

VI. This date is corroborated by the allusions to the Siege of Ostend and the Irish Rebellion; both of which were at that time in progress.

He is as glad as if he had taken Ostend. p. 43.

Pox on your worship, if I catch thee at Ostend: I dare not staye for the Sergeant. Exit. p. 50.

S. Rad. What have we here, three begging Souldiers, come you from Ostend, or from Ireland. p. 52.

The Siege of Ostend by the Archduke Albert began on the 5th July 1601. Sir Francis Vere, having been appointed Governor of the town, arrived there with a body of English troops on the 15th July. The Dutch and English having the command of the sea, access to the town by ship, though under the enemy's fire, was for the most part easy. "There came oftentimes men of qualitie both from England and France, to see the place and siege, but they stayed not." E. GRIMSTONE.

The following among other fugitive tracts on the siege were printed in London. Newes from Ostend &c., Entered at Stationers' Hall 5th Aug. 1601, by T. Pavier. [British Museum press mark 9414, aa. 4.] Two editions of this at least were printed. Further Newes from Ostend &c. Similarly entered 9th Sept. 1601, also to

T. Pavier. [B. M. press mark 9414, aa. 5.]

Extremeties urging the Lord General Sir Francis Vere to offer the late Anti-parle with the Archduke Albertus &c. Written on St. Stephen's Day (26th Dec.) 1601. [Ent. Stat. Hall 8th Jan.] 1602. [B. M. press mark 1055, h. 18/2.]

After sustaining many assaults Sir Francis Vere resigned the Governorship into the hands of Colonel Frederick Van Dorp on the 7th March 1602, and left

the town.

The defence was continued under successive Governors until the 12th September 1604, when the town was surrendered, the garrison marching out with all the honours of war.

It is stated that up to the 1st March 1603, the besiegers had lost 18,000 killed, had thrown 250,000 cannon shot (weighing from 36 to 50 lbs each) into the town, and had had many cannon spoilt: and that, on the other hand, the defenders had by them lost from 6000 to 7000 killed; and had fired 100,000 cannon shot; often sending their artillery to Zealand, to be changed or new cast. See p. 162 of The True Historie of the Memorable Siege of Ostend, and what passed on either side, from the beginning of the Siege vnto the yeelding vp of the Towne. Translated out of the

XII THE DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THIS PLAY.

French into English. By EDWARD GRIMESTON. London. [Ent. Stat. Hall. 20 September] 1604, 4to. And also Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries & C. Ed. by WILLIAM DILLINGHAM, D.D., pp. 118-178. Ed. Cambridge, 1657, fol.

At the date of the composition of this play, the Defence, at this time carried on under an English Governor, largely supported by English troops, had been in progress some four months; and was therefore a matter in everybody's mouth.

The Rebellion in Ireland had also reached an acute phase, shortly after the commencement of the siege of Ostend; by the landing of 3500 Spaniards under Don JUAN DE AQUILA at Kinsale on the 23rd September 1601: and it was only on the 2nd January 1602, about the very day on which the play was first represented, that the Spanish force surrendered. During the whole of this interval they were an immense moral and material support to the Irish rebellion.

See I. E. A letter.... touching the notable Historie of her Maiesties forces there [in Ireland] against the Spaniards and Irish Rebels. And of the yeelding vp of Kynsale, and other places there held by the Spaniards. London. [Ent. Stat. Hall, 24th March] 1602. See also THOMAS STAFFORD'S Pacata Hibernia, p. 245. Ed. 1633.

While matters both at Ostend and in Ireland were still in the balance, such allusions as above quoted would seem natural and pointed.

.. It is therefore indubitable that this play expresses the opinions of its author and of the Students of Saint John's College, Cambridge, upon poetry, poets, players, learning, life &c.; as they were current in the month of December 1601.

After the settlement of this point, the date of the printed impression is of lesser importance. We may however complete this account by stating that

VII. This play was registered for publication at Stationers' Hall on the 16th October 1605; and appears in print with the date of 1606.

The entry is thus worded, the Wardens of the Stationers at that date being JOHN NORTON and RICHARD FIELD.

16. Octobris [1605]

JOHN WRIGHT. Entred for his copy under the handes of master Owen Gwyn and the wardens An. Enterlude called. The retourne from Pernassus or the scourge of Simony publiquely Acted by the studentes in Sainct Johns College in Cambridg[e] vid.

Transcript &c. iii. 304. Ed. 1876.

One reason why this play was not printed earlier, nor at Cambridge where it was acted, was, probably, the absence of any printing power. The University had only one hand printing-press allowed to it: and that naturally would be exclusively reserved for graver and more erudite works.



INTRODUCTION.





COMEDY written by a University pen in December 1601, and addressing itself to one of the most cultivated audiences possible at that time in this country; which thus publicly testifies on the stage, in the characters of RICHARD BURBADGE and WILLIAM KEMPE (fellowactors to WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, and deservedly general favourites) to his confessed supremacy at that date, not only over all University dramatists, but also over all the London professional playwrights, BEN JONSON himself

fincluded, must always be an object of interest to all students of England's superlative poet.

Bur. It may bee besides they will be able to pen a part.

Kemp. Few of the vniuersity pen plaies well, they smell too much of that writer Ouid and that writer Metamorphosis, and talke too much of Proserpina and Iuppiter. Why heres our fellow Shakespeare puts them all downe, I and Ben Ionson too. O that Ben Ionson is a pestilent fellow, he brought vp Horace giuing the Poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him beray his credit.

Bur. Its a shrewd fellow indeed. p. 58.

H.

T is further to be remembered that this Amateur Performance was held in what was perhaps still the foremost College in England. Tom Nash thus writes of it in 1589.

But amongst others in that Age, Sir Thomas Eliots elegance did seuer it selfe from all equalls, although

Sir Thomas More with his Comicall wit, at that instant was not altogether idle: yet was not knowledge fullie confirmed in hir Monarchie amongst vs, till that most famous and fortunate Nurse of all learning. Saint Iohns in Cambridge, that at that time was as an Vniuersitie within it selfe; shining so farre aboue all other Houses, Halls, and Hospitalls whatsoeuer, that no Colledge in the Towne, was able to compare with the tythe of her Students; having (as I have hearde graue men of credite report) more candles light in it. euerie Winter Morning before fowre of the clocke, than the fowre of clocke bell gaue stroakes; till She (I saie) as a pittying Mother, put too her helping hande, and sent from her fruitefull wombe, sufficient Schollers, both to support her owne weale, as also to supplie all other inferiour foundations defects, and namelie that royall erection of Trinitie Colledge, which the Vniuersitie Orator, in an Epistle to the Duke of Somerset, aptlie termed Colonia diducta, from the Suburbes of Saint Johns.

To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities
prefixed to Robert Greene's Menaphon &c. 1589.

Though publicly acted, this Comedy was apparently not primarily designed for the press; and being so strewed with Latin quotations, was evidently only intended for a University audience. It is important to realize the standpoint of the Writer, that it was in no wise a metropolitan play designed for the Court or the people; but the outlook of young students on the poetry, poets, drama, literature and life of their time, as they had as yet realized it to themselves.

III.



HE plot of this Elizabethan Plea for the Endowment of Research is of the slightest construction, and may possibly be the work of more than one hand. While it presents

vnto each pittying eye
The schollers progress in their misery. p. 5.

it is also a most vigorous onslaught on the Philistinism of that day in the characters of Sir Raderick and Master Recorder, its foppery in that of Amoretto, and its simony is that of Immerito

Otherwise the action, such as there is, turns on the attempts of six Cambridge graduates

Ingenioso Phantasma, Studioso Furor poeticus Philomusus Academico

to get a livelihood, and the "progress of their misery."

THOMAS HAWKINS, M.A. of Magdalen College, Oxford, in his Origin of the English Drama &-c., published in 1773, thus characterizes this comedy,

The Return from Parnassus is, perhaps, the most singular composition in our language. . . . This Satirical Drama seems to have been composed by the wits and scholars of Cambridge, where it was acted at the opening of the last century. The design of it was, to expose the vices and follies of the rich in those days, and to show that little attention was paid by that class of men to the learned and ingenious.

Several Students, of various capacities and dispositions, leave the University in hopes of advancing their fortunes in the metropolis. One of them attempts to recommend himself by his publications; another, to procure a benefice by paying his court to a young spark, named Amoretto, with whom he had been intimate at college; two others endeavour to gain a subsistence by successively appearing as physicians, actors, and musicians: but the Man of Genius is disregarded, and at last prosecuted for his productions; the benefice is sold to an illiterate Clown; and in the end, three of the scholars are compelled to submit to a voluntary exile, another returns to Cambridge as poor as when he left it; and the other two, finding that neither their medicines nor their music would support them, resolve to turn shepherds, and to spend the rest of their days on the Kentish downs.

There is a great variety of Characters in this play, which are excellently distinguished and supported, and some of the scenes have as much wit as can be desired in a perfect comedy. The simplicity of its plan must naturally bring to our mind the Old Species of Comedy described by Horace; in which, before it was restrained by a public edict, living characters were exposed by name upon the stage, and the audience made merry at their expence without any intricacy of plot or diversity of action. Thus in this piece, Burbage and Kempe, two famous actors, appear in their proper persons; and a number of acute observations are made on the

poets of that age. pp. xiv.-xv.

To this we may add the criticism of a later writer, WILLIAM HAZLITT, in his Lectures chiefly on the Dramatic Literature of the age of Elizabeth. 1820.

It is a very singular, a very ingenious, and, as I think, a very interesting performance. It contains criticisms on contemporary authors, strictures on living manners, and the earliest denunciation (I know of) of the miseries and unprofitableness of a scholar's life. p. 198.

IV.

E must, in conclusion, point out the important testimony herein, first, to the disreputability, and then to the profitableness of the new vocation—as yet not a generation old—of the professional Actor, as in the London theatres: in which the thought was chiefly of the mere Actor, not of the Poet-Actor like SHAKESPEARE and JONSON. It was pro-

bably owing to the fact that they were mere players, and had written no plays, that BURBADGE and KEMPE were singled out on this occasion. It is to be noted that the two Cambridge students consider only fiddling to be worse than acting—

AS TO THE DISREPUTE.

Phil. And must the basest trade yeeld vs reliefe? Must we be practis'd to those leaden spouts, That nought downe vent but what they do receive? \$, 60.

AS TO THE GAIN.

Stud: going aside sayeth.

Fayre fell good Orpheus, that would rather be King of a mole hill, then a Keysars slaue: Better it is mongst fidlers to be chiefe, Then at plaiers trencher beg reliefe. But ist not strange this mimick apes should prize Vnhappy Schollers at a hireling rate. Vile world, that lifts them vp to hye degree, And treads vs downe in groueling misery. England affordes those glorious vagabonds, That carried earst their fardels on their backes. Coursers to ride on through the gazing streetes, Sooping it in their glaring Satten sutes, And Pages to attend their maisterships: With mouthing words that better wits have framed, They purchase lands, and now Esquires are made.

p. 63.

THE

RETVRNE FROM PERNASSVS:

The Scourge of Simony.

Publiquely acted by the Students in Saint Iohns Colledge in Cambridge.



AT LONDON

Printed by G. Eld, for Iohn Wright, and are to bee sold at his shop at Christ church Gate.

1606.



The Prologue.

Boy, Stagckecper, Momus, Defensor.

Boy.

Pectators we will act a Comedy (non plus.

Stage. A pox on't this booke hath it not in it, you would be whipt, thou rascall: thou must be sitting vp all night at cardes, when thou should be conning thy part.

Boy. Its all long on you, I could not get my part a night or two before that I might sleepe on it.

Stagekeeper carrieth the boy away under his arme.

Mo. It's euen well done, here is such a stirre about a scuruy English show.

Defen. Scuruy in thy face, thou scuruy iack, if this company were not, you paultry Critick Gentleman, you that knowe what it is to play at primero, or passage. You that haue beene student at post and paire, saint and Loadam. You that haue spent all your quarters reueneues in riding post one night in Christmas, beare with the weake memory of a gamster.

Mo. Gentlemen you that can play at noddy, or rather play vpon nodies: you that can set vp a iest, at priemero insteed of a rest, laugh at the prologue that was taken away in a voyder.

Defen. What we present I must needes confesse is but slubbered inuention: if your wisedome obscure the circumstance, your kindnesse will pardon the substance.

Mo. What is presented here, is an old musty show, that hath laine this twelue moneth in the bottome of a coale-house amongst broomes and old shooes, an inuention that we are ashamed of, and therefore we have promised the Copies to the Chandlers to wrappe his candles in.

Defen. It's but a Christmas toy, and may it please your

curtisies to let it passe.

Mom. Its a Christmas toy indeede, as good a conceit as slauging hotcockles, or blind-man buffe.

Defen. Some humors you shall see aymed at, if not well resembled.

Mom. Humors indeede: is it not a pretty humor to stand hammering vpon two individuum vegum 2. schollers some whole yeare. These same Phil and Studio: haue bin followed with a whip, and a verse like a Couple of Vagabonds through England and Italy. The Pilgrimage to Pernassus, and the returne from Pernassus haue stood the honest Stagekeepers in many a Crownes expence: for linckes and vizards purchased a Sophister a knock: which a clubbe hindred the butlers box, and emptied the Colledge barrells, and now vnlesse you know the subject well you may returne home as wise as you came, for this last is the least part of the returne from Pernassus, that is both the first and the last time that the authors wit will turne vpon the toe in this vaine, and at this time the scene is not at Pernassus, that is lookes not good inuention in the face.

Defen. If the Catastrophe please you not, impute it to

the vnpleasing fortunes of discontented schollers.

Mom. For Catastrophe ther's neuer a tale in sir Iohn Mandeuill, or Beuis of Southampton but hath a better turning.

Stagekeeper. What you ieering asse, be gon with a pox. Mom. You may do better to busic your selfe in prouiding beere, for the shew will be pittifull dry, pittifull dry.

Exit.

No more of this, I heard the spectators aske for a blanke verse.

What we shew, it but a Christmas iest, Conceiue of this and guesse of all the rest: Full like a schollers haplesse fortunes pen'd, Whose former griefes seldome have happy end, Frame aswell, we might with easie straine, With far more praise, and with as little paine. Stories of loue, where forne the wondring bench, The lisping gallant might inioy his wench. Or make some Sire acknowledge his lost sonne, Found when the weary act is almost done. Nor vnto this, nor vnto that our scene is bent, We onely shew a schollers discontent. In Schollers fortunes twise forlorne and dead Twise hath our weary pen earst laboured. Making them Pilgrims in Pernassus hill, Then penning their returne with ruder quill. Now we present vnto each pittying eye, The schollers progresse in their misery. Refined wits your patience is our blisse, Too weake our scene: too great our judgement is. To you wee seeke to shew a schollers state, His scorned fortunes, his vnpittied fate. To you: for if you did not schollers blesse, Their case (poore case) were too too pittilesse. You shade the muses vnder fostering, And made them leave to sigh, and learne to sing.

The names of the Actors.

Drametis Persona.

Ingenioso.
Iudicio.
Danter.
Philomusus.
Studioso.
Furor Poeticus.
Phantasma.
Patient

Theodore phisition Burgesse patient Iaques, studioso

Academico.

Richardetto.

Amoretto.

Page.

Signor Immerito.

Stercutio his father.

Sir Frederick [or rather

Raderick].

Recorder.

Page.

Prodigo.

Burbage.

Kempe.

Fidlers.

Patients man.

Actus I. Scena. I.

Ingenioso, with Iuuenall in his hand.

Ingenioso.



Ifficile est, Satyram non scribere, nam quis iniquæ,

Tam patiens vrbis, tam furens vt tencat se?

I. Iuuenall: thy ierking hand is good,

Not gently laying on, but fetching bloud,

So surgean-like thou dost with cutting heale,

Where nought but lanching can the wound availe. O suffer me, among so many men, To tread aright the traces of thy pen. And light my linke at thy eternall flame, Till with it I brand euerlasting shame. On the worlds forhead, and with thine owne spirit, Pay home the world according to his merit. Thy purer soule could not endure to see, Euen smallest spots of base impurity: Nor could small faults escape thy cleaner hands, Then foule faced Vice was in his swadling bands, Now like Anteus growne a monster is, A match for none but mighty Hercules. Now can the world practise in plainer guise, Both sinnes of old and new borne villanies. Stale sinnes are stole: now doth the world begin, To take sole pleasure in a witty sinne. Vnpleasant is the lawlesse sinne has bin, At midnight rest, when darknesse couers sinne.

It's Clownish vnbeseeming a young Knight, Vnlesse it dare out-face the gloring light. Nor can it nought our gallants praises reape, Vnlesse it be done in staring Cheape.

In a sinne-guilty Coach not closely pent, Iogging along the harder pauement.

Did not feare check my repining sprit,

Soone should my angry ghost a story write.

In which I would new fostred sinnes combine,

Not knowne earst by truth telling Aretine.

Scen. 2.

Enter Iud. Ingenioso. Iudicio.

hat *Ingenioso*, carrying a Vinegar bottle about thee, like a great schole-boy giuing the world a bloudy nose?

Ing. Faith *Iudicio*, if I carry the vinegar bottle, it's great reason I should conferre it vpon the bald pated world: and againe, if my kitchen want the vtensilies of viands, it's great reason other men should have the sauce of vinegar, and for the bloudy nose, *Iudicio*, I may chance indeed give the world a bloudy nose, but it shall hardly give me a crakt crowne, though it gives other Poets French crownes.

Iud. I would wish thee *Ingenioso*, to sheath thy pen, for thou canst not be successefull in the fray, considering thy

enemies have the advantage of the ground.

Ing. Or rather *Iudicio* they have the grounds with advantage, and the French crownes with a pox, and I would they had them with a plague too: but hang them swadds, the basest corner in my thoughts is too gallant a roome to lodge them in, but say *Iudicio*, what newes in your presse, did you keepe any late corrections vpon any tardy pamphlets?

Iud. Veterem inbes renouare dolorem Ing. what ere befalls thee, keepe thee from the trade of the corrector of the presse.

Ing. Mary so I will, I warran[t] thee, if pouerty presse not too much, Ile correct no presse but the presse of the people.

Iud. Would it not grieue any good spirits to sit a whole moneth nitting out a lousie beggarly Pamphlet, and like a needy Phisitian to stand whole yeares, tossing and tumbling, the filth that falleth from so many draughty inuentions as daily swarme in our Printing house?

Ing. Come (I thinke) we shall have you put finger in the eye and cry, O friends, no friends, say man, what new paper hobby horses, what rattle babies are come out in your late

May morrice daunce?

Iud. Flye my rimes, as thick as flies in the sunne, I thinke there be neuer an Ale-house in England, not any so base a Maypole on a country greene, but sets forth some poets petternels or demilances to the paper warres in Paules Church-yard.

Ing. And well too may the issue of a strong hop learne to hop all ouer England, when as better wittes sit like lame coblers in their studies. Such barmy heads wil alwaies be working, when as sad vineger wittes sit souring at the bottome of a barrell: plaine Meteors, bred of the exhalation of Tobacco, and the vapors of a moyst pot, that soure vp into the open ayre, when as sounder wit keepes belowe.

Iud. Considering the furies of the times, I could better endure to see those young Can quaffing hucksters shoot of [f] their pellets so they would keepe them from these English flores - poetarum, but now the world is come to that passe, that there starts vp euery day an old goose that sits hatching vp those eggs which haue ben filcht from the nest of Crowes and Kestrells: here is a booke *Ing.* why to condemne it to cleare the vsuall Tiburne of all misliuing papers, were too faire a death for so foule an offender.

Ing. What's the name of it, I pray thee Iud?

Iud. Looke, its here Beluedere.

Ing. What a Bel-wether in Paules Church-yeard, so cald because it keeps a bleating, or because it hath the tinckling

bel of so many Poets about the neck of it, what is the rest of the title.

Iud. The garden of the Muses.

Ing. What have we here: the Poets garish gayly bedeked like fore horses of the parish? what followes.

Iud. Quem referent musæ, viuet dum robora tellus, Dum cælum stellas, dum vehit amnis aquas.

Who blurres faire paper, with foule bastard rimes,
Shall liue full many an age in latter times:
Who makes a ballet for an ale-house doore,
Shall liue in future times for euer more.
Then () thy muse shall liue so long,

As drafty ballats to thy praise are song.

But what's his deuise, Pernassus with the sunne and the lawrel: I wonder this Owle dares looke on the sunne, and I mauraile this go[o]se flies not the laurell: his deuise might haue bene better a foole going into the market place to be seene, with this motto, scribimus indocti, or a poore beggar gleaning of eares in the end of haruest, with this word, sua cuique gloria.

Iud. Turne ouer the leafe Ing: and thou shalt see the paines of this worthy gentleman, Sentences gathered out of all kinde of Poets, referred to certaine methodicall heads, profitable for the vse of these times, to rime vpon any occasion at a little warning: Read the names.

Ing. So I will, if thou wilt helpe me to censure them.

Edmund Spencer. Henry Constable. Thomas Lodge. Samuel Daniell. Thomas Watson. Michaell Drayton.
Iohn Dauis.
Iohn Marston.
Kit: Marlowe.

Good men and true; stand togither: heare your censure, what's thy judgment of Spencer?

Iud. A swifter Swan then euer song in Poe,
A shriller Nightingale then euer blest,
The prouder groues of selfe admiring Rome.
Blith was each vally, and each shepheard proud,

While he did chaunt his rurall minstralsie, Attentiue was full many a dainty eare.

Nay hearers hong vpon his melting tong, While sweetly of his Faiery Queene he song, While to the waters fall he tun'd for fame, And in each barke engrau'd Elizaes name.

And yet for all this, vnregarding soile, Vnlac't the line of his desired life, Denying maintenance for his deare reliefe. Carelesse care to preuent his exequy, Scarce deigning to shut vp his dying eye.

Ing. Pitty it is that gentler witts should breed,
Where thick-skin chuffes laugh at a schollers need.
But softly may our honours ashes rest,
That lie by mery *Chaucers* noble chest.

But I pray thee proceed briefly in thy censure, that I may be proud of my selfe, as in the first, so in the last, my censure may iumpe with thine. Henry Constable, S.D. Thomas Lodge, Thomas Watson.

Iud. Sweete Constable doth take the wondring eare, And layes it vp in willing prisonment: Sweete hony dropping D: doth wage Warre with the proudest big Italian, That melts his heart in sugred Sonnetting. Onely let him more sparingly make vse, Of others wit, and vse his owne the more: That well may scorne base imitation. For Lodge and Watson, men of some desert, Yet subject to a Critticks marginall. Lodge for his oare in euery paper boate, He that turnes ouer Galen euery day, To sit and simper Euphues legacie.

Ing. Michael Drayton.

Draytons sweete muse is like a sanguine dye, Able to rauish the rash gazers eye.

Ing. How euer, he wants one true note of a Poet of our

times, and that is this, hee cannot swagger it well in a Tauerne, nor dominere in a hot-house.

Iud. Iohn Dauis.

Acute Iohn Dauis, I affect thy rymes, That ierck in hidden charmes these looser times: Thy plainer verse, thy vnaffected vaine, Is grac'd with a faire and a sooping traine.

Ing. Locke and Hudson.

Iud. Locke and Hudson, sleepe you quiet shauers, among the shauings of the presse, and let your bookes lye in some old nookes amongst old bootes and shooes, so you may auoide my censure.

Ing. Why then clap a lock on their feete, and turne them

to commons.

Iohn Marston.

Iud. What Monsier Kinsayder, lifting vp your legge and pissing against the world, put vp man, put vp for shame.

Me thinks he is a Ruffin in his stile. Withouten bands or garters ornament, He quaffes a cup of Frenchmans Helicon. Then royster doyster in his oylie tearmes, Cutts, thrusts, and foynes at whomesoeuer he meets, And strowes about Ram-ally meditations. Tut what cares he for modest close coucht termes, Cleanly to gird our looser libertines. Giue him plaine naked words stript from their shirts That might beseeme plaine dealing Aretine: I there is one that backes a paper steed And manageth a penknife gallantly. Strikes his poinado at a buttons breadth, Brings the great battering ram of tearmes to townes And at first volly of his Cannon shot, Batters the walles of the old fusty world.

Ing. Christopher Marlowe.

Iud. Marlowe was happy in his buskine muse, Alas vnhappy in his life and end, Pitty it is, that wit so ill should dwell Wit lent from heauen, but vices sent from hell.

Ing. Our *Theater* hath lost, *Pluto* hath got, A Tragick penmen for a driery plot *B.I.*

Iud. The wittiest fellow of a brick-layer in England.

Ing. A meere Empyrick, one that gets what he hath by observation, and makes only nature prive to what he indites. So slow an inventor, that he were better betake himselfe to his old trade of bricklaying, a bold whorson, as confident now in making a booke, as he was in times past in laying of a bricke.

William Shakespeare.

Iud. Who loues Adonis loue, or Lucre's rape,
His sweeter verse containes hart robbing life,
Could but a grauer subject him content,
Without loues foolish languishment.

Ing. Churchyard.

Hath not *Shor's* wife although a light skirts she, Giuen him a chast long lasting memory?

Iud. No, all light pamphlets once I finden shall, A Churchyard and a graue to bury all.

Inge. Thomas Nashdo.

I, here is a fellow *Iudicio* that carried the deadly stocke in his pen, whose muse was armed with a gag tooth, and his pen possest with *Hercules* furyes.

Iud. Let all his faults sleepe with his mournefull chest,
And then for euer with his ashes rest,
His stile was witty, though he had some gall,
Something he might haue mended, so may all.
Yet this I say, that for a mother wit,
Few men haue euer seene the like of it.

Ing. Reades the rest.

Iud. As for these, they have some of them bin the old hedgstakes of the presse, and some of them are at this instant the bots and glanders of the printing house. Fellowes

that stande only vpon tearmes to serue the turne, with their blotted papers, write as men go to stoole, for needes, and when they write, they write as a Beare pisses, now and then drop a

phamphlet.

Ing. Durum telum necessitas, Good fayth they do as I do, exchange words for money, I have some trafficke this day with Danter, about a little booke which I have made, the name of it is a Catalogue of Chambridge Cuckolds, but this Beluedere, this methodicall asse, hath made me almost forget my time: Ile now to Pauls Churchyard, meete me an houre hence, at the signe of the Pegasus in cheap side, and ile moyst thy temples with a cup of Claret, as hard as the world goes.

Exit. Iudicio.

Act. 1. Scen. 3.

Enter Danter the Printer.

Ing.



takest it to bee, I tell thee this libell of Cambridge has much fat and pepper in the nose: it will sell sheerely underhand, when

all these bookes of Exhortations and Catechismes, lie

moulding on thy shopboard.

Dan. It's true, but good faith M. Ingenioso, I lost by your last booke: and you knowe there is many one that paies mee largely for the printing of their inuentions, but for all this you shall have 40. shillings and an odde pottle of wine.

Inge. 40 Shillings? a fit reward for one of your reumaticke Poets, that beslauers all the paper he comes by, and furnishes the Chandlers with wast[e] papers to wrap candles in: but as for me, ile be paid deare euen for the dregges of my wit: little knowes the world what belong to the keeping of a good wit in waters, dietts, drinkes, Tobacco, &c. it is a dainty and costly

creature, and therefore I must be paide sweetly: furnish me with money, that I may put my selfe in a new sute of clothes, and ile sute thy shop with a new sute of tearmes: it's the gallantest child my inuention was euer deliuered off. The title is, a Chronicle of Cambri[d]ge cuckolds: here a man may see, what day of the moneth such a mans commons were inclosed, and when throwne open, and when any entailed some odde crownes, vpon the heires of their bodies vnlawfully begotten: speake quickly ells I am gone.

Dan. Oh this will sell gallantly: ile haue it whatsoeuer it cost, will you walk on M. Ingenioso, weele sit ouer a cup

of wine and agree on it.

Ing. A cup of wine is as good a Constable as can be, to take vp the quarrell betwixt vs.

Excunt.

Act 1. Scen. 4.

Philomusus in a Phisitions habite: Studioso that is Iaques man, And patient.

Phil.

it tit tit, non poynte, non debet fieri phlebetomotio in coitu lunæ: here is a Recîpe.

Pat. A Recîpe.

Phil, Nos Gallia non curamus quantitatem syllabarum: Let me heare how many stooles you doe make. Adieu Mounseir adieu good Mounseir, what Iaques Iln'a personne apres icy.

Stud. Non.

Phil. Then let vs steale time for this borrowed shape,
Recounting our vnequall haps of late.
Late did the Ocean graspe vs in his armes,
Late did we liue within a stranger ayre:
Late did we see the cinders of great Rome.
We thought that English fugitiues there eate

Gold, for restorative, if gold were meate, Yet now we find by bought experience, That where so ere we wander vp and downe, On the round shoulders of this massy world, Or our ill fortunes, or the worlds ill eye, Forspeake our good, procures our misery.

Stud. So oft the Northe[r]n winde with frozen wings,
Hath beate the flowers that in our garden grewe:
Throwne downe the stalkes of our aspiring youth,
So oft hath winter nipt our trees faire rind,
That now we seeme nought but two bared boughes,
Scorned by the basest bird that chirps in groaue.
Nor Rome, nor Rhemes that wonted are to giue,
A Cardinall cap, to discontented clarkes,
That haue forsooke the home-bred thanked roofes,
Yeelded vs any equall maintenance:
And, t'[i|s as good to starue mongst English swine,
As in a forraine land to beg and pine:

Phil. Ile scorne the world that scorneth me againe.

Stud. Ile vex the world that workes me so much paine.

Phil. Fly lame reuengings power, the world well weenes.

Stud. Flyes haue their spleene, each silly ant his teenes.

Phil. We have the words they the possession have.

Stud. We all are equall in our latest graue.

Phil. Soon then: O soone may we both graued be.

Stud. Who wishes death, doth wrong wise destiny,

Phil. It's wrong to force life, loathing men to breath. Stud. It's sinne for doomed day to wish thy death.

Phil. Too late our soules flit to their resting place.

Stud. Why mans whole life is but a breathing space.

Phil. A painefull minute seemes a tedious yeare.

Stud. A constant minde eternall woes will beare.

Phil. When shall our soules their wearied lodge forego?

Stud. When we have tyred misery and woe.

Phil. Soone may then fates this gale deliuer send vs. Small woes vex long, great woes quickly end vs.

But letts leave this capping of rimes Studioso, and follow our late deuise, that wee may maintaine our heads in cappes. our bellyes in prouender, and our backs in sadle and bridle: hetherto wee haue sought all the honest meanes wee could to liue, and now let vs dare, aliquid breuibus gracis and carcere dignum: let vs run through all the lewd formes of lime-twig purloyning villanies: let vs proue Cony-catchers, Baudes, or any thing, so we may rub out, and first my plot for playing the French Doctor that shall hold: our lodging stands here filthy in shooe lane, for if our commings in be not the better. London may shortly throw an old shoo after vs, and with those shreds of French, that we gathered vp in our hostes house in Paris, weele gull the world, that hath in estimation forraine Phisitians, and if any of the hidebound bretheren of Cambridge and Oxforde, or any of those Stigmatick maisters of arte, that abused vs in times past, leave their owne Phisitians, and become our patients, weele alter quite the stile of them, for they shall neuer hereafter write, your Lordships most bounden: but your Lordships most laxatiue.

Stud. It shall be so, see what a little vermine pouerty

altereth a whole milkie disposition.

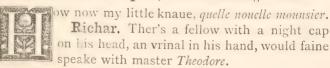
Phil. So then my selfe streight with reuenge Ile Seate.

Stud. Prouoked patience growes intemperate.

Actus 1. Scena 5.

Enter Richardetto, Iaques, Scholler learning French.

Iaq.



Iaq. Parle Francoyes moun petit garsoun.

Richard. Hy a vn homme and le bonnet de ct vn vrinell in la mens, que veut parter.

Iaq. For bien.

La teste Theodore.

Theod. Iaques, a bonus. Eng. Sch. Lib. No. 6

Exeunt.

Actus 1. Scen. 6.

Furor poeticus: and presently after enters Phantasma.

Furor poeticus rapt within contemplation.

hy how now *Pedant Phæbus*, are you smoutching *Thalia* on her tender lips? There hoie: pesant avant: come Pretty short-nosd nimph: oh sweet *Thalia*, I do kisse thy foote. What *Cleio*? O sweet

Cleio, nay pray thee do not weepe Melpomene. What Vrania, Polimnia, and Calliope, let me doe reuerence to your deities.

Phantasma puls him by the sleeue.

Fur. I am your holy swaine, that night and day,
Sit for your sakes rubbing my wrinkled browe,
Studying a moneth for one Epithete.
Nay siluer Cinthia, do not trouble me:
Straight will I thy Endimions storie write,
To which thou hastest me on day and night.
You light skirt starres, this is your wonted guise,
By glomy light perke out your doubtfull heads:
But when Don Phabus showes his flashing snout,
You are skie puppies, straight your light is out.

Phan. So ho, Furor.

Nay preethee good Furor in sober sadnesse.

Furor. Odi profanum vulgus et arcco.

Phan. Nay sweet Furor, ipsa to Tytire pinus,

Furor. Ipsi to fontes, ipsa hac arbusta vocarunt,
Who's that runs headlong on my quills sharpe point.

That wearied of his life and baser breath, Offers himselfe to an Iambicke verse.

Phant. Si quotics peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat Iupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit. Fur. What slimie bold presumptious groome is he,
Dares with his rude audacious hardy chat,
Thus seuer me from skibbered contemplation?

Phant. Carmina vel cœlo possant deducere lunam.

Furor. Oh Phantasma: what my individuall mate?

[Phant.] O mihi post nullus Furor memorande sodales.

Furor. Say whence commest thou? sent from what deytie? From great Apollo, or slie Mercurie?

Phan. I come from the little Mercury, Ingenioso. For, Ingenio pollet cui vim natura negauit.

Furor. Ingenioso?

He is a pretty inuenter of slight prose:
But there's no spirit in his groaueling speach,
Hang him whose verse cannot out-belch the wind:
That cannot beard and braue Don Eolus,
That when the cloud of his inuention breakes,
Cannot out-cracke the scar-crow thunderbolt.

Phan. Hang him I say, Pendo pependi, tendo tetendi, pedo bepedi. Will it please you maister Furor to walke with me. I promised to bring you to a drinking Inne in Cheapside, at the signe of the Nagges head, For,

Tempore lenta pati fræna docentur equi.

Furor. Passe thee before, Ile come incontinent.

Phan. Nay faith maister Furor, let's go togither, Quoniam Convenimus ambo.

Furor. Lets march on vnto the house of fame:
There quaffing bowles of Bacchus bloud ful nimbly,
Endite a Tiptoe, strouting poesy.

They offer the way one to the other.

Phan. Quo me Bacche rapis tui plenum, Tu maior: tibi me est æquum parere Menalea.

Actus 2. Scena 3. [or rather 1.]

Enter **Philom. Theod.** his patient the Burgesse, and his man with his staffe.

Theod. puts on his spectacles.



Ounsieur here are atomi Nantantes, which doe make shew your worship to be as leacherous as a Bull.

Burg. Truely maister Doctor we are all men.

Theod. This vater is intention of heate, are you not perturbed with an ake in you

race, or in your occipit. I meane your head peece, let me feele the pulse of your little finger.

Burg. He assure you M. Theodour, the pulse of my head beates exceedingly, and I thinke I have disturbed my selfe by studying the penall statutes.

Theod. Tit, tit, your worship takes cares of your speeches. O, coura leues loquuntur, ingentes stoupent, it is an Aphorisme in Galen.

Burg. And what is the exposition of that?

Theod. That your worship must take a gland, vt emittatu sanguis: the signe is for excellent, for excellent.

Burg. Good maister Doctor vse mee gently, for marke you Sir, there is a double consideration to be had of me: first as I am a publike magistrate: secondly as I am a private butcher: and but for the worshipfull credit of the place, and office wherein I now stand and live, I would not hazard my worshipfull apparell, with a suppositor or a glister: but for the countenancing of the place, I must go oftener to stoole,

for as a great gentleman told me of good experience, that it was the chiefe note of a magistrate, not to go to the stoole without a phisition.

Theo. A, vous ettes vn gentell home vraiment, what ho Iaques, Iaques, dou e vous? vnfort gentel purgation for monsier Burgesse.

Jaq. Vostre tres humble seruiture a vostre commandement.

Theod. Donne vous vn gentell purge a Monsier Burgesse. I haueconsidered of the crasis, and syntoma of your disease, and here is vnfort gentell purgation per enacuationem excrementorum, as we Phisitions vse to parlee.

Burg. I hope maister Doctor you have a care of the countries officer. I tell you I durst not have trusted my selfe with every phisition, and yet I am not afraide for my selfe, but I would not deprive the towne of so carefull a magistrate.

Theod. O monsier, I have a singular care of your valetudo, it is requisite that the French Phisitions be learned and carefull, your English veluet cap is malignant and envious.

Burg. Here is maister Doctor foure pence your due, and eight pence my bounty, you shall heare from me good maister Doctor, farewell farewell, good maister Doctor.

Theod. Adieu good Mounsier, adieu good Sir mounsier.

Then burst with teares vnhappy graduate:
Thy fortunes still wayward and backward bin:
Nor canst thou thriue by vertue, nor by sinne.

Stud. O how it greeues my vexed soule to see,
Each painted asse in chayre of dignitie:
And yet we grouell on the ground alone,
Running through euery trade, yet thriue by none.
More we must act in this liues Tragedy,

Phi. Sad is the plot, sad the Catastrophe.

Stud. Sighs are the Chorus in our Tragedie.

Phi. And rented thoughts continuall actors be.

Stud. Woe is the subject. *Phil*. earth the loathed stage. Whereon we act this fained personage.

Mossy barbarians the spectators be,

That sit and laugh at our calamity.

Phil. Band be those houres when mongst the learned throng,

By Gantaes muddy bancke we whilome song,

Stud. Band be that hill which learned wits adore, Where earst we spent our stock and little store:

Phil. Band be those musty mewes, where we have spent, Our youthfull dayes in paled languishment.

Stud. Band be those cosening arts that wrought our woe, Making vs wandring Pilgrimes too and fro.

Phi. And Pilgrimes must wee bee without reliefe,
And where so ere we run there meetes vs griefe.

Stud. Where euer we tosse vpon this crabbed stage Griefe's our companion, patience be our page.

Phi. Ah but this patience is a page of ruth, A tyred lackie to our wandring youth.

Act. 2. Scena. 2.

Academico solus.

Acad.

aine would I haue a liuing, if I could tell how to come by it.

Eccho. Buy it.

Acad. Buy it fond Eccho: why thou dost

greatly mistake it.

Ecc[h]o. Stake it.

Acad. Stake it, what shall I stake at this game of Simony?

Ecc[h]o. Money.

Ac. What is the world a game; are liuings gotten by playing?

Ecc[h]o. Paying.

[Acad]. Paying? but say what's the nearest way to come by a liuing?

Eccho. Giuing.

[Ac]. Must his worships fists bee then oyled with Angells? Eccho. Angells.

[Ac]. Ought his gowty fists then first with gold to be greased?

Ecch[o]. Eased.

[Acad]. And is it then such an ease for his asses backe to carry money?

Ecch[o]. I.

[Ac]. Will then this golden asse bestowe a viccarige guilded? **Echo.** Gelded.

[Acad]. What shall I say to good sir Roderick, that have no gold here?

Eccho. Cold cheare.

[Acad]. Ile make it my lone request, that he wold be good to a scholler

Eccho. Choller.

[Ac]. Yea will he be cholericke, to heare of an art or a science? **Eccho.** Hence.

[Acad]. Hence with liberal arts, what then wil he do with his chancel?

Eccho. sell.

[Acad]. Sell it? and must a simple clarke be faine to compound then?

Eccho: pounds then.

[Acad]. What if I have no pounds, must then my sute be proroagued?

Eccho. Roagued.

[Acad]. Yea? giuen to a Roague? shall an asse this vicaridge compasse?

Eccho Asse.

[Ac]. What is the reason that I should not be as fortunate as he?

Eccho. Asse he.

[Acad]. Yet for all this, with a peniles purse will I trudg[e] to his worship

Eccho. Words cheape.

[Acad]. Well, if he give me good words, its more then I have from an Eccho.

Eccho. Go.

Jan. 1602

Act. 2. Scen. 3.

Amoretto with an Ouid in his hand. Immerito.

Amor.



Pake it on the word of a Gentleman thou cannot haue it a penny vnder, thinke ont, thinke ont, while I meditate on my faire

Nunc sequor imperium magne Cupido tuum. What ere become of this dull thredbare clearke, I must be costly in my mistresse eye: Ladies regard not ragged companie. I will with the reuenues of my chafred church. First buy an ambling hobby for my faire: [dance, Whose measured pace may teach the world to Proud of his burden when he gins to praunce: Then must I buy a iewell for her eare, A kirtle of some hundred crownes or more: With these faire gifts when I accompanied goe, Sheele giue Ioucs breakfast: Sidney tearmes it so. I am her needle: she is my Adamant, She is my faire rose, I her vnworthy pricke.

Acad. Is there no body heere will take the paines to gelde his mouth?

Amor. She's Cleopatra, I Marke Anthony,

Acad. No thou art a meere marke for good wits to shoote at: and in that sute thou wilt make a fine man to dashe poore crowes out of countenance.

Amor. She is my moone, I her Endimion,

Acad. No she is thy shoulder of mutton thou her onyon: or she may be thy Luna, and thou her Lunaticke.

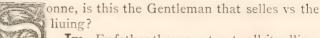
Amor. I her Æneas, she my Dido is.

Acad. She is thy Io, and thou her brasen asse, Or she Dame Phantasy and thou her gull: She thy Pasiphae, and thou her louing bull.

Act. 2. Scen. 4.

Enter Immerito, and Stercutio his father.

Ster.



Im. Fy father thou must not call it selling, thou must say is this the gentleman that must

haue the gratuito?

Acad. What have we here, old true-penny come to towne, to fetch away the living in his old greasie slops, then ile none: the time hath beene when such a fellow medled with nothing but his plowshare, his spade, and his hobnailes, and so to a peece of bread and cheese, and went his way: but now these fellowes are growne the onely factors for preferment.

Ster. O is this the grating Gentleman, and howe many

pounds must I pay?

Im. O thou must not call them pounds, but thankes, and harke thou father, thou must tell of nothing that is done: for I must seeme to come cleere to it.

Acad. Not poundes but thanks: see whether this simple fellow that hath nothing of a scholler, but that the draper hath blackt him ouer, hath not gotten the stile of the time.

Ster. By my faith sonne looke for no more portion.

Im. Well father, I will not, vppon this condition, that when thou haue gotten me the gratuito of the liuing, thou wilt likewise disburse a little money to the bishops poser, for there are certaine questions I make scruple to be posed in.

Acad. He meanes any question in Latin, which he counts a scruple, oh this honest man could neuer abide this popish tongue of Latine, oh he is as true an English man as liues.

Ster. Ile take the Gentleman now, he is in a good vaine, for he smiles.

Amor. Sweete Ouid, I do honour euery page.

Acad. Good *Ouid* that in his life time, liued with the *Gctes*, and now after his death converseth with a Barbarian.

Ster. God be at your worke Sir: my sonne told me you were the grating gentleman, I am *Stercutio* his father Sir, simple as I stand here.

Acad. Fellow, I had rather given thee an hundred pounds then thou should have put me out of my excellent meditation[,] by the faith of a Gentleman I was wrapt in contemplation.

Im. Sir you must pardon my father he wants bringing

vp.

Acad. Marry it seemes he hath good bringing vp, when he brings vp so much money.

Ster. Indeed sir, you must pardon me, I did not knowe

you were a Gentleman of the Temple before.

Amor. Well I am content in a generous disposition to beare with country education, but fellowe whats thy name?

Ster. My name Sir, Stercutio Sir.

Am[or]. Why then Stercutio I wold be very willing to be the instrument to my father, that this liuing might be conferred vpon your soone: mary I would have you know, that I have bene importuned by two or three several Lordes, my Kinde cozins, in the behalfe of some Cambridge man: and have almost engaged my word. Mary if I shall see your disposition to be more thankfull then other men, I shalbe very ready to respect kind natur'd men: for as the Italian proverbe speaketh wel, Chi ha havra.

Acad. why here is a gallant young drouer of liuings.

Ster. I beseech you sir speake English, for that is naturall to me and to my sonne, and all our kindred, to vnderstand but one language.

Amor. Why thus in plaine english: I must be respected with thanks.

with thanks.

Acad. This is a subtle tractiue, when thanks may be felt and seene.

Ster. And I pray you Sir, what is the lowest thanks that you will take?

Acad. The verye same Method that he vseth at the buying of an oxe.

Amor. I must have some odd sprinckling of an hundred pounds, if so, so, I shall thinke you thankfull, and commend your sonne as a man of good giftes to my father.

Acad. A sweete world, give an hundred poundes, and this

is but counted thankfullnesse.

Ster. Harke thou Sir, you shall have 80. thankes.

Amor. I tell thee fellow, I neuer opened my mouth in this kind so cheape before in my life. I tel thee, few young Gentlemen are found, that would deale so kindly with thee as I doe.

Ster. Well Sir, because I knowe my sonne to be a toward thing, and one that hath taken all his learning on his owne head, without sending to the vniuersitye, I am content to give you as many thankes as you aske, so you will promise me to bring it to passe.

Amor. I warrant you for that: if I say it once, repayre you to the place, and stay there, for my father, he is walked abroad to take the benefit of the ayre. Ile meete him as he

returnes, and make way for your suite.

Exeunt Ster. Im.

Actus 2. Scen. 5.

Enter Academico, Amoretto.

Amor.

allant, I faith.

Acad. I see we schollers fish for a liuing in these shallow foards without a siluer hooke. Why, would it not gal a man to see

a spruse gartered youth, of our Colledge a while ago, be a broker for a liuing, and an old Baude for a benefice? This sweet Sir proffered me much kindnesse when hee was of our Colledge, and now Ile try what winde remaines in his bladder. God saue you Sir.

Amor. By the masse I feare me I saw this Genus and Species in Cambridge before now: Ile take no notice of him now: by the faith of a gentleman this is pretty Elegy. Of what age is the day fellow? Syrrha boy hath the groome saddled my hunting hobby? can Robin Hunter tell where a Hare sits.

Acad. See a poore old friend of yours, of S.() Colledge in Cambridge.

Am. Good faith sir you must pardon me. I haue forgotten you.

Acad. My name is *Academico* Sir, one that made an oration for you once on the Queenes day, and a show that you got some credit by.

Amor. It may be so, it may bee so, but I have forgotten it: mary yet I remember there was such a fellow that I was very beneficiall vnto in my time. But howsoeuer Sir, I have the curtesie of the towne for you. I am sory you did not take me at my fathers house: but now I am in exceeding great haste, for I have vowed the death of a Hare that we found this morning musing on her meaze.

Acad. Sir I am imboldened, by that great acquaintance that heretofore I had with you, as likewise it hath pleased

you heretofore.

Amor. Looke syrrha, if you see my Hobby come hetherward as yet.

Acad. To make me some promises, I am to request your good meditation to the Worshipfull your father, in my behalfe: and I will dedicate to your selfe in the way of thankes, those daies I haue to liue.

Amor. O good sir, if I had knowne your minde before, for my father hath already given the induction to a Chaplaine of his owne, to a proper man, I know not of what Vniuersitie he is.

Acad. Signior Immerito, they say, hath bidden fairest for it.

Amor. I know not his name, but he is a graue discreet

man I warrant him, indeed he wants vtterance in some measure.

Acad. Nay, me thinkes he hath very good vtterance, for his grauitie, for hee came hether very graue, but I thinke he will returne light enough, when he is ridde of the heavy element he carries about him

Amor. Faith Sir, you must pardon me, it is my ordinary custome to be too studious, my Mistresse hath tolde me of it often, and I find it to hurt my ordinary discourse: but say sweete Sir, do yee affect the most gentle-man-like game of hunting?

Acad. How say you to the crafty gull, hee would faine get me abroad to make sport with me in their Hunters tearmes, which we schollers are not acquainted with: sir I haue loued this kinde of sport, but now I begin to hate it, for it hath beene my luck alwayes to beat the bush, while another kild the Hare.

Amor. Hunters luck, Hunters luck Sir, but there was a fault in your Hounds that did spend well.

Acad. Sir, I have had worse luck alwayes at hunting the Fox. Am[or]. What sir, do you meane at the vnkennelling. vntapezing, or earthing of the Fox?

Acad. I meane earthing, if you terme it so, for I neuer found yellow earth enough to couer the old Fox your father.

Amor. Good faith sir, there is an excellent skill in blowing for the terriers, it is a word that we hunters use when the Fox is earthed, you must blow one long, two short, the seconde winde, one long, two short: now sir in blowing, euery long containeth 7. quauers, one short, containeth 3 quauers.

Acad. Sir might I finde any fauour in my suite, I would winde the horne wherein your bone deserts should bee sounded with so many minims, so many quauers.

Amor. Sweet sir, I would I could conferre this or any kindnesse vpon you: I wonder the boy comes not away with my Hobby. Now sir, as I was proceeding: when you blow the death of your Fox in the field or couert, then must you

sound 3. notes, with 3. windes, and recheat: marke your sir, vpon the same with 3. windes.

Acad. I pray you sir.

Amor. Now sir, when you come to your stately gate, as you sounded the recheat before, so now you must sound the releefe three times.

Acad. Releefe call you it? it were good euery patron would finde the horne.

Amor. O sir, but your reliefe is your sweetest note, that is sir, when your hounds hunt after a game vnknowne, and then you must sound one long and six short, the second wind two short and one long, the third wind, one long and two short.

Acad. True sir, it is a very good trade now adayes to be a villaine, I am the hound that hunts after a game vnknowne, and blowes the villaine.

Amor. Sir, I will blesse your eares with a very pretty story, my father out of his owne cost and charges keepes an open table for all kinde of dogges.

Acad. And he keepes one more by thee.

Amor. He hath your Grey-hound, your Mungrell, your Mastife, your Leurier, your Spaniell, your Kennets, Terriers, Butchers dogs, Bloud-hounds, Dunghill dogges, trindle tailes, prick-eard curres, small Ladies puppies, Caches and Bastards.

Acad. What a bawdy knaue hath he to his father, that keepes his Rachell, hath his bastards, and lets his sonnes be

plaine Ladies puppets, to beray a Ladies Chamber.

Amor. It was my pleasure two dayes ago, to take a gallant leash of Grey-hounds, and into my fathers Parke I went, accompanied with two or three Noble men of my neere acquaintance, desiring to shew them some of the sport: I caused the Keeper to seuer the rascall Deere, from the Buckes of the first head: now sir, a Bucke the first yeare is a Fawne; the second yeare a Pricket, the third yeare a Sorell, the fourth yeare a Soare, the fift a Bucke of the first head,

the sixt yeare a compleat Buck: as likewise your Hart is the first yeare a Calfe, the second yeare a Brochet, the third yeare a Spade, the fourth yeare a Stag, the fift yeare a great Stag, the sixt yeare a Hart [:] as likewise the Raw bucke is the first yeare a Kid, the second yeare a Girle, the third yeare a Hemuse: and these are your speciall beasts for chase, or as we huntsmen call it, for venery.

Acad. If chaste be taken for venery, thou art a more speciall beast then any in thy fathers forest. Sir I am sorry

I have bin so troublesome to you.

Amor. I know this was the readiest way to chase away the scholler, by getting him into a subject he cannot talke of. for his life. Sir I will borrowe so much time of you as to finish this my begunne story. Now sir, after much trauaile we singled a Buck, I roade that same time vpon a Roane gelding, and stood to intercept from the thicket: the buck broke gallantly: my great swift being disaduantaged in his slip was at the first behind, marry presently coted and out-stript them, when as the Hart presently descended to the river, and being in the water, proferd, and reproferd, and proferd againe: and at last he vpstarted at the other side of the water which we call sovle of the Hart, and there other Hunstmen met him with an adauntreley, we followed in hard chase for the space of eight hours, thrise our hounds were at default, and then we cryed a slaine, streight so ho: through good reclayming, my faulty hounds found their game againe, and so went through the wood with gallant notice of musicke, resembling so many Violls Degambo: at last the Hart laid him downe, and the Hounds seized vpon him, he groned and wept, and dved. In good faith it made me weepe too, to thinke of Actoms fortunes, which my Ouid speakes of. He reades Quid.

Militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra cupido.

Acad. Sir, can you put me in any hope of obtaining my suite.

Amforl. In good faith Sir, if I did not loue you as my soule, I would not make you acquainted with the mysteries of my art.

Acad. Nav. I will not die of a discourse vet, if I can

choose.

Amor. So sir, when we had rewarded our Dogges with the small guttes and the lights, and the bloud: the Huntsmen hallowed, so ho, Venue a coupler, and so coupled the dogges, and then returned homeward: another company of houndes that lay at advantage, had their couples cast off and we might heare the Huntesmen cry, horse, decouble, Auant, but streight we heard him cry, le Amond, and by that I knew that they had the hare and on foote, and by and bye I might see sore and resore, prick, and reprick: what is he gone? ha ha ha ha, these schollers are the simplest creatures.

Actus 2. scen. 6.

Enter Amoretto and his Page.

Pag[e].



wonder whats becomes of that Ouid, de arte amandi, my maister he that for the practise of his discourse is wonte to court his hobby abroad, and at home in his

chamber makes a set speech to his greyhound, desiring that most faire and amiable dog to grace his company in a stately galliard, and if the dog, seeing him practise his lusty pointes, as his crospoynt backcaper, chance to beray the rololme, he presently doffes his Cap most solemnly, makes a low-leg to his ladiship, taking it for the greatest fauour in the world, that she would vouchsafe to leave her Ciuet box, or her sweet gloue behind her.

Amor. He opens Ouid and reads it.

Pag[e]. Not a word more sir ant please you, your Hobby will meete you at the lanes end.

Amo[r]. What *Iack*, faith I cannot but vent vnto thee a most witty iest of mine.

Page. I hope my maister will not breake wind: wilt please you sir to blesse mine eares with the discourse of it.

Am[or]. Good faith, the boy beginns to have an elegant smack of my stile: why then thus it was *Iack*: a scuruy meere Cambridge scholler, I know not how to define him.

Page. Nay Maister, let me define a meere scholler: I heard a courtier once define a meere scholler, to be animall scabiosum, that is, a liuing creature that is troubled with the itch: or a meere scholler is a creature than can strike fire in the morning at his tinder-box, put on a paire of lined slippers, sit rewming till dinner, and then goe to his meate when the Bell rings, one that hath a peculiar gift in a cough, and a licence to spit: or if you will have him defined by negatives. He is one that cannot make a good legge, one that cannot eat a messe of broth cleanly, one that cannot ride a horse without spur-galling: one that cannot salute a woman, and looke on her directly, one that cannot

Amfor]. Inough Iacke, I can stay no longer, I am so great in child-birth with this iest: Sirrha, this prædicable, this saucye groome, because when I was in Cambridge, and lay in a Trundlebed vnder my tutor, I was content in discreet humility, to give him some place at the Table, and because I inuited the hungry slaue sometimes to my Chamber, to the canuasing of a Turkey pie, or a piece of Venison, which my Lady Grandmother sent me, hee thought himselfe therefore eternally possest of my loue, and came hither to take acquaintance of me, and thought his olde familiarity did continue, and would beare him out in a matter of waight. I could not tell howe to ridde my selfe of the troublesome Burre, then by getting him into the discourse of hunting, and then tormenting him awhile with our words of Arte, the poore Scorpion became speechlesse, and suddenly rauished. These Clearkes are simple fellowes, simple fellowes.

He reades Ouid.

Page. Simple indeede they are, for they want your courtly composition of a foole and of a knaue. Good faith sir a most absolute iest, but me thinkes it might have beene followed a little farther.

Am[or]. As how my little knaue?

Pag[e]. Why thus sir, had you inuited him to dinner at your Table, and haue put the caruing of a capon vpon him, you should haue seene him handle the knife so foolishly, then run through a jury of faces, then wagging his head, and shewing his teeth in familiarity, venter vppon it with the same method that he was wont to vntrusse an apple pye, or tyrannise an Egge and butter; then would I have applyed him all dinner time with cleane trenchers, cleane trenchers, and still when he had a good bit of meate, I would haue taken it from him, by giuing him a cleane trencher, and so haue serued him in kindnesse.

Amo[r]. Well said subtle *Iack*, put me in minde when I returne againe, that I may make my lady mother laugh at the Scholler, ile to my game: for you *Iacke*, I would have you imploy your time till my comming: in watching what houre of the day my hawke mutes.

Exit.

Page. Is not this an excellent office to be Apothecary to his worships hawke, to sit scouting on the wall, how the Phisicke workes, and is not my Maister an absolute villaine that loues his Hawke, his Hobby, and his Grey-hound, more then any mortall creature? do but dispraise a feather of his haw[k es traine, and he writhes his mouth, and sweares, for hee can doe that only with a good grace, that you are the most shallowe braind fellow that liues: do but say his horse stales with a good presence, and hee's your bondslaue: when he returnes Ile tell twenty admirable lies of his hawke, and then I shall bee his little roague, and his white villaine for a whole weeke after. Well let others complaine, but I thinke there is no felicity to the seruing of a foole.

Act 3. Scen. 1.

Sir Rad. Record[er]. Page. Sig. Immerito.

Sir Rad.



Ignior *Immerito*, you remember my caution, for the tithes, and my promise for farming my tithes at such a rate.

Im. I, and please your worship Sir.

Sir Rad. You must put in

security for the performance of it in such sort as I and maister Recorder shall like of.

Im. I will an't please your worship.

Sir Rad. And because I will be sure that I have conferred this kindnesse vpon a sufficient man, I have desired Maister *Recorder* to take examination of you.

Pag[e]. My maister (it seemes) tak's him for a theife, but he hath small reason for it, as for learning it's plaine he neuer stole any, and for the liuing he knowes himselfe how he comes by it, for let him but eate a messe of furmenty this seauen yeare, and yet he shall neuer be able to recouer himselfe: alas poore Sheepe that hath fallen into the hands of such a Fox.

S. Rad. Good maister Recorder take your place by me, and make tryall of his gifts, is the clerke there to recorde his examination, oh the Page shall serue the turne.

Pag[e]. Tryal of his gifts, neuer had any gifts a better trial, why *Immerito* his gifts have appeared in as many colours, as the Rain-bowe, first to maister *Amoretto* in colour of the

Sattine suite he weares: to my Lady in the similitude of a loose gowne: to my maister, in the likenesse of a siluer basen, and ewer: to vs Pages in the semblance of new suites and points. So maister Amoretto plaies the gull in a piece of a parsonage: my maister adornes his cupboord with a piece of a parsonage, my mistres vpon good dayes, puts on a piece of a parsonage, and we Pages playe at blow point for a piece of a parsonage, I thinke heer's tryall inough for one mans gifts.

Recor. For as much as nature hath done her part in

making you a hansome likely man.

Pag[e]. He is a hansome young man indeed, and hath a

proper gelded parsonage.

Recor. In the next place, some art is requisite for the perfection of nature: for the tryall whereof, at the request of my worshipfull friend, I will in some sort propound questions fit to be resolued by one of your profession, say what is a person that was neuer at the vniuersity?

Im. A person that was neuer in the Vniuersity, is a liuing

creature that can eate a tithe pigge.

Rec. Very well answer'd, but you should have added, and must be officious to his patron: write down that answer to

shew his learning in Logick.

Sir Rad: Yea boy write that downe. Very learnedly in good faith, I pray now let me aske you one question that I remember, whether is the Masculine gender or the feminine more worthy.

Im. The Feminine sir.

Sir Rad. The right answer, the right answer: in good faith I haue beene of that mind alwayes; write boy that, to shew hee is a Grammarian.

Pag[e]. No maruell my maister bee against the Grammer,

for he hath alwayes made false Latin in the Genders.

Rec. What Vniuersity are you off?

Im. Of none.

Sir Rad. He tells trueth, to tell trueth is an excellent vertue. Boy make two heads, one for his learning, another

for his vertues, and referre this to the head of his vertues, not of his learning.

Pag[e]. What, halfe a messe of good qualities referred to an Asse head?

Sir Rad. Now maister Recorder, if it please you I will examine him in an author, that will sound him to the depth, a booke of Astronomy, otherwise called an Almanacke.

Rec. Very good, Sir *Raderike*, it were to be wished that there were no other booke of humanity, then there would not bee such busic state-prying fellowes as are now a dayes, proceed good sir.

Sir Rad. What is the Dominicall letter?

Im. C. sir, and please your worship.

Sir Rad. A very good answer, a very good answer, the very answer of the booke, write downe that, and referre it to his skill in Philosophy.

Pag[e]. C. the Dominicall letter: it is true, craft and cunning do so dominere: yet rather C and D, are dominicall letters, that is crafty Dunsery.

S. Rad. How many dayes hath September?

Im. Aprill, Iune and Nouember, February hath 28. alone and all the rest hath 30 and one.

S. Rad. Very learnedly in good faith, he hath also a smacke in poetry, write downe that boy, to shew his learning in poetry. How many miles from Waltham to London?

Im. Twelue Sir.

S. Rad. How many from Newmarket to Gantham?

Im. Ten Sir.

Pag[e]. Without doubt he hath beene some Carriers horse.

S. Rad. How call you him that is cunning in 1.2.3.4.5. and the Cipher?

Im. A good Arithmatician.

S. Rad. Write downe that answere of his, to shew his learning in Arithmetick.

Pag[e]. He must needs be a good Arithmatician that counted money so lately.

[Inn 1602.

S. Rad. When is the new Moone?

Im. The last quarter the 5. day, at 2. of the clock and 38. minut[e]s in the morning.

S. Rad. Write him downe, how call you him, that is

weather-wise?

Recor. A good Astronomer.

S. Rad. Sirrha boy, write him downe for a good Astronomer.

Page. As Colit astra.

S. Rad. What day of the month lights the Queenes day on? Im. The 17. of Nouember.

S. Rad. Boy, referre this to his vertues, and write him

downe a good subject.

Pag[e]. Faith he were an excellent subject for 2. or 3. good wits, he would make a fine Asse for an Ape to ride vpon.

S. Rad. And these shall suffice for the parts of his learning, now it remaines to try whether you bee a man of good vtterance, that is, whether you can aske for the strayed Heyfer with the white face, as also chide the boyes in the belfrie, and bid the Sexton whippe out the dogges: let mee heare your voyce.

Im. If any man or woman.

S. Rad. Thats too high.

Im. If any man or woman.

S. Rad. Thats too lowe.

Im. If any man or woman, can tell any tidings of a Horse with foure feete, two eares, that did straye about the seuenth houre, three minutes in the forenoone the fift day.

Page. I tooke of a horse just as it were the Ecclipse of

the Moone.

S. Rad. Boy write him downe for a good vtterance: Maister Recorder, I thinke he hath beene examined sufficiently.

Rec. I, Sir Radericke, tis so, wee haue tride him very throughly.

Pag[e]. I, we have taken an inventory of his good parts

and prized them accordingly.

S. Rad. Signior Immerito, forasmuch as wee haue made a double tryall of thee, the one of your learning, the other of your erudition: it is expedient also in the next place to give you a few exhortations, considering this, greatest Clearks are not the wisest men: this is therefore first to exhort you to abstaine from Controuersies. Secondly not to gird at men of worship, such as my selfe, but to vse your selfe discreetly. Thirdly not to speake when any man or woman coughs: doe so, and in so doing I will preseuer to bee your worshipfull friend and louing patron.

Im. I thanke your worship, you have beene the deficient

cause of my preferment.

Sir Rad. Lead Immerito in to my sonne, and let him dispatch him, and remember my tithes to bee reserved. paving twelue pence a yeare. I am going to Moore-fields, to speake with an vnthrift I should meete at the middle Temple about a purchase, when you have done follow vs.

Exeunt Immerito and the Page.

Actus 3. Scena 2.

Sir Raderick, and Recorder.



Sir Rad. arke you Maister Recorder, I haue flesht my prodigall boy notably, notably in letting him deale for this liuing, that hath done him much, much good I assure you.

Recor. You doe well Sir Radericke, to bestowe your liuing vpon such an one as will be content to share, and on Sunday to say nothing, whereas your Vniuerstie princox thinkes he is a man of such merit, the world cannot sufficiently endow him with preferment, an vnthankefull Viper, an vnthankefull viper that will sting the man that reuiued him.

Why ist not strange to see a ragged clarke, Some stamell weaver or some butchers sonne: That scrubd a late within a sleeuelesse gowne, When the commencement, like a morice dance, Hath put a bell or two about his legges, Created him a sweet cleane gentleman: How then he gins to follow fashions. He whose thin sire dwell[s] in a smokye roufe, Must take Tobacco and must weare a locke, His thirsty Dad drinkes in a wooden bowle, But his sweete selfe is seru'd in siluer plate. His hungry sire will scrape you twenty legges, For one good Christmas meale on New-yeares day. But his mawe must be capon crambd each day, He must ere long be triple beneficed, Els with his tongue hee le thunderbolt the world, And shake each peasant by his deafe-mans eare. But had the world no wiser men then I. Weede pen the prating parats in a cage, A chaire, a candle and a Tinderbox. A thacked chamber and a ragged gowne, Should be their lands and whole possessions, Knights, Lords, and lawyers should be log'd and dwell Within those ouer stately heapes of stone. Which doting sires in old age did erect.

Well it were to be wished that neuer a scholler in England

might have aboue forty pound a yeare.

S. Rad. Faith maister Recorder, if it went by wishing, there should neuer a one of them all haue aboue twenty a yeare: a good stipend, a good stipend, maister Recorder. I in the meane time, howsoeuer I hate them all deadly, yet I am faine to giue them good words. Oh they are pestilent fellowes, they speake nothing but bodkins, and pisse vineger. Wel, do what I can in outward kindnesse to them, yet they do nothing but beray my house: as there was one that made a couple of knauish verses on my country chimney now in

the time of my soiourning here at London: and it was thus.

Sir Raderick keepes no chimney Cauelere, That takes Tobacco aboue once a yeare.

And another made a couple of verses on my daughter that learnes to play on the violl de gambo.

Her vyoll de gambo is her best content.

For twixt her legges she holds her instrument.

Very knauish, very knauish, if you looke vnto it maister *Recorder*. Nay they have plaide many a knauish tricke beside with me. Well, tis a shame indeede there should bee any such privilege for proud beggars at Cambridge, and Oxford are. But let them go, and if ever they light in my hands, if I do not plague them, let me never returne home againe to see my wifes waiting mayde.

Recor This scorne of Knights it two egregious.

But how should these young colts proue amblers, When the old heavy galed iades do trot. There shall you see a puny boy start vp, And make a theame against common lawyers: Then the old vnweldy Camels gin to dance, This fidling boy paying a fit of mirth: The gray beard scrub, and laugh and cry good, good To them againe, boy scurdge the barbarians: But we may give the loosers leave to talke, We have the coyne, then tell them laugh for mee. Yet knights and lawyers hope to see the day, When we may share here their possessions, And make indentures of their chaffred skins: Dice of their hopes to throw in meriment.

Sir. Rad. O good faith maister Recorder, if I could see that day once.

Rec. Well, remember another day what I say: schollers are pried into of late, and are found to bee busic fellowes, disturbers of the peace; ile say no more, gesse at my meaning, I smell a Rat.

Sir Rad. I hope at length England will be wise enough,

I hope so, I faith, then an old knight may have his wench in a corner without any Satyres or Epigrams. But the day is farre spent, M. Recorder, and I feare by this time the vnthrift is arrived at the place appointed in Moore fields, let vs hasten to him.

He lookes on his watch.

Rec. Indeed this dayes subject transported vs too late, I thinke we shall not come much too late.

Exeunt.

Act. 3. Scen. 3.

Enter Amoretto, his page, Immerito booted.

Amor.



aister *Immerito* deliuer this letter to the Poser in my fathers name: mary withall some sprinkling, some sprinkling, verbum sapienti sat est, farewell maister *Immerito*.

Im. I thanke your worship most heartily.

Page. Is it not a shame to see this old dunce learning his induction at these yeares? but let him go, I loose nothing by him for ile be sworne but for the bootye of selling the personage I should have gone in mine old cloathes this Christmas. A dunce I see is a neighbourlike brute beast, a man may live by him.

Amor. seemes to make verse.

Amor. A pox on it, my muse is not so witty as shee was wonte to be, her nose is like, not yet, plague on these mathematikes, they have spoyled my braine in making a verse.

Pag[e]. Hang me if he hath any more mathematikes then wil serue to count the clocke, or tell the meridian houre by rumbling of his panch.

Am. Her nose is like.

Pag[e]. A coblers shooinghorne.

Am. Her nose is like a beautious maribone.

Pag[e]. Mary a sweete snotty mistres.

Amor. Faith I doe not like it yet: asse as I was to reade a peece of Aristotle in greeke yesternight, it hath put me out of my English vaine quite.

Pag[e]. O monstrous lye, let me be a point-trusser while I

liue if he vnderstands any tongue but English.

Amor. Sirrha boy remember me when I come in Paules Churchyard to buy a Ronzard, and Dubartus in French and Aretine in Italian, and our hardest writers in spanish, they wil sharpen my wits gallantly. I do rellish these tongues in some sort. Oh now I do remember I heare a report of a Poet newly come out in Hebrew, it is a pritty harsh tongue, and rellish a Gentleman traueller, but come letts haste after my father, the fieldes are fitter to heavenly meditations.

Exeunt.

Paglel. My maisters, I could wish your presence at an admirable iest, why presently this great linguist my Maister, will march through Paules Church-yard. Come to a booke binders shop, and with a big Italian looke and spanish face aske for these bookes in spanish and Italian, then turning through his ignorance, the wrong ende of the booke vpward vse action, on this vnknowne tongue after this sort, first looke on the title and wrinckle his brow, next make as though he read the first page and bites a lip, then with his naile score the margent as though there were some notable conceit, and lastly when he thinkes hee hath gulld the standers by sufficiently, throwes the booke away in a rage, swearing that he could neuer finde bookes of a true printe since he was last in Ioudna, enquire after the next marte, and so departs. And so must I, for by this time his contemplation is arrived at his mistres nose end, he is as glad as if he had taken Ostend: by this he beginnes to spit, and crie boy, carry my cloake: and now I goe to attend on his worship.

Act 3. Scen. 4.

Enter Ingenioso, Furor, Phantasma.

Ing.



ome laddes, this wine whets your resolution in our designe: it's a needy world with subtill spirits, and there's a gentlemanlike kind of begging, that may beseeme Poets in this age.

Fur. Now by the wing of nimble Mercury, By my Thalias siluer sounding harpe: By that celestiall fire within my braine, That gives a living genius to my lines: How ere my dulled intellectuall. Capres lesse nimbly then it did afore, Yet will I play a hunt's vp to my muse: And make her mount from out her sluggish nest, As high as is the highest spheere in heauen: Awake you paltry trulles of Helicon, Or by this light, Ile Swagger with you streight: You grand-sire Phabus with your louely eye, The firmaments eternall vagabond, The heavens promotor that doth peepe and prye, Into the actes of mortall tennis balls. Inspire me streight with some rare delicies, Or Ile dismount thee from thy radiant coach: And make thee poore Cutchy here on earth.

Phan. Currus auriga paterni.

Ing. Nay prethee good Furor, do not roaue in rimes before thy time: thou hast a very terrible roaring muse, nothing but squibs and fine ierkes, quiet thy selfe a while, and heare thy charge.

Phan. Huc ades hac; animo concipe dicta tuo.

Ingeni. Let vs on to our deuise, our plot, our proiect. That old Sir *Raderick*, that new printed *compendum* of all iniquity, that hath not aired his countrey Chimney once in

3. winters: he that loues to liue in an od corner here at London, and effect an odde wench in a nooke, one that loues to liue in a narrow roome, that he may with more facilitie in the darke, light vpon his wifes waiting maide, one that loues alife a short sermon and a long play, one that goes to a play, to a whore, to his bedde in Circle, good for nothing in the world but to sweat night caps, and foule faire lawne shirts, feed a few foggie seruing men, and preferre dunces to liuings. This old Sir Raderick (Furor) it shall be thy taske to cudgell with thy thick thwart termes, and then if he will not vnty his purse strings, of his liberality, sting him with termes laid in Aqua fortis and Gunpowder.

Furor. In noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas.

The Seruile current of my sliding verse, Gentle shall runne into his thick skind eares: Where it shall dwell like a magnifico, Command his slimie spright to honour me: For my high tiptoe strouting poesie. But if his starres hath fauour'd him so ill, As to debarre him by his dunghil thoughts, Iustly to esteeme my verses lowting pitch: If his earth wroting snout shall gin to scorne, My verse that giueth immortality: Then. Bella per Emathios.

Phan, Furor arma ministrat.

Furor. Ile shake his heart vpon my verses point, Rip out his guts with riuing poinard: Quarter his credit with a bloudy quill.

Phan. Calami, Atramentum, charta, libelli, Sunt semper studijs arma parata tuis.

Ing. Inough Furor, wee know thou art a nimble swaggerer with a goose quill: now for you Phantasma, leave trussing your points and listen.

Phan. Omne tulit punctum.

Ing. Marke you Amoretto Sir Radericks sonne, to him shall thy piping poetry and sugar ends of verses be directed: he is

one, that will draw out his pocket glasse thrise in a walke, one that dreames in a night of nothing, but muske and ciuet, and talke[s] of nothing all day long but his hawke, his hound, and his mistresse, one that more admires the good wrinckle of a boote, the curious crinkling of a silke stocking, then all the wit in the world: one that loues no scholler but him whose tyred eares can endure halfe a day togither his fliblow sonnettes of his mistresse, and her louing pretty creatures, her munckey and her puppet: it shall be thy taske (*Phantasma*) to cut this gulles throate with faire tearmes, and if he hold fast for all thy iugling rhetoricke, fall at defiance with him, and the poking sticke he weares.

Phan. Simul extulit ensem.

Ing. Come braue nimphs, gather vp your spirits, and let vs march on like aduenturous knights, and discharge a hundreth poeticall spirits vpon them.

Phan. Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo.

Exeunt.

Act 3. Scen. 5.

Enter Philomusus, Studioso.

Stud.

ell *Philomusus*, we neuer scaped so faire a scouring: why yonder are purseuants out for the French Doctor, and a lodging bespoken for him and his man in Newgate.

It was a terrible feare that made vs cast our haire.

Phil. And canst thou sport at our calamities?

And countest vs happy to scape prisonment?

Why the wide world that blesseth some with waile,
Is to our chained thoughts a darkesome gaile:

Stud. Nay prethee friend, these wonted termes forgo, He doubles griefe that comments on a wo.

Phil. Why do fond men terme it impiety?

To send a wearisome sad grudging Ghost,

Vnto his home, his long, long, lasting home?

Or let them make our life lesse greeuous be,

Or suffer vs to end our misery.

Stud. Oh no, the Sentinell his watch must keepe, Vntill his Lord do licence him to sleepe:

Phil. It's time to sleepe within our hollow graues, And rest vs in the darkesome wombe of earth:

Dead things are graued, and bodies are no lesse,

Pined and forlorne, like Ghostly carcases.

Stud. Not long this tappe of loathed life can runne,
Soone commeth death, and then our woe is done.
Mean time, good *Philomusus* be content,
Lets spend our dayes in hopefull merriment.

Phil. Curst be our thoughts when ere they dreame of hope: Band be those haps that henceforth flatter vs. When mischiefe doggs vs still and still for ave. From our first birth, vntill our burying day. In our first gamesome age, our doting sires, Carked and cared to have vs lettered: Sent vs to Cambridge, where our oyle is spent: Vs our kinde Colledge from the teate did teare: And for'st vs walke before we weaned were. From that time since wandred have we still: In the wide world, vrg'd by our forced will, Nor euer haue we happy fortune tryed: Then why should hope with our tent state abide? Nay let vs run vnto the basefull caue, Pight in the hollow ribbes of craggy cliffe. Where dreary Owles do shrike the liue-long night, Chasing away the byrdes of chearefull light: Where vawning Ghosts do howle in ghastly wise, Where that dull hollow ev'd, that staring syre, Yclept Dispaire hath his sad mansion. Him let vs finde, and by his counsell we, Will end our too much yrked misery.

Stud. To waile thy haps, argues a dastard minde.

Phil. To beare too long, argues an asses kinde.

Stud. Long since the worst chance of the die was cast,

Phil. But why should that word worst so long time last?

Stud. Why dost thou now these sleepie plaints commence?

Phil. Why should I ere be duld with patience?

Stud. Wise folke do beare with, strugling cannot mend.

Phil. Good spirits must with thwarting fates contend.

Stud. Some hope is left our fortunes to redresse,

Phil. No hope but this, ere to be comfortlesse,

Stud. Our liues remainder gentler hearts may finde.

Phil. The gentlest hearts to vs will proue vnkind.

Act. 4. Scen. 1.

Sir Radericke and Prodigo, at one corner of the Stage.

Record[er] and Amoretto at the other.

Two Pages scouring of Tobacco pipes.

Sir Rad.



Prodigo, M. Recorder hath told you lawe, your land is forfeited: and for me not to take the forfeiture, were to breake the Queenes law, for marke you, its law to take the forfeiture: therfore not to breake it is to breake the Queenes law,

and to breake the Queenes law is not to be a good subject, and I meane to bee a good subject. Besides, I am a Iustice of the peace; and being Iustice of the peace I must do iustice, that is law, that is to take the forfeiture, especially having taken notice of it. Marry Maister *Prodigo*, here are a fewe shillings, ouer and besides the bargaine.

Prod. Pox on your shilling, sblood a while ago, before he had me in the lurch, who but my coozen *Prodigo*, you are welcome my coozen *Prodigo*, take my coozen *Prodigocs* horse, a cup of Wine for my coozen *Prodigo*, good faith you shall sit here good coozen *Prodigo*, a cleane trencher for my coozen *Prodigo*, haue a speciall care of my coozen *Prodigocs* lodging: now maister *Prodigo* with a pox, and a few shillings, for a vantage, a plague on your shillings, pox on your shillings, if it were not for the Sergeant which dogges me at my heeles, a plague on your shillings, pox on your shillings, pox on your

selfe and your shillings, pox on your worship, if I catch thee at Ostend: I dare not staye for the Sergeant.

Exit

S. Rad. pag[e.] Good faith Maister *Prodigo* is an excellent fellow, he takes the *Gulan challitio* so excellently.

Amor. Page. He is a good liberall Gentleman, he hath bestowed an ounce of Tobacco vpon vs, and as long as it lasts, come cut and long-taile, weele spend it as liberally for his sake.

S. Rad. Page. Come fill the Pipe quickly, while my maister is in his melancholie humour, it's just the melancholy of a Colliers horse

Amor. page. If you cough Iacke after your Tobacco, for

a punishment you shall kisse the Pantolfe.

S. Rad. It's a foule ouer-sight, that a man of worship cannot keepe a wench in his house, but there must be muttering and surmising: it was the wisest saying that my father ever vttered, that a wife was the name of necessitie, not of pleasure: for what do men marry for, but to stocke their ground, and to have one to looke to the linnen, sit at the vpper end of the table, and carue vp a Capon: one that can weare a hood like a Hawke, and couer her foule face with a Fanne: but there's no pleasure alwayes to be tyed to a piece of Mutton, sometimes a messe of stewd broth will do well, and an vnlac'd Rabbet is best of all: well for mine owne part, I have no great cause to complaine, for I am well provided of three bounsing wenches, that are mine owne fee-simple: one of them I am presently to visit, if I can rid my selfe cleanly of this company. Let me see how the day goes: (he buls his Watch out.) precious coales, the time is at hand, I must meditate on an excuse to be gone.

Record. That which I say, is grounded on the Statute I

spake of before, enacted in the raigne of Henry the 6.

Amor. It is a plaine case, whereon I mooted in our Temple, and that was this: put case there be three bretheren, Iohn a Nokes, Iohn a Nash, and Iohn a Stile: Iohn a Nokes the

elder, Iohn a Nash the younger, Iohn a Stile the youngest of all. Iohn a Nash the yonger dyeth without issue of his body lawfully begotten: whether shall his lands ascend to Iohn a Noakes the elder, or discend to Iohn a Stile the youngest of all? The answer is: The lands do collaterally descend, not ascend.

Recor. Very true, and for a proofe hereof I will shew you a place in Littleton, which is very pregnant in this point.

Actus. 4. Scena. 2.

Enter Ingenieso, Furor, Phantasma.

Ing. pawne my witts, that is, my reuenues, my land, my money, and whatsoeuer I haue, for l haue nothing but my wit, that they are at hand: why any sensible snout may winde

M. Amoretto and his Pomander, M. Recorder and his two neates feete that weare no sockes, Sir Raderick by his rammish complection. Olet Gorgonius hyreum, S't. Lupus in fabula. Furor fire the Touch-box of your witte: Phantasma, let your invention play trickes like an Ape: begin thou Furor, and open like a phlaphmouthd hound: follow thou Phantasma like a Ladies Puppy: and as for me, let me alone, Ile come after like a Water-dogge that wil shake them off, when I have no vse of them. My maisters, the watch-word is given. Furor discharge.

Furor The great projector of the thunder bolts,

He that is wont to pisse whole cloudes of raine,

S. Rad. Into the earth vast gaping vrinall.

Which that one ey'd subsiser of the skie, Don Phæbus empties by calidity: He and his Townesmen Planets brings to thee, Most fatty lumpes of earths facility.

S. Rad. Why will this fellowes English breake the Queenes peace, I will not seeme to regard him.

Phan, Mecanas atauis edite regibus,

to O et præsidium, et dulce decus meum,

Am[or]. Dij faciant votis vela secunda tuis.

Inge. God saue you good maister Recorder, and good fortunes follow your deserts. I thinke I have curst him sufficiently in few words.

S. Rad. What have we here, three begging Souldiers,

come you from Ostend, or from Ireland.

Pag[e]. Cuium pecus, an Malibei? I have vented all the Latin one man had.

Phan. Quid dicam amplius? domini similis os.

Amor. pag[e]. Let him alone I pray thee, to him againe, tickle him there.

Phan. Quam dispari domino dominaris?

Rec. Nay thats plaine in Littleton, for if that fee-simple, and the fee taile be put together, it is called hotch potch: now this word hotch potch in English is a pudding, for in such a pudding is not commonly one thing only, but one thing with another

Amor, I thinke I do remember this also at a mooting in our Temple: so then this hotch potch seemes a terme of

similitude.

Furor Great Capricornus, of the head take keepe.

to Good Virgo watch, while that thy worship sleepe.

S. Rad. And when thy swelling vents amaine, Then Pisces be thy sporting Chamberlaine.

S. Rad. I thinke the diuell hath sent some of his family to torment me.

Amor. There is taile generall and taile speciall, and Littleton is very copious in that theame: for taile generall is, when land's are given to a man, and his heyres of his body begotten: Taile speciall, is when lands are giuen to a man, and to his wife, and to the heyres of their two bodies lawfully begotten, and that is called Taile speciall.

S. Rad. Very well, and for his oath I will give a distinction: there is a materiall oath, and a formall oath: the formall oath may be broken, the materiall may not be broken: for marke your sir, the law is to take place before the conscience, and therfore you may, vsing me your counceller, cast him in the sute: there wants nothing to the full meaning of this place,

Phan. Nihil hic nisi carmina desunt.

Ing. An excellent observation in good faith, see how the old Fox teacheth the yong Cub to wurry a sheepe, or rather sits himselfe like an old Goose, hatching the adle braine of maister Amoretto: there is no foole to the Sattin foole, the Veluet foole, the perfumde foole, and therefore the witty Tailors of this age, put them vnder colour of kindnesse into a paire of cloath-bagges, where a voyder will not serve the turne: and there is no knaue to the barbarous knaue, the moulting knaue[,] the pleading knaue: what ho M. Recorder? Maister Noucrint vniuersi per presentes, not a word he, vnlesse he feele it in his fist.

Phan. Mitto tibi metulas, cancros imitare legendo.

S. Rad. to Furor. Fellow what art thou that art so bold?

Fur. I am the bastard of great Mercury,

Got on *Thalia* when she was a sleepe:
My Gawdy Grandsire great *Apollo* high,
Borne was I heare, but that my luck was ill,
To all the land vpon the forked hill.

Phant. O crudelis Alexi nil mea carmina curas? Nil nostri miserere mori me deinque coges?

S. Rad. Pag[e]. If you vse them thus, my maister is a Iustice of peace, and will send you all to the Gallowes.

Phant. Hei milii quod domino non licet ire tuo.

Ing. Good maister *Recorder*, let mee retaine you this terme for my cause, for my cause good maister *Recorder*.

Recor. I am retained already on the contrary part, I haue taken my fee, be gon, be gon.

Ing. It's his meaning I should come off: why here is

the true stile of a villaine, the true faith of a Lawyer: it is vsuall with them to be bribed on the one side, and then to take a fee of the other: to plead weakely, and to be bribed and rebribed on the one side, then to be feed and refeed of the other, till at length, per varios casus, by putting the case so often, they make their client so lanke, that they may case them vp in a combe case, and pack them home from the tearme, as though he had trauelled to London to sell his horse onely, and having lost their fleeces, live afterward like poore shorne sheepe.

Furor. The Gods aboue that know great Furors fame.

And do adore grand poet Furors name: Granted long since at heavens high parliament, That who so Furor shal immortalize, No yawning goblins shall frequent his graue, Nor any bold presumptuous curr shall dare To lift his legge against his sacred dust. Where ere I have my rymes, thence vermin fly All, sauing that foule fac'd vermin pouerty. This sucks the eggs of my invention: Euacuates my witts full pigeon house. Now may it please thy generous dignity, To take this vermin napping as he lyes, In the true trappe of liberality: Ile cause the Pleiades to give thee thanks, Ile write thy name within the sixteenth spheare: Ile make the Antarticke pole to kisse thy toa, And Cinthia to do homage to thy tayle.

Sir Rad. Pretious coles, thou a man of worship and Iustice too? It's euen so, he is ether a madde man or a coniurer: it were, well if his words were examined, to see if they be the Queenes or no.

Phant. Nunc si nos audis vt qui es diuinus Apollo, Die mihi, qui nummos non habet vnde petat?

Amor. I am stil haunted with these needy Lattinist fellowes: the best counsell I can giue, is to be gone.

Phan. Quod peto da Caic, non peto consilium.

Am. Fellow looke to your braines; you are mad; you are mad.

Phan. Semel insaniuimus omnes.

Am. Maister Recorder, is it not a shame that a gallant cannot walke the streete quietly for needy fellowes, and that, after there is a statute come out against begging?

He strikes his brest.

Phant. Pectora percussit, pectus quoque robora fiunt.

Recor. I warrant you, they are some needy *graduates*: the Vniuersity breakes winde twise a yeare, and lets flie such as these are.

Ing. So ho maister Recorder, you that are one of the Diuels fellow commoners, one that sizeth the Deuils butteries, sinnes and periuries very lauishly: one that art so deare to Lucifer, that he neuer puts you out of commons for non paiment: you that liue like a sumner vpon the sinnes of the people: you whose vocation serues to enlarge the territories of Hell, that (but for you) had beene no bigger then a paire of Stockes or a Pillorie: you that hate a scholler, because he descries your Asses eares: you that are a plague stuffed Cloake-bagge of all iniquitie, which the grand Seruing-man of Hell will one day trusse vp behind him, and carry to his smokie Warde-robe.

Recor. What frantick fellow art thou, thou art possest with the spirit of malediction?

Furor. Vile muddy clod of base vnhallowed clay,
Thou slimie sprighted vnkinde Saracen:
When thou wert borne dame Nature cast her Calfe,
Forrage and time had made thee a great Oxe,
And now thy grinding iawes deuoure quite,
The fodder due to vs of heauenly spright.

Phant. Nefasto te posuit die quieunque primum et sacrilega manu.

Produxit arbos in nepotum perniciem ob propriumque
pugi.

Ingeni. I pray you Monsciur Ploidon, of what Vniuersitie was the first Lawyer of, none forsooth, for your Lawe is ruled by reason, and not by Arte: great reason indeed that a Ploydenist should bee mounted on a trapt Palitey, with a round Veluet dish on his head, to keepe warme the broth of his witte, and a longe Gowne, that makes him looke like a Cedant arma toga, whilest the poore Aristotelians walke in a short cloake and a close Venetian hoase, hard by the Oysterwife: and the silly Poet goes muffled in his Cloake to escape the Counter. And you Maister Amoretto, that art the chiefe Carpenter of Sonets, a privileged Vicar for the lawlesse marriage of Inke and Paper, you that are good for nothing but to commend in a sette speach, to colour the quantitie of your Mistresses stoole, and sweare it is most sweete Ciuet: it's fine when that Puppet-player Fortune, must put such a Birchen-lane post in so good a suite, such an Asse in so good fortune.

Amor. Father shall I draw?

Sir Rad. No sonne keepe thy peace, and hold the peace.
Inge. Nay do not draw, least you chance to bepisse your credit.

Furor. Flectere si nequeo superos, Cheronta monebo.
Fearefull Megæra with her snakie twine,
Was cursed dam vnto thy damned selfe:
And Hircan tigers in the desert Rockes,
Did foster vp thy loathed hatefull life,
Base Ignorance the wicked cradle rockt,
Vile Barbarisme was wont to dandle thee:
Some wicked hell-hound tutored thy youth,
And all the grisly sprights of griping hell, [birth:
With mumming looke hath dogd thee since thy
See how the spirits do houer ore thy head,
As thick as gnattes in summer euening tide,
Balefull Alecto, preethee stay a while,
Till with my verses I haue rackt his soule:
And when thy soule departs a Cock may be,

No blanke at all in hells great Lotterie. Shame sits and howles vpon thy loathed graue, And howling vomit[s] vp in filthy guise, The hidden stories of thy villanies.

Sir. Rad. The Deuill my maisters, the diuell in the likenesse of a poet, away my Maisters away.

Exit.

Phan. Arma virumque cano, Quem fugis ah demens?

Amor. Base dog, it is not the custome in Italy to draw vpon euery idle cur that barkes, and did it stand with my reputation: oh, well go too, thanke my father for your liues.

Ing. Fond gull, whom I would vndertake to bastinado quickly, though there were a musket planted in thy mouth, arenot you the yong drouer of livings Academico told me of, that ha[u]nts steeple faires. Base worme must thou needes discharge thy craboun to batter downe the walls of learning.

Amor. I thinke I have committed some great sinne against my Mistris, that I am thus tormented with notable villaines: bold pesants I scorne, I scorne them.

Furror Nay pray thee good sweet divell do not thou part,

to I like an honest deuill that will shew

Recor. Himselfe in a true hellish smokey hew:

How like thy snout is to great Lucifers?

Such tallants had he, such a gleering eye,

And such a cunning slight in villany.

Recor. Oh the impudency of this age, and if I take you in my quarters.

Furor. Base slaue ile hang thee on a crossed rime, And quarter.

Ing. He is gone Furor, stay thy fury.

Sir Rad. Pag[e]. I pray you gentlemen give 3. groats for a shilling

Amo. Pag[e]: What will you give me for a good old sute of apparell?

Phan. Habet et musca splenem, et formicæ sua bilis inest. **Ing.** Gramercy good lads: this is our share in happines,

to torment the happy: lets walke a long and laugh at the iest, its no staying here long, least *Sir Radericks* army of Baylifes and clownes be sent to apprehend vs,

Phan. Procul hinc, procul ite prophani.

Ile lash Apollon selfe with ierking hand,

Vnlesse he pawne his wit to buy me land:

Act. 4. Scen, 5.

Burbage. Kempe.

Bur. ow Will Kempe, if we can intertaine these schollers at a low rate, it wil be well, they have oftentimes a good conceite in a part.

Kempe Its true indeede, honest *Dick*, but the slaues are somewhat proud, and besides, it is a good sport in a part, to see them neuer speake in their walke, but at the end of the stage, iust as though in walking with a fellow we should neuer speake but at a stile, a gate, or a ditch, where a man can go no further. I was once at a Comedie in Cambridge, and there I saw a parasite make faces and mouths of all sorts on this fashion.

Bur. A little teaching will mend these faults, and it may

bee besides they will be able to pen a part.

Kemp. Few of the vniuersity pen plaies well, they smell too much of that writer Ouid, and that writer Metamorphosis, and talke too much of Proscrpina and Iuppiter. Why heres our fellow Shakespeare puts them all downe, I and Ben Ionson too. O that Ben Ionson is a pestilent fellow, he brought vp Horace giving the Poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him beray his credit:

Bur. Its a shrewd fellow indeed: I wonder these schollers stay so long, they appointed to be here presently that we might

try them: oh here they come.

Stud. Take heart, these lets our clouded thoughts refine, The sun shines brightest when it gins decline.

Bur. M. Phil, and M. Stud. God saue you.

Kemp. M. Phil. and M. Otioso, well met,

Phil. The same to you good M. Burbage. What M. Kempe how doth the Emperour of Germany?

Stud. God saue you M. Kempe: welcome M. Kempe from

dancing the morrice ouer the Alpes,

Kemp. Well you merry knaues you may come to the honor of it one day, is it not better to make a foole of the world as I haue done, then to be fooled of the world, as you schollers are? But be merry my lads, you haue happened vpon the most excellent vocation in the world for money: they come North and South to bring it to our playhouse, and for honours, who of more report, then Dick Burbage and Will: Kempe, he is not counted a Gentleman, that knowes not Dick Burbage and Will Kemp, there's not a country wench than can dance Sellengers Round but can talke of Dick Burbage and Will Kempe.

Phil. Indeed M. Kempe you are very famous, but that is

as well for workes in print as your part in kne[e].

Kempe. You are at Cambridge still with sic[k]e kne[e], and be lusty humorous poets, you must vntrusse, I roade this [road] my last circuit, purposely because I would be judge of your actions.

Bur. M. Stud. I pray you take some part in this booke and act it, that I may see what will fit you best, I thinke your voice would serue for *Hicronimo*, observe how I act it

and then imitate mee.

Stud. Who calls *Hieronimo* from his naked bed? And, &c.

Bur. Yho will do well after a while.

Kemp. Now for you, me thinkes you should belong to my tuition, and your face me thinkes would be good for a foolish Mayre or a foolish iustice of peace: marke me.——Forasmuch as there be two states of a common wealth,

he one of peace, the other of tranquility: two states of warre, he one of discord, the other of dissention: two states of an incorporation, the one of the Aldermen, the other of the Brethren: two states of magistrates, the one of gouerning, the other of bearing rule, now, as I said even now for a good thing, thing cannot be said too often: Vertue is the shooinghorne of iustice, that is, vertue is the shooinghorne of doing well, that is, vertue is the shooinghorne of doing iustly, it behooueth mee and is my part to commend this shooinghorne vnto you. I hope this word shooinghorne doth not offend any of you my worshipfull brethren, for you beeing the worshipfull headsmen of the towne, know well what the horne meaneth, Now therefore I am determined not onely to teach but also to instruct, not onely the ignorant, but also the simple, not onely what is their duty towards their betters, but also what is their dutye towards their superiours: come let me see how you can doe, sit downe in the chaire.

Phil. Forasmuch as there be. &c.

Kemp. thou wilt do well in time, if thou wilt be ruled by thy betters, that is by my selfe, and such graue Aldermen of the playhouse as I am.

Bur. I like your face, and the proportion of your body for Richard the 3. I pray M. Phil. let me see you act a

little of it.

Phil. Now is the winter of our discontent,
Made glorious summer by the sonne of Yorke,

Bur. Very well I assure you, well M. Phil. and M. Stud. wee see what ability you are of: I pray walke with vs to our fellows, and weele agree presently.

Phil. We will follow you straight M. Burbage.

Kempe. Its good manners to follow vs, Maister Phil. and Maister Otioso.

Phil. And must the basest trade yeeld vs reliefe?

Must we be practis'd to those leaden spouts,

That nought downe vent but what they do receive?

Some fatall fire hath scorcht our fortunes wing,

And still we fall, as we do vpward sprit g: As we striue vpward to the vaulted skie, We fall and feele our hatefull destiny.

Stud. Wonder it is sweet friend thy pleading breath,
So like the sweet blast of the southwest wind,
Melts not those rockes of yce, those mounts of woe,
Congeald in frozen hearts of men below.

Phil. Wonder as well thou maist why mongst the waues.

Mongst the tempestuous waues on raging sea,
The wayling Marchant can no pity craue.
What cares the wind and weather for their paines?
One strikes the sayle, another turnes the same,
He shakes the maine, an other takes the Ore,
An other laboureth and taketh paine,
To pumpe the sea into the sea againe.
Still they take paines, still the loud windes do blowe
Till the ships prouder mast be layd belowe:

Stu. Fond world that nere thinkes on that aged man,
That Ariostoes old swift paced man,
Whose name is Tyme, who neuer lins to run,
Loaden with bundles of decayed names,
The which in Lethes lake he doth intombe,
Saue onely those which swanlike schollers take,
And doe deliuer from that greedy lake.
Inglorious may they liue, inglorious die,
That suffer learning liue in misery.

Phil. What caren they, what fame their ashes haue, When once thei'r coopt vp in silent graue?

Stud. If for faire fame they hope not when they dye, Yet let them feare graues stayning Infamy.

Phil. Their spendthrift heires will those firebrands quench Swaggering full moistly on a tauernes bench.

Stud. No shamed sire for all his glosing heire, Must long be talkt of in the empty ayre.

Stud. Beleeue me thou that art my second selfe, My vexed soule is not disquieted,

For that I misse, is gaudy painted state,
Whereat my fortunes fairely aim'd of late.
For what am I, the meanest of many mo,
That earning profit are repaide with wo?
But this it is that doth my soule torment,
To thinke so many activeable wits,
That might contend with proudest birds of Po,
Sits now immur'd within their private cells,
Drinking a long lank watching candles smoake,
Spending the marrow of their flowring age,
In fruitelesse poring on some worme eate leafe:
When their deserts shall seeme of due to claime,
A cheerfull crop of fruitfull swelling sheafe,
Cockle their harvest is, and weeds their graine,
Contempt their portion their possession paine:

Stud. Schollers must frame to live at a low sayle,

Phil. Ill sayling where there blowes no happy gale.

Stud. Our ship is ruin'd, all her tackling rent.

Phil. And all her gaudy furniture is spent.

Stud. Teares be the waves whereon her ruines bide.

Phil. And sighes the windes that wastes her broken side.

Stud. Mischiefe the Pilot is the ship to steare.

Phil. And Wo the passenger this ship doth beare.

Stud. Come Philomusus, let vs breake this chat,

Phil. And breake my heart oh would I could breake that.

Stud. Lets learne to act that Tragick part we haue.

Phil. Would I were silent actor in my graue.

Actus 5. Scena 1.

Phil. and Stud. become Fidlers with their consort.

Phil.

Stud:

Nd tune fellow Fiddlers. Studioso and I are ready.

they tune.

going aside saveth.

Fayre fell good Orpheus, that would rather be

King of a mole hill, then a Keysars slane.

Better it is mongst fidlers to be chiefe, Then at plaiers trencher beg reliefe. But ist not strange this mimick apes should prize Vnhappy Schollers at a hireling rate. Vile world, that lifts them vp to hye degree, And treades vs downe in groueling misery. England affordes those glorious vagabonds, That carried earst their fardels on their backes, Coursers to ride on through the gazing streetes, Sooping it in their glaring Satten sutes, And Pages to attend their maisterships: With mouthing words that better wits have framed, They purchase lands, and now Esquiers are made.

Phil. What ere they seeme being euen at the best, They are but sporting fortunes scornfull iests.

Stud. So merry fortune is wont from ragges to take, Some ragged gro'o'me, and him some gallant make.

Phil. The world and fortune hath playd on vs too long.

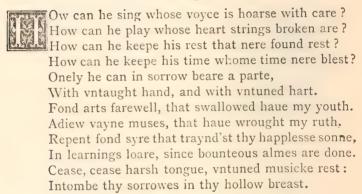
Stud. Now to the world we fiddle must a song.

Phil. Our life is a playne song with cunning pend,
Whose highest pitch in lowest base doth end.
But see our fellowes vnto play are bent:
If not our mindes, letts tune our instrument.

Stud. Letts in a private song our cunning try, Before we sing to stranger company.

They tune.

Phil. sings.



Stud. Thankes *Phil.* for thy pleasant song, Oh had this world a tutch of iuster griefe, Hard rockes would weepe for want of our releife.

Phil. The cold of wo hath quite vntun'd my voyce,
And made it too too harsh for listining eare:
Time was in time of my young fortunes spring,
I was a gamesome boy and learned to sing.

But say fellow musitians, you know best whether we go, at

what dore must we imperiously beg.

Iack. fid. Here dwells Sir Raderick and his sonne: it may be now at this good time of Newyeare he will be liberall, let vs stand neere and drawe.

Phil. Draw callest thou it, indeed it is the most desperate

kinde of service that ever I adventured on.

Act. 5. Scena. 2.

Enter the two Pages.

Sir Rad pargel.



y maister bidds me tell you that he is but newly fallen a sleepe, and you base slaues must come and disquiet him: what neuer a

basket of Capons? masse, and if he comes, heele commit you all.

Amor. Pag[e]. Sirra Iack, shall you and I play Sir Raderick and Amoretto, and reward these fiddlers. Ile, my maister Amoretto, and give them as much as he vseth.

S. Rad. pag[e]. And I my old maister Sir Radcrick: fiddlers

play: Ile reward you, fayth I will.

Amor. pag[e]. Good fayth this pleaseth my sweete mistres admirably: cannot you play twytty twatty foole, or to be at her, to be at her.

Rad. pag[e]. Haue you neuer a song of maister Dowlands

making?

Am. pag[e]. Or Hos ego versiculos feci &c. A pox on it, my maister Am. vseth it very often. I have forgotten the verse.

Rad. pag[e]. Sir Theon: here are a couple of fellowes brought before me, and I know not how to decide the cause, looke in my Christmas booke who brought me a present

Am. pag[e]. On New-yeares day goodman Foole brought

you a present, but goodman Clowne brought you none.

Rad. pag[e]. Then the right is on goodman fooles side.

Am. pag[e]. My mistres is so sweete, that al the Phisitions in the towne cannot make her stinck, she neuer goes to the stoole, oh she is a most sweete little munkey. Please your worship good father yonder are some would speake with you.

Rad. pag[e]. What have they brought me any thing, if

they have not, say I take Phisick.

Forasmuch fiddlers, as I am of the peace, I must needs loue all weapons and instruments, that are for the peace, among which I account your fiddles, because they can neither bite nor scratch, marry now finding your fiddles to iarre, and knowing that iarring is a cause of breaking the peace, I am by the vertue of my office and place to commit your quarelling fiddles to close prisonment in their cases.

They call within.

sha ho, Richard, Iack.

Am. Page. The foole within marres our play without. Fiddlers set it on my head, I vse to size my musicke, or go on the score for it, Ile pay it at the quarters end.

Rad. Page Farewell good Pan, sweete Irenias adieu, Don

Orpheus a thousand times farewell.

Iack Fid. You swore you would pay vs for our musick.

Rad. Page. For that Ile giue Maister Recorders [or rather Sir Radericks, p. 53] law, and that is this, there is a double oath, a formall oath, and a materiall oath: materiall oath cannot be broken, the formall oath may be broken, I swore formally: farewell Fidlers.

Phil. Farewell good wags, whose wits praise worth I

deeme,

Though somewhat waggish, so we all haue beene. **Stud.** Faith fellow Fidlers, heres no siluer found in this place, no not so much as the vsuall Christmas entertainment of Musitians, a black Iack of Beere, and a Christmas Pye.

They walke aside from their fellowes.

Phil. Where ere we in the wide world playing be,
Misfortune beares a part, and marres our melody,
Impossible to please with Musickes straine,
Our hearts strings broken, are nere to be tun'd
againe.

Stud. Then let vs leave this baser fidling trade,
For though our purse should mend, our credit fade.

Phil. Full glad I am to see thy mindes free course,
Declining from this trencher waiting trade.
Well may I now disclose in plainer guise,

What earst I meant to worke in secret wise:
My busic conscience checkt my guilty soule,
For seeking maintenance by base vassallage,
And then suggested to my searching thought,
A shepheards poore secure contented life,
On which since then I doted euery houre,
And meant this same houre in sadder plight,
To have stolne from thee in secrecie of night.

Stud. Deare friend thou seem'st to wrong my soule too much,

Thinking that *Studioso* would account, That fortune sowre, which thou accomptest sweete: Nor any life to me can sweeter be, Then happy swaines in plaine of *Arcady*.

Phil. Why then letts both go spend our litle store,
In the prouision of due furniture:
A shepards hooke, a tarbox and a scrippe,
And hast vnto those sheepe adorned hills,
Where if not blesse our fortunes we may blesse our

Stud. True mirth we may enioy in thacked stall, Nor hoping higher rise, nor fearing lower fall.

Phil. Weele therefore discharge these fidlers. Fellow musitions, wee are sory that it hath beene your ill happe to have had vs in your company, that are nothing but scritchowles, and night Rauens, able to marre the purest melody: and besides, our company is so ominous, that where we are, thence liberality is packing, our resolution is therefore to wish you well, and to bidde you farewell.

Come Stud: let vs hast away, Returning neare to this accursed place.

Actus 5. Scena. 3.

Enter Ingenioso, Academico.

Inge.



ith Academico, it's the feare of that fellow, I meane the signe of the seargeants head, that makes me to be so hasty to be gone: to be briefe Academico, writts are out for me.

to apprehend me for my playes, and now I am bound for the Ile of doggs. Furror and Phantasma comes after, remoouing the campe as fast as they can: farewell, Mea si quid vota valebunt.

Acad. Fayth Ingenioso: I thinke the Vniuersity is a melancholik life, for there a good fellow cannot sit two howres in his chamber, but he shall bee troubled with the bill of a Drawer, or a Vintner: but the point is, I know not how to better my selfe, and so I am fayne to take it.

Act. 5. Scen. 4.

Phil. Stud. Furor. Phant.

Phil. Stud.



no haue we there, Ingenioso, and Academico? The verye same, who are those, Furor and Phantasma?

Furor takes a louse off his sleeue.

Furor. And art thou there six footed Mercury?

Phan, with Are rymes become such creepers now a dayes? his hand in Presumptuous louse, that doth good manners his bosome. lack.

Daring to creepe vpon Poet Furors back: Multum refert quibuscum vixeris. Non videmus Manticæ quod in tergo est.

Phil. What Furor and Phan. too, our old colledge fellowes, let vs incounter them all. Ing: Acad. Furor, Phantasma. God saue you all.

Stud. What *Ingen. Acad. Furor*, *Phantasma*: howe do you braue lads.

Ing. What our deere friends *Phil.* and *Stud?* **Acad.** What our old friends *Phil.* and *Stud?*

Furor What my supernaturall friends?

none

Ing. What newes with you in this quarter of the Citty?

Phil. We haue run through many trades, yet thriue by

Poore in content, and onely rich in moane, A shepheards life thou knowst I wont t'admire, Turning a Cambridge apple by the fire. To liue in humble dale we now are bent, Spending our dayes in fearelesse merriment.

Stud. Weel teach each tree euen of the hardest kind,
To keepe our wofull name within their rinde,
Weel watch our flock, and yet weele sleepe
withall.

Weele tune our sorrowes to the waters fall, The woods and rockes with our shrill songs weele blesse.

Let them proue kind, since men proue pittilesse. But say, whether are you and your company logging: it seemes by your apparell you are about to wander.

Ing. Faith we are fully bent to be Lords of misrule in the worlds wide heath: our voyage is to the Ile of Dogges, there where the blattant beast doth rule and raigne Renting the credit of whom it please.

Where serpents tongs the pen men are to write, Where cats do waule by day, dogges by night: There shall engoared venom be my inke, My pen a sharper quill of porcupine, My stayned paper, this sin loaden earth: There will I write in lines shall neuer die, Our feared Lordings crying villany.

Phil. A gentle wit thou hadst, nor is it blame, To turne so tart, for time hath wronged the same,

Stu. And well thou dost from this fond earth to flit, Where most mens pens are hired Parasites.

Aca. Go happily, I wish thee store of gall, Sharpely to wound the guilty world withall:

Phil. But say, what shall become of Furor and Phantasma?

Ing. These my companions still with me must wend,

Aca. Fury and Fansie on good wits attend.

Furor. When I arrive within the ile of Doggs,
Don Phæbus I will make thee kisse the pumpe.
Thy one eye pries in every Drapers stall,
Yet never thinkes on poet Furors neede:
Furor is lowsie, great Furor lowsie is,
Ile make thee run this lowsie case I wis.
And thou my cluttish landresse Cinthia,
Nere thinkes on Furors linnen, Furors shirt:
Thou and thy squirting boy Endimion,
Lies slavering still vpon a lawlesse couch.
Furor will have thee carted through the dirt,
That makest great poet Furor want this shirt.

Inge. Is not here a trus dogge that dare barke so boldly at

the Moone.

Phil. Exclayming want and needy care and carke, Would make the mildest spright to bite and barke.

Phan. Cancs timidi vehementius latrant. There are certaine burrs in the Ile of dogges called in our English tongue, men of worship, certaine briars as the *Indians* call them, as we say certayne lawyers, certayne great lumps of earth, as the Ar[a]bians call them, certayne grosers as wee tearme them, quos ego sed motos præstat fluctus.

Inge. We three vnto the snarling Iland hast,
And there our vexed breath in snarling wast.

Phil. We will be gone vnto the downes of Kent,
Sure footing we shall find in humble dale:
Our fleecy flocke weel learne to watch and warde,
In Iulyes heate and cold of Ianuary:
Weel chant our woes vpon an oaten reede.

Whiles bleating flock vpon their supper feede:
So shall we shun the company of men,
That growes more hatefull as the world growes old,

Weel teach the murmering brookes in tears to flow:

And sleepy rocke to wayle our passed wo.

Acad. Adew you gentle spirits, long adew:
Your witts I loue and your ill fortune rue:
Ile hast me to my Cambridge cell againe,
My fortunes cannot wax but they may waine.

Adew good sheppards, happy may you liue, Inge. And if heereafter in some secret shade. You shall recount poore schollers miseries. Vouchsafe to mention with teares swelling eyes, Ingeniosoes thwarting destinyes, And thou still happy Academico, That still maist rest vpon the muses bed, Injoying there a quiet slumbering, When thou repayrest vnto thy Grantaes streame, Wonder at thine owne blisse, pitty our case, That still doth tread ill fortunes endless maze. Wish them that are preferments Almoners. To cherish gentle wits in their greene bud: For had not Cambridge bin to me vnkinde, I had not turn'd to gall a milkye minde.

Phil. I wish thee of good hap a plentious store,
Thy wit descrues no lesse, my loue can wish no more.
Farewell, farewell good Academico.
Neuer maist thou tast our forepassed woe.
Wee wish thy fortunes may attaine their due:

Furor and you Phantasma both adue.

Acad. Farewell, farewell, o long farewell, The rest my tongue conceales, let sorrow tell,

Phan. Et longum vale, inquit Iola.

Furor. Farewell my masters, Furor's a masty dogge,
Nor can with a smooth glozing farewell cog.
Nought can great Furor do, but barke and howle,

And snarle and grin, and carle, and towze the world, Like a great swine by his long leane eard lugges. Farewell musty, dusty, rusty, fusty London, Thou art not worthy of great Furors wit, That cheatest vertue of her due desert, And sufferest great Apollocs sonne to want.

Inge. Nay stay a while and helpe me to content:
So many gentle witts attention,
Who kennes the lawes of euery comick stage,
And wonders that our scene ends discontent.
Ye ayrie witts subtill,
Since that few schollers fortunes are content.
Wonder not if our scene end discontent.
When that our fortunes reach their due content,
Then shall our scene end here in merriment.

Phil. Perhaps some happy wit with feeling hand,
Hereafter may record the pastorall
Of the two schollers of *Pernassus* hill,
And then our scene may end and haue content,

Inge. Meane time if there be any spightfull Ghost,
That smiles to see poore schollers miseries
Cold is his charity, his wit too dull,
We scorne his censure, he is a ieering gull,
But whatsoere refined sprights there be,
That deepely groane at our calamity:
Whose breath is turned to sighes, whose eyes are wet,
To see bright arts bent to their latest set:
Whence neuer they againe their heads shall reere,
To bless our art disgracing hemispheere.

Ing. Let them.

Fur. Let them.

All giue vs a plaudite.

Phan. Let them.

Acad. And none but them.

Phil. And none but them.

Stud. And none but them.

The English Scholar's Library.

No. 14.

BARNFIELD'S Poems.



The English Scholar's Library.

RICHARD BARNFIELD,

of Darlaston, Staffordshire, Esquire.

Poems.

1594-1598.

Edited by I DWARD ARBER.

HON. FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON; F.S.A.,
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE,
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15 August, 1882.

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1. [November] 1594. London, 4to. See title at p. 1. The month is fixed by the passage on p. 44. Not entered at Stationers' Hall. Two copies known; at Sion College and Britwell.

7. 1842. London, Svo. Percy Society. Vol. 20. Edited by J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, Esq., F.R.S.

B. Cynthia, &c., by itself.

2. January 1595. London, Svo. See title at p. 41. Entered at Stationers' Hall on 17th January, 1595. Transcript. ii. 669. Ed. 1875. The only copy is in the Bodleian Library, Malone's books.

6. 1841. Ryde, Isle of Wight, 12mo. Beldornie Press. Printed by Mr. E. V. UTTERSON, who states that he had never seen the Affectionate Shepheard.

An impression of 16 copies only.

C. The Encomion of Lady Pecunia, &c., by itself.

3. 1598. London, 4to. See title at p. 81, and sub-titles at pp. 95, 107, and 115. Not entered at Stationers' Hall. One copy known.

4. 1605. London, 4to. Newly corrected and enlarged by RICHARD BARNFIELD, Graduate in Oxford. Two copies known. There are variations from the first edition in this text. Dr. George KINGSLEY has been good enough to verify the fresh Dedication of this new edition at p. 84, from the Bridgewater House copy.

A manuscript transcript of this edition is in Ashmolean

MS. 1153, at Oxford.

5. 1816. Auchinleck, Dumfriesshire, 4to. Roxburghe Club. A facsimile impression of 35 copies printed by JAMES SUTHERLAND, for ALEXANDER BOSWELL; and presented by his brother, JAMES BOSWELL, to the Roxburghe Club. B. M. 8104/4. A copy of the text only of this reprint is in the British Museum, 1077. e. 11.

8. IS66. Maidenhead 4to. Illustrations of old English Literature, i. Edited by J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., F.S.A. An impression of

50 copies.

D. The three Collections of Poems together.

9. 1876. London, 4to. Roxburghe Club. The Complete Poems. Edited with Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, LL.D. About 40 copies printed.

This edition also includes a reprint of the Isham MS., which "is a small paper book of eighteen leaves, within a vellum skin," in the possession of Sir CHARLES II. ISHAM, Lamport Hall, Northampton. Some of the lines in this commonplace book may be by BARNFIELD.

Dr. GROSAKT also gives the poem from England's Helicon, which he thinks may

also be by BARNFIELD.

See also Dr. Grosart's 50-copy reprint of Samuel Nicholson's Acelastus his After-witte, for possible imitations of BARNFIELD.

10. 15 August, 1882. Birmingham, Svo. The present impression.

FIRST LINES OF POEMS AND STANZAS.



A CANDLE light, and 10	5	And with this sentence	51	But what talke I of	8
Admit thou come, into 88	3	And yet the siluer-noted	18	But when the Worlde	8
Againe, we read of old 15	5	Another while he wooes	30	But who can liue with	9
Against my Birth-day 14		A paire of Kniues, a	1.4	But who can shun the	7.
A guilded Nutmeg, and 11		Apply thy minde to be	21	But yet shee rather	3
Ah be not stained 17	,	As for example, in the	19	By thee great Collin	3
Ah fairest Ganymede 60		As for the young man	87	By this the formost	4
Ah, little knew Matilda 36)	A Shepheard loues no	32	By this, the Night	2.
Ah no; nor I my selfe: 63		As it fell vpon a Day	120	By this, young Phabus	6
Ah therefore be not 70		Aye mee (distressed	113	CHAUCER is dead; and	
Alas poore Conscience 112			_	Cherry-lipt Adonis in	II
Alas (the while) that		BE[A]UTY and Maiesty	54	Compare the Cow and	6:
All these, and more		Behold my grey head	23	Compare the loue of	, T
All which he eloquently 69		Be not beguild with	21		I
Also if any proue a 30		Be not offensive to the	21	Compare the Wyld-cat	I
And albeit the gift be 3		Be patient in extreame	23	Deepe-wounding Arrow	31
And alwaies (I am sure) 11		Betwixt amaze and	72	Diana (on a time)	57
And as the Coyne, she 91		Bounty looke backe	102	Downe in a Dale, hard	48
And at the same time 6		Bright Starre of Beauty	46	Downe sliding from that	4.5
And Bounty, though her 105		Bugle and Ieat, with	19	Eugene Sin I	
And Daniell, praised for 119		But ah (alas) how can	46	EUEN as a counterfeited	III
And Drayton, whose 119		But ah (alas) my Teares	104	Euen as Apelles could	122
And euery Morne by 8		But ah, she cannot (or	105	Euen as the Sunne	IOI
And (for thy sake) this 72		But as the woefull	104	FAINE would she have	78
And from her Iuory 67		But (Bounty) if thou	102	Faire-long-haire-wearing	15
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And hearing that her 74		But her an Old-Man	6	Faire Philomela, cease	IOC
And herein happie, I 102		But if the first did	76	Farre be it from my	75
And if he so escape with 28		But if thou wilt not	II	Fayre louely Ladie	3
And in the sweltring 8		But if you want your	88	Fie on ambition, fie on	79
And last of all, if any 30		But I that lou'd thee for	II	First he ordaines by Act	29
And last of all, in blacke 30		But I, whose hope is	103	First, in a royall Chaire	48
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And sith there dies no 103		But not preuailing	74	For her, the Merchant	88
(And tells her softly in 69		But now good-fortune	33	For her, the Gentleman	88
And thou art shee, O 90		But now my Muse	63	For if we doo consider	19
And though I cannot 46		But now to her, whose	91	For pledge that I am	77
And thou loue-hating 23		But now vnto her	88	For when his stately	15
And thou loue-scorning 12		But she no sooner had	71	For why against the	86
And thou Melpomene 100		But sleepe his soule in	20		
And thou my sweete 20		But sure it is not	102	Goddesse of Golde	85
And thus it hapned 6		But this braue generall	75	Great Lady, sith I haue	93
And to conclude, the 51		But to Cassandra now	73	Great was the mone	73
And when he hath her 87		But to returne to these	75	HAD I the sweet	92
And when it pleaseth 8		But what care they	87	Happy are they, that	79
And when th'art wearie 13		But what? (fond man)	76	He and Cassandra now	77
		, , ,	,		,,

FIRST LINES OF POEMS AND STANZAS. ix

TT 61 1 1 1	AGE	T	'AGE		PAGE
Heare Shepheards oft	22	Liue Spenser euer, in	119	Or if thou list to bathe	9
Hee briefly t'her relates	69	Loe here beholde the	123	Or if thou dar'st to	9
Hee intertaines her	86	Loe here behold these	34	Or if thou lou'st to heare	9
Hee needes not feare	87	Long haue I long'd to	61	Or if thoult goe vnto	9
Heerewith awaking	72	Looke how a brightsome	71	Or if thou wilt goe	13
He is a Courtier, for he	33	Louely a Lasse, so	30	Or in a mystie morning	13
He is not troubled with	25	Lyke to an other	91	Or when bad subjects	26
He leads his Wench a	31	Mans life is vvell		Or with Hare-pypes	13
He (noble Lord)	77	Monster of Art	124	Or wilt thou drinke a	14
Here ended shee; and	79		36	O that my Teares could	IO:
Here, hold this gloue	60	My hand, to helpe mee	103	O that Nobilitie, it selfe	101
Here, on love's altar	34	NAY more for money	92	O who can comfort my	98
Here-with, as weary of	80	Nay more than this	10	O who can then	88
Here-with she blushing	70	Nere-waining	45		
He sits all Day	29	Neuer againe, shall I	100	PRAISE not thy selfe, let	23
Him leaue me (for a	71	New Coyne is coynd	91	Pride looks aloft, still	17
His Iuory-white and	5	Next Morning when the	12		
How happie were a	32	Nights were short, and	64	QUEENE of my thoughts	73
How on the Seas he	76	No Briefes nor	25	Rays'd from the cynders	4.5
Humillity in misery is	17	No flocke of sheepe, but	91	Remember Age, and	45
Humillity is clad in	17	Nor is the Derth of	-	Restrain thy steps from	17
200000000000000000000000000000000000000	1/	Not faire, Advais in his	104	Right Diamonds are of	23
I DEEMED so; nor was I	4)	Not faire Hasions	63	Right Diamonds are of	19
If chafed on thy haire	90	Not Megabætes nor	91	SALMON and Trout are	20
If it be sinne to loue a			62	Scarce had Apollo	68
If Musique and sweet	5 118	Not proud Alcynous	9	Scarce had the morning	5
If Pythias death, of		Not th'hungry Lyon	71	Scarce had the Syren	77
If thou wilt come and	103	Now doth he stroke	7	Scarce was the louely	74
If thou wilt loue me	12	Now had the poore-mans	79	Scarce were these	70
If wealth? Why		Now had the cole-blacke	IIO	Sell thy sweet breath to	16
I haue a pleasant noted	90	Now is she ipylesse	73	Serue Ioue (vpon thy	21
I liu'd (quoth she) to see	14	Now nimbly to his	71	She wakes the lecher	77
I loued once, (quoth hee)	79	Now silent night drew	78	She, weepes; he, wooes	74
Image of that, whose	69	Now sleepeth shee	72	Sighing, and sadly	58
Impartiall Parca, will	97	Now was the Welkyn	47	Siluer and Golde, and	90
I neuer then, did write	105	Now with a trice he	68	Sith Conscience (long	109
Innumerable be the	98	O. 1017.17DN, Canker	I II	So Cytheræa would	105
	20	Obtaine a faithfull frend	22	So darke the dungeon	78
In Pan repose thy trust	22	O fading Branches of	28	Some Courtiers carefull	27
Insteede of teares, he	76	O faire Boy trust not to	18	Some talke of Ganymede	
In Westerne world amids	51	O faire-foule Tincture	35	Sometimes I wish that	59
In which delight feeding	49	O fairest, faire, aboue	68	Speake Eccho, tell	57
I promis'd wealth	50	Of all the kindes of	25	Sporting at fancie	59
I sing not of Angellica	85	O glorious Sunne quoth	12		53
I spi'd him first, and	50	Oh cruell Fortune	78	Sporting our selues to Sweare no vaine oathes	49
It is reported of faire	55	Oh cruell Parcæ	76		21
I would put amber	8	Oh foule Eclipser of	16	Sweet Corrall lips	56
C D 1 . 1		Oh how the Treyan	73	Sweet Thames I honour	56
KING Pryam lead and	7.4	Oh lend thine yuorie	16	SYDNEY. The Syren	28
LEAUNE of the	r5	Oh then be humble		Take not a flattring	13.3
Leave Great in	1 ,	Oh then be not so proud	20	Teresce de cribeth	22
Leaue wicked things	21	Oh would I were, as		That England lost, that	10.
Led by the swift report	84	Oh would shee would	105	The Courtier he fawn's	122
Lie there (quoth shee)		Oh would to God he	7		26
Lift vp thy head, thou	79		8	The day shall come	75
Like a great King he	76	On th'other side, aboue	48	The greater that I feele	IOI
a great Ixing ne	29	Or if one stray to feede	30	The hardest steele with	24

x First Lines of Poems and Stanzas.

P.	AGE	, 1	AGE		'AGI
The luyee of grapes	u.;	This is my Doome	37	What fæmale now	36
The Knight, the Squire	27	This leare I learned of	23	What man, hath lately	IOC
The learned Sisters	20	: This said Apollos then	73	What shall I say to thee	36
The lasse of her, is lase	1 14	This said: he sweetly	70	What, ten-yeeres siedge	74
The maimed Souldier	104	This was the doting	7	What Thing is then, so	80
The Meane is best, and		This was that faire and	7	What though with	31
I'he Merchants wife	103	Thou dost entice the	36	When I poore forelorne	24
The mightie Monarch	26	Thou lazie man	47	VVhen loe, Cassandra	7:
I'he more I weepe, the	32	Thou shalt (indeede)	72	When nothing could	80
I'hen call'd he vp the	52	. Thou Venus, art my	50	When Saturne liu'd	86
Then how can I	03	Thou wast the Nurse	100	When will my May	11
Then how shall I	92	Thus as they wandred	6	Where is Mecanas	99
I'hen shouldst thou	8	Thus doo I honour thee	II	Whether yee list, to	9:
I'hen sith by mee, their	99	Thus doth he frollicke it	31	Which charge to him no	69
Then, sith the Pope is	92	Thus doth he keepe	30	Which done: relying on	7
Then Teares (if thou be	34	Thus euerie man is	28	Which saying to be true	73
Then will I lay out all	14	Thus haue I shew'd the	5.0	Which with Quick	99
The Painful	28	Thus haue I showed in	33	White is the colour of	20
The peoples ioies	77	Thus is he neuer full	26	Who would not then a	3.
The Pinke, the	10	Thus, sacred Virgin	52	Why doo thy Corall lips	I
The Queens of Larts	90	Thus was my loue, thus	58	Whylom that in a	4.
There are so manie	33	Thus with the Worlde	86	Why should thy sweete	1
The reason is, because	89	Thy tyme was once	90	VVhich when Aurora	7.
Therefore as one, whose	102	To what vse serues a	19	Wilt thou set springes in	I
There growes the	IO	To you that know the	117	With her, the Tenant	9
There might one see	48	Two stars there are in	55	With patience, haue I	II
These two examples by	15			Witnesse the trade of	8
The Skilful Scholler	27	VILE Auarice, why hast	103	Witnes these watrie eyes	1
The snow is white, and	18	Vile Auaricia, how	03	VVit without wealth is	5
The Stoicks thinke	54	Vpon a gorgious gold	67	VVoon with thy words	7
The tenor of which tale	69	Vpon a time the	6		
The Trees (for sorrowe)	100	Vpon a time, the craftie	IOI	YEA what more	1
The Tyme was once	89	Vpon his head he wore a	68	Yet famous Sabrine on	7.
The young man	86	Vse not thy louely lips	22	Yet if thou wilt but	1
The wealthie Merchant	27			Yet not so softly but	6
The whitest siluer is	18	Weepe Heauens now	98	Yet (O Enthraller of	3
The whylst the other	26	Weepe still mine eies	ioi	Yet would I wish, the	9
The Wife of Hector	104	Well is he tearmd a	27	You modest Dames	3
Thinks on the owners		What can thy hart	88	You, you alone, can	8





INTRODUCTION.





INSIDERING the way in which his name has been associated with that of SHAKESPEARE; it is a strange thing that the present should be the first public reprint of BARNFIELD's Poems ever made.

During this century, as will be seen from the Bibliography at p. vii., several limited editions (chiefly of some 16, 35, 40, or 50 copies each) have been produced of one or other of his three Collections of Poems: all the copies of all which impressions would barely number 400; and being for the

most part privately printed, they are not now obtainable for either love or money. And, even if they were obtainable, it would be found that some

of their texts were intentionally imperfect.

Dr. GROSART's edition of 1876 is notable, among other things, as being the first collected edition put forth, either by BARNFIELD or any one else, of these Poems.

II.



HE confused ignorance prevailing respecting BARNFIELD's life before Dr. GROSART's researches recovered the registries of his birth and death with a copy of his Will, may be seen in so recent a Work, as the last edition of T. WARTON'S History of English Poetry, iv. 290, 436-440. Ed. 1871.

It may therefore be desirable to give here, the few undoubted facts that

are, at present, known about him.

The Rev. T. BURNE, M.A., Rector of Norbury, near Newport, Shropshire, has most obligingly verified the following entries in the Register of that parish :--

I. Of the marriage of our Poet's parents.

RICHARDUS BARNEFIELD et MARIA SKRIMSHER matri. contraxere Aprillis xvi. [1572].

2. Of our Poet's birth.

RICARDUS BARNEFIELD baptizatus fuit die mensis [June] xiii. 1574.

3. Of the death of his mother, at the birth of his sister DOROTHEA, when our Poet was six years old.

DONOTHEA BARNEFIELD filia RICARDI BARNEFIELD baptizata fuit Martii xxv. [1581].

MARIA BARNEFIELD sepulta fuit die mensis piræ d'icto xxiiº

As Dr. Grosart has mentioned, the above names may be read Barnsfield.

It is clear from the poem at β . 123, that his aunt, ELIZABETH SKRIM-SHER, became a second mother to the young boy; and that he ever felt grateful to her.

MALONE contributed the following to BOSWELL's presentation edition

of Lady Pecunia, of 1816.

Braze Nose Coll. November 27, 1589.

Richard Barnfield, Stafford, gen. fil. ætat. 15.

Matriculated. Regtm. Universitat Oxon.

Wood took no notice of Barnfield. Dr. Bliss (in the life of our Poet supplied by him to his edition of the Athenae Oxonicuses, i. 683. Ed. 1813) states that Barnfield took his B.A. degree 5 February, 1592; giving as his authority, MS. Gough, in Eibl. Bodl. Oxon. 1: adding:

"And in the following Lent [1592] performed the exercise for his master's gown; to which, however, I cannot find that he was ever admitted. Certain it is, that he did not take this degree previous to the year 1600, as his name does not occur in the Register of Congregation, which is very perfect and regular about that period."

The exact reference is Gough's MSS. (Oxfordshire) 1* p. 204: but a better authority for the degree, is Wood's own transcript (MS. F. 14),

sub anno, where he writes the name RICHARD BARIFIELD.

It has been thought that our Poet when he came to London, entered Gray's Inn: but his name does not occur in the Index of Admittances covering his lifetime, now *Harl. MS*. 1912.

He was evidently the friend of THOMAS WATSON; of whom he thus

writes, at b. 29,

And thou my sweete Amintas vertuous minde,
Should I forget thy Learning or thy Loue;
Well might I be accounted but vnkinde,
Whose pure affection I so oft did proue:
Might my poore Plaints hard stones to pitty moue;
His losse should be lamented of each Creature,
So great his Name, so gentle was his Nature.

In November, 1594, &t. 20, appeared The Affectionate Shepheard. In the following January, 1595, &t. 21, the Cynthia was published. In 1598, &t. 25, he issued The Encomion of Lady Pecunia, a quotation

from which is made, in the September of that year, by FRANCIS MERES, in his *Palladis Tamia*; who in the following passage calls him his *friend*.

As Theocritus in Greeke, Virgil and Mantuan in Latine, Sannazar in Italian, and [Thomas Watson] the Author of Aminta Gaudia and Walsinghams Melibaus are the best for Pastoral: so amongst vs the best in this kind are Sir Philip Sidney, Master Challoner, Spenser, Stephen Gosson, Abraham Fraunce, and Barnfield.

As noble *Maccenas* that sprang from the Etruscan Kings, not only graced poets by his bounty, but also by being a poet himself; and as *James VI.*, now King of *Scotland*, is not only a favourer of poets, but a poet; as my friend Master *Richard*

Barnfield hath in this distich passing well recorded,

The King of Scots now living is a poet,
As his Lepanto and his Furies show it [see p. 119].

so Elizabeth, our dread Sovereign and gracious Queen. . . .

In 1605, BARNFIELD, at. 31, put forth a new and altered edition of Lady Pecunia: and from this time, apparently, ceased to publish anything; probably living the life of a country gentleman in Staffordshire.

In this second Edition of 1605, seven fresh Stanzas, suggested by the new King that had come to the throne, are inserted after the Stanzas which appear on \$t\$, 91 of this edition: viz., the five following after

No garden can be cleaned of euery Weede.

37

But now more Angels than on Earth yet weare Her golden Impresse; haue to Heauen attended Hir Virgin-soule; now, now she soiornes there, Tasting more ioyes then may be comprehended. Life, she hath changde for life (oh countless gaine) An earthlie rule, for an eternall Raigne.

38

Such a Successor leauing in her stead,
So peerlesse worthie, and so Royall wise;
In him her vertues liue, though she be dead:
Bountie and zeale, in him both soueranize.
To him alone, Pecunia doth obay,

He ruling her, that doth all others sway.

39

Bounty, that when she sickned, cras'd and fainted, And when she left the earth had almost died; Hoping with her, in heauen to haue bin sainted, And 'mongst the rest an Angels place supplyed:

The King hath cherisht, and his life assured, And of a long consumption, Bounti 's cured.

40

Plenty and Peace vpon his Throne attend, Health and Content, vpon his person wait: Conquest and Fame, his Royaltie defend, May all good Planets smile vpon his state. By whom all-drooping-vertues are reuiued, And dying-Bounty, made againe long liued.

41

The hand of Heauen still take him to his keeping, Him, in no danger, in no doubt forsaking; A thousand of his Angels guarde him sleeping, And all the hoast of heauen protect him waking. That he in safety, peace and rest, may raigne, whilst the two Poles, the frame of heuen sustain.

Then another, the sixth, after
But charms the eare, with heauenly Harmonie.

45

Stand forth who can and tell, and true lie saie
When England, Scotland, Ireland and France,
He euer saw Pecunia to displaie
Before these daies; O wondrous happie chance.
Nor doth Pecunia onelie please the eie,
But charmes the eare, with heauenlie harmony.

And a seventh after Yet is it worth but *Nine-pence*, at the most.

47

But Ireland alone, this Musicks sound
Being clad in Siluer, challenge for their coin
What though amongst vs much thereof be found
Authoritie, no subject dooth injoyne

Aboue his worth to countenance the same, Then men, not coin, are worthy of that blame.

BARNFIELD died at the early age of 52, leaving, as his will shews, a son

and grandchild.

Thanks to Dr. GROSART, we know the year of his death; of which the following record in the Register of St. Michael's, Stone, has been most kindly compared once more with the original, by the Rev. W. BAYLISS, M.A., Vicar of that parish.

Nonima corum qui schulti crant Anno Domini 1626. [i.e., between 25 March, 1626, and 24 March, 1627.]

Then after about thirty entries, we have the following one:

Richardus Barnefield generosus sepultus fuit Sexto Die Martij Anno supradicto.

Then comes one more entry: after which we have the following official signatures for the year:

BARNABAS WILLATT
JAMES TILL
THOMAS AMBERYE
ROGER BRADBURYE
CHRISTOPHER DUTTON

Minister.

Churchwardens.

We have personally inspected our Poet's Will, in the District Probate Court at Lichfield. It is Number 57, of *anno* 1627, and is, line for line, as follows:

In the name of god Amen the xxvjth Daye februarie in the yeares of the Raigne of our Soveraigne lord Charles by the grace of god of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland kinge Defender of the faith &c Anno Dom. 1626 [i.e., 1627].

I RICHARD BARNFIELD of Dorlestone in the Countie of Stafford Esquire sick in bodie but of perfecte Remembrance make this my last will and testament in manner and fforme ffollowinge/ffirst I bequeath

my soule to Almightie god my Creator and maker and my Bodie to be buried in the parishe Church of Stone in the said Countie in full hope of Stone in the said Countie in tull hope of of salvation and of a joyfull Resurrectione thrught Christ my onelie Saviour, and as concerninge my worldlie goodes my will and mind is that Master John Skrimsher of Norburie Esquier his wife and sonne shall haue jijli beinge equallie Devided betwixt them, Item I giue to Master Henerie Hockengull my peece, Dagg, one Beddsteed one table, my best sadle and bridle, Item I giue to Mistris Hockengull xxs. Item I giue to Charles SKRIMSHER and GERRATE SKRIMSHER ether of them xxs. Item I giue to mistris ELENOR SKRIMSHER xxs. Item I giue to SARIE BOEYER XXS. Item I giue to ELIZABETH SKRIMSHER XXS. and alsoe one gould Ringe Item I giue to MARTHA XXS. and my gilte spoone Item I giue to GRIESELL SKRIMSHER XXS. Item I giue my grandchilde Jane Barnefelld a gilte saulte which was MICHILL OFFELEYES if hee Doe not Redeeme the same in some short tyme But if hee Doe Redeeme it shee shall have the whole xjli that he Doth owe me Item I giue to master Martin xs. Item I giue to my man Richard Cotterall xls. my hare coulred sute and Cloake and xs. that I owe him, Item I giue to mistris Doodie my Truckle bedd Item I giue to my Cozen Ranforde my tow best sutes, Item I giue Margaret Richarsone my goune and xs. Item I giue George Hill my ould servant my other sadle and Bridle, Item I giue to euerie servant in the house xijd. Item I leaue vli. to bestowe of a Dinner at my Buriall Item I give to the poore of Darlestone xijd a peece Item I give to the poor of Stone xls. Item I give to John Goodale of waulton my blue breeches and friese Jerkine

Item I giue to my sonne master Robert BarneFIELD xxs. Item the Residue of my goodes beinge vnbequeathed, I give to master ROBERT

BARNEFIELD and mistris ELINOR SKRIMSHER whome I leaue my sole Executors of this my last will and testament In witness whereof the Daie and yeare aboue written I have putt my hand and seale

Sealed and subscribed in presence of vs

R.
[Initial only.]

Henry hockengull Thomas Daintry

Richard Cotterell

Probate was granted ELEANOR SKRIMSHER, on 7th April, 1627. With the Will is the following Inventory:

Fohn Doodie.

Richard Challenor.

Thomas Daintery.

Peter Serieantes
his X mark.

item all his glasses

A true and perfecte Inventorie of all the goodes of RICHARD BARNEFEILD esquire Deceased [ap] praysed th xvth Daie of March Anno Domini 1626 [i.e. 1627] by John Doodie RICHARD CHALLENOR THOMAS DAINTREY PETER SERIEANTE/

It[em] my tuw beddsteds		- vjs	viijd
item one flockbedd		iijs	iiijd
item one bedd one boulster one pillowe			
one coverlid one cadware and three			
blankettes	iijli		
item nine sheetes three pillowberes pillow			
slips] and one Towell		xxjs	
item fosure shirtes		xiijs	iiijd
item Caps		iiijs	
item bandes cuffes handcarches and sockes		ZZ	
item stockens garters and sockes		XS	
item gloues		ijs	vjd
item all his w[e]aringe apperell	xli		
item tow sadd[l]es and bridles		ΣX	
item his bookes		XS	
item one giult sault and spoone	vli		

item	pewter [i.e., vessels &c.]	vijs	
	three chestes one deske boxes and table	xiijs	iiijd
item	warminge pan and one close stoole	vjs	viijd
item	fireshovell tonges and grate	js	
item	bootes shooes and slipers	ZZ	
item	one locke and fetters	js	
	one peece and pistoll	xiijs	iiijd
item	one brush and one cushen	js	vjd
item	in moneyes xl[li]	xvijs	iijd
	Some lxvjli		
	[or rather	£66 5s.	11d.]

III.



F THE four editions of his three Collections of Poems issued in BARNFIELD's lifetime, only six copies in all are now known to exist, viz., of

The Affectionate Shepheard 1594.

Cynthia 1595. The Encomion of (1st Ed.) 1598. Lady Pecunia (2nd Ed.) 1605. Two copies; at Britwell, and in Sion College, London.

One copy, in the Bodleian Library. One copy, in the Bodleian Library. Two copies, at Bridgewater House, and the imperfect one in the Bodleian.

It is probably owing to this extraordinary scarcity of the original copies, that BARNFIELD has made so little impression upon posterity (the *Passionate Pilgrim* matter apart); and has been looked upon as one of our most out-of-the-way Poets.

The notices of our Author, in the first two centuries after his death,

appear to have been but few and far between.

EDWARD PHILLIPS omitted our Author in his List of Modern Poets in his Theatrum Poetarum: but in the Supplement thereof, says

Richard Barnfield, one of the same Rank in Poetry with Doctor Lodge, Robert Green, Nicholas Breton, and other Contemporaries already mention'd in the foregoing Treatise of the Moderns.

p. 231. Ed. 1675.

THOMAS WARTON thought our Poet to be

One of the most prominent of the minor literary luminaries of the age of Elizabeth. But as BARNFIELD's writings have more than an ordinary share of merit, and as his name has

been associated, in a manner which could not be but flattering to his memory, with that of Shakespeare, it seemed to be desirable to introduce in the present pages a somewhat more copious account of this author and his works. Such a tribute to the memory of Barnfield seemed to be due to one who, of all the minor poets of Elizabeth's reign, may perhaps be fairly regarded as occupying the first place.

The most remarkable feature about BARNFIELD is, that an author of such undoubted genius should have so little courted publicity. In his earliest production, the Affectionate Shepheard, 1594, his name nowhere appears but the authorship was arowed in the Cynthia; see p. 44; and all his works were ushered unostentatiously into the world without encomiastic verses by acquaintances or admirers, and with dedications prompted, so far as one can judge, by friendship or affection, rather than by the sense of interest or the desire to flatter.

History of English Poetry, iv. pp. 436, 7. Ed. 1871.

Then follows the confused account above referred to; after which comes:

A collected edition of BARNFIELD's surviving works is a want in English literature, and would only form an appropriate and deserved tribute to the genius of so graceful and so neglected a poet.

p. 439. idem.

No author, whom we could name, has fairer pretensions to be regarded as a writer of genuine, untainted vernacular English.

p. 440. idem.

IV.



HE association of BARNFIELD's name with that of SHAKES-PEARE (which has been the principal reason, hitherto, of his name being kept in remembrance) has arisen from W. JAGGARD's including

the Sonnet If Musique and sweet Poetrie agree, at p. 118, and the Ode As it fell upon a Day, at p. 120.

in *The passionate Pilgrim*, 1599; and from his placing on the title-page of that Collection, the words, *By W. SHAKESPEARE*. The Staffordshire poet being 25, and the Warwickshire poet 35 in that year.

Mr. J. P. COLLIER, F.S.A., has advocated first the BARNFIELD authorship of these poems, and then that of Shakespeare. His several arguments on both sides, are duly recorded by Dr. Grosart, in his edition of our Poet above referred to.

The opinion of the best scholars is generally for the BARNFIELD

authorship; whose claims Mr. Charles Edmonds has especially vindicated at length from the objections of Mr. Collier in the *Preface* to his

reprint of the Isham copy of The Passionate Pilgrim, in 1870.

It may, however, be as well, on the occasion of this reimpression, briefly to summarize the proofs of BARNFIELD being the author of these poems: observing that the claim is, in either case, for *both* poems together, and not for either of them.

1. That BARNFIELD was not the man to steal any one else's poems is evident from the following modest disclaimer, at p. 44, of works which

had wrongly been attributed to him.

Howsoeuer undeseruedly (I protest) I haue beene thought (of some) to haue beene the authour of two Books heretofore. I neede not to name them, because they are two-well knowne already: nor will I deny them, because they are dislik't; but because they are not mine. This protestation (I hope) will satisfie th'indifferent.

The two Works referred to have been thought to be, R. B. Gent. Greenes Funeralls, 1594; and R. B. Gent. Ordiners his Journey to Hell, 1595: but the latter of these, is out of the question; for it was not registered at Stationers' Hall till the 26 August, 1595 (Transcript &c., iii. 48. Ed. 1876) more than six months after the Cynthia containing the above passage, was entered for publication.

2. BARNFIELD, on the other hand, thus distinctly claims these pieces

with the others, in *Poems in divers humours*, at p. 117.

I vvrite these Lines; fruits of vnriper yeares.

3. It is incredible that SHAKESPEARE should have written of any poet in these terms, as in the Sonnet If Music, &-c., at p. 118,

Spenser to mee; whose deepe Conceit is such, As passing all Conceit, needs no defence.

4. Which lines are evidently BARNFIELD's, for he thus repeats the expression in A Remembrance of some English Poets (including SHAKE-SPEARE himself), on the opposite page: which Remembrance has never been attributed to any one else but him.

Liue Spenser euer, in thy Fairy Queene: Whose like (for deepe Conceit) was neuer seene;

expressions which perfectly accord with the poetical position of BARN-FIELD, who was one of the first professed imitators of SPENSER, ϕ . 44.

5. If Musique, &-c., is the first of two Sonnets: for the authorship of the Second of which, we have the express testimony of his friend MERES, that it was written by BARNFIELD: see the lines quoted at p. xiii. As BARNFIELD was evidently incapable of stealing the First sonnet; this proof that he wrote the latter is corroborative of his having written the former.

6. If BARNFIELD wrote the Sonnet, he wrote also the Ode: for the

poems, in this connection, are inseparable. They were either both written by him, or by Shakespeare. Clearly to Barnfield, must the

authorship be assigned.

7. But, then, Why did BARNFIELD omit these poems in his second edition of Lady Pecunia in 1605? This of course was a somewhat difficult matter to settle without seeing the original edition: and as the only copy known until recently was at Bridgewater House, this was not an easy matter, until the Rev. W. E. BUCKLEY identified the other copy in the Bodleian.

As Mr. COLLIER bases the SHAKESPEARE authorship of these poems solely on their omission from the 1605 edition: it is but right to state

his later opinion precisely.

"My mistaken notion, twelve years ago [1846] was, that BARNFIELD, in 1605, had republished the whole of what had first appeared in 1598. This is not so. In 1605 he prefixed a general title-page, mentioning only three of the four divisions of his original work. I. Lady Pecunia, or The Praise of Money. 2. A Combat betwixt Conscience and Covetousness; and 3. The Complaint of Poetry, for the Death of Liberality. He says not one word about what had been his fourth division in 1598, Poems in divers humours: but still, on the very last leaf of the impression of 1605, Barnfield places A Remembrance of some English Poets, which had appeared as one of the Poems in divers humours in 1598. A Comparison of the Life of Man, a seven-line stanza, is also reprinted; all the rest he seems purposely to have excluded as if they were not his." Notes and Queries, 1856.

"The second edition of BARNFIELD's Encomion, under the title of Lady Pecunia, or The praise of Money, was not known at all until a comparatively recent date, and still more recently [? in 1856 as above it was discovered that it did not contain the poems to which BARNFIELD seemed to have the earliest title. In 1605 BARNFIELD was too honest to retain what had been improperly attributed to him [he himself claims them, see above] in 1598. The Sonnet and the Poem are therefore not to be traced in the volume in our hands, which forms part of the library of Bridgewater house." Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language, i. pp. 47-50, Ed. 1865.

It will therefore be seen that the assertion of the SHAKESPEARE authorship rests, and rests only on the "make up" of the 1605 edition: without any regard to intrinsic merits, or to any assertion of authorship (as above at 2) on the part of BARNFIELD.

An examination, side by side, of the copies of the two editions in the Malone Collection (Nos. 295 and 300) in the Bodleian, will shew any one practically acquainted with printing, that Mr. COLLIER's references are nothing but random guesses.

The 1605 edition was never intended to be a careful reprint of the 1598 edition, the framework of which, in four distinct sections, was intentionally

abandoned.

a. The Section Title-pages of the First edition (as at pp. 95, 107, 115) were discarded.

b. The Verse-Dedications of the First edition (as at pp. 97, 109, 117)

were also discarded.

c. The Sections do not follow in the same order as in the First edition: the Combat (pp. 107-114) in the second edition precedes

the Complaint (pp. 95-105).

cl. That any of the Poems in divers humours were reprinted at all, is clearly owing to this last fact. For the 45th and last stanza of the Complaint ends on the top of the page preceding the last leaf. A Comparison of the Life of Man (see p. 124), therefore, just filled up that page nicely.

A Remembrance of some English Poets did the same for the opposite page of the last leaf; the final page being left blank.

Therefore no question of authorship arises from the omissions which were purely a publisher's convenience, probably dictated by the price of

the book.

It will also be seen that the section *Poems in divers humours* contains eight poems, of which two only were reprinted by BARNFIELD in 1605, "All the rest he seems purposely to have excluded as if they were not his," says Mr. COLLIER: but unfortunately one of these is *An Epitaph upon the Death of his Aunt Mistresse Elizabeth Skrymsher*, whom we know was BARNFIELD's mother's sister.

It is therefore evident that BARNFIELD, and not SHAKESPEARE wrote these poems: and if so, that they should be omitted from all future

editions of the Works of our great Dramatist.

V .

ISCARDING this modern and unnecessary entangiement, let us see what our Poet really is in himself, remarking that all his Verse is the production of a very young man. Receiving the usual education given to an English gentle-

man at the time, this young barrister (as we should now call him), following the fashion of the Age, addicted himself to versification. Between the ages of twenty and twenty-four, he published, in his three Collections, some forty-five pieces, short and long, in different metres, and in varying styles, of what, in the present day, would be looked upon as vers de societé: that is, skilful poetry, not expressing any personal feelings or describing any great epic action or passion.

So that we should not, by any means, consider him, with WARTON, as the first of the minor Elizabethan poets: indeed he seems to us hardly a third-rate poet; if DRAYTON, DANIEL, CHAPMAN, CAMPION, and such others constituted, then, the second rank of our hierarchy of Makers.

Among other characteristics of these poems, the following are apparent.

1. An abundant vocabulary. Proportionately to their length, there is a large number of different words, and some of them out-of-the-way ones,

in these poems.

2. There is evident also, a constant strain after novelty; either through unusual subjects, or by unusual treatment of ordinary subjects. BARN-FIELD avows this, at ϕ . 83, in regard to Lady Pecunia,

Being determined to write of something, and yet not resolued of any thing, I considered with my selfe, if one should write of Loue (they will say) why, euery one writes of Loue: if of Vertue, why, who regards Vertue? To be short, I could thinke of nothing, but either it was common, or not at all in request;

and it is also characteristic of many of his poems.

This craving after something cleverly strange, has laid him open to the charge of equivocal writing; which disappears at once, when we consider his versification was for the most part but an amusement, and had little serious or personal in it.

He being about twenty years of age, wrote in imitation of VIRGIL his Affectionate Shepheard, and the twenty Sonnets in Cynthia (pp. 53-63), to a youth, whom he named GANYMEDE, in the character of an old man

thus described at p. 23:

Behold my gray head, full of siluer haires,
My wrinckled skin, deepe furrowes in my face:
Cares bring Old-Age, Old-Age increaseth cares;
My Time is come, and I haue run my Race:
Winter hath snow'd vpon my hoarie head,
And with my Winter all my ioys are dead.

It is clearly a piece of artificiality, a trying after the uncommon. So likewise, he selected his punning and bantering *Prayse of Lady Pecunia*, because it was unhackneyed.

At length I bethought my selfe of a Subiect, both new (as having neuer beene written vpon before) and pleasing (as I thought) because Mans Nature (commonly) loues to heare that praised, with whose pressence, hee is most pleased. p. 83.

3. Another noticeable point is his hearty recognition in verse of the greater merits of recent or contemporary English poets: as of SIDNEY, at pp. 28, 31, 119, 122; WATSON, at pp. 29, 31; SPENSER, at pp. 31, 118, 119; DRAYTON, at pp. 31, 119; DANIEL, at p. 119; SHAKESPEARE at p. 120; with others of an earlier date.

VI.

HE other principal references may be given.

They are, RITSON, Bibliographia Poetica, 124, Ed. 1802. ELLIS, Specimens of the English Poets, ii. 356, Ed. 1803. BELOE, Anecdotes of Literature, ii. 68, Ed. 1807. BODEN-HAM'S England's Helicon, 126, Ed. 1812. Sir E. BRYDGES,

Restituta, iv. 490, Ed. 1816. Gentleman's Magazine, 3 S. xvi. f. 159. Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, i. 184-6, Cheetham Society, 1860. Bibliotheca Heberiana, iv. 15.

VII.

N CONCLUSION, we cannot refrain from the expression of our gratification at 'yet another lost English Author being restored to life again, through our instrumentality. How many more are there? We cannot say. Though we have been constantly printing for now nearly fourteen years: there seems more ahead, than behind. Will this Generation own the Endeavour, or shall it be left to Posterity to do so?





The Affectionate Shepheard.

Containing the Complaint of *Daphnis* for the loue of *Ganymede*.

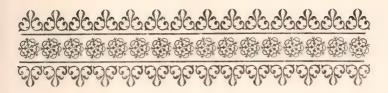
Amor plus mellis, quam fellis, est.



LONDON,

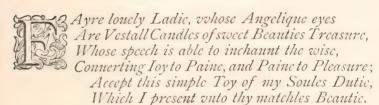
Printed by Iohn Danter for T. G. and E. N. and are to bee fold in Saint Dunstones Church-yeard in Fleetstreet,





To the Right Excellent

and most beautifull Lady, the Ladie PENELOPE RITCH.



Too meane an Offring for thine Iuoric Shrine; Yet must thy Beautie my iust blame susteane, Since it is mortall, but thy selfe divine. Then (Noble Ladie) take in gentle worth, This new-borne Babe which here my Muse brings forth.

And albeit the gift be all too meane,

Your Honours most affectionate and perpetually deuoted Shepheard:

DAPHNIS.







The Teares of an

affectionate Shepheard sicke for Loue.

OR

The Complaint of Daphnis for the Loue of Ganimede.



Carce had the morning Starre hid from the light [spangled, Heauens crimson Canopie with stars be-But I began to rue th'vnhappy sight Of that faire Boy that had my hart intangled;
Cursing the Time, the Place, the sense, the sin;
I came, I saw, I viewd, I slipped in.

If it be sinne to loue a sweet-fac'd Boy,
(Whose amber locks trust vp in golden tramels
Dangle adowne his louely cheekes with ioy,
When pearle and flowers his faire haire enamels)
If it be sinne to loue a louely Lad;
Oh then sinne I, for whom my soule is sad.

His Iuory-white and Alabaster skin
Is staind throughout with rare Vermillion red,
Whose twinckling starrie lights do neuer blin
To shine on louely Venus (Beauties bed:)
But as the Lillie and the blushing Rose,
So white and red on him in order growes.

O THE AFFECTIONATE [R. Barnfield. Nov. 1594-

Vpon a time the Nymphs bestird them-selues
To trie who could his beautie soonest win:
But he accounted them but all as Elues,
Except it were the faire Queene Guendolen,
Her he embrac'd, of her was beloued,
With plaints he proued, and with teares he moued.

But her an Old-Man had beene sutor too,
That in his age began to doate againe;
Her would he often pray, and often woo,
When through old-age enfeebled was his Braine:
But she before had lou'd a lustie youth
That now was dead, the cause of all her ruth.

And thus it hapned, Death and *Cupid* met Vpon a time at swilling *Bacchus* house, Where daintie cates vpon the Board were set, And Goblets full of wine to drinke carouse:

Where Loue and Death did loue the licor so, That out they fall and to the fray they goe.

And having both their Quivers at their backe
Fild full of Arrows; Th'one of fatall steele,
The other all of gold; Deaths shaft was black,
But Loues was yellow: Fortune turnd her wheele;
And from Deaths Quiver fell a fatall shaft,
That vnder Cupid by the winde was waft.

And at the same time by ill hap there fell
Another Arrow out of *Cupids* Quiuer;
The which was carried by the winde at will,
And vnder Death the amorous shaft did shiuer:
They being parted, Loue tooke vp Deaths dart,
And Death tooke vp Loues Arrow (for his part.)

Thus as they wandred both about the world,
At last Death met with one of feeble age:
Wherewith he drew a shaft and at him hurld
The vnknowne Arrow; (with a furious rage)
Thinking to strike him dead with Deaths blacke darta
But he (alas) with Loue did wound his hart.

This was the doting foole, this was the man
That lou'd faire Guendolena Queene of Beautie;
Shee cannot shake him off, doo what she can,
For he hath vowd to her his soules last duety:
Making him trim vpon the holy-daies;
And crownes his Loue with Garlands made of Baies.

Now doth he stroke his Beard; and now (againe)
He wipes the driuel from his filthy chin;
Now offers he a kisse; but high Disdaine
Will not permit her hart to pity him:
Her hart more hard than Adamant or steele,
Her hart more changeable than Fortunes wheele.

But leaue we him in loue (vp to the eares)
And tell how Loue behau'd himselfe abroad;
Who seeing one that mourned still in teares
(a young-man groaning vnder Loues great Load)
Thinking to ease his Burden, rid his paines:
For men haue griefe as long as life remaines.

Alas (the while) that vnawares he drue
The fatall shaft that Death had dropt before;
By which deceit great harme did then issue,
Stayning his face with blood and filthy goare.
His face, that was to Guendolen more deere
Than loue of Lords, of any lordly Peere.

This was that faire and beautifull young-man, Whom Guendolena so lamented for; This is that Loue whom she doth curse and ban, Because she doth that dismall chaunce abhor:

And if it were not for his Mothers sake,
Euen Ganimede himselfe she would forsake.

Oh would shee would forsake my Ganimede, Whose sugred loue is full of sweete delight, Vpon whose fore-head you may plainely reade Loues Pleasure, grau'd in yuorie Tables bright:

In whose faire eye-balls you may clearely see Base Loue still staind with foule indignitie.

Oh would to God he would but pitty mee,
That loue him more than any mortall wight;
Then he and I with loue would soone agree,
That now cannot abide his Sutors sight.
O would to God (so I might haue my fee)
My lips were honey, and thy mouth a Bee.

Then shouldst thou sucke my sweete and my faire flower That now is ripe, and full of honey-berries:
Then would I leade thee to my pleasant Bower Fild full of Grapes, of Mulberries, and Cherries;
Then shouldst thou be my Waspe or else my Bee, I would thy hiue, and thou my honey bee.

I would put amber Bracelets on thy wrests,
Crownets of Pearle about thy naked Armes:
And when thou sitst at swilling Bacchus feasts
My lips with charmes should saue thee from all harmes:
And when in sleepe thou tookst thy chiefest Pleasure,
Mine eyes should gaze vpon thine eye-lids Treasure.

And every Morne by dawning of the day, When $Ph \alpha bus$ riseth with a blushing face, Siluanus Chappel-Clarkes shall chaunt a Lay, And play thee hunts-vp in thy resting place:

My Coote thy Chamber, my bosome thy Bed; Shall be appointed for thy sleepy head.

And when it pleaseth thee to walke abroad, (Abroad into the fields to take fresh ayre:)
The Meades with Floras treasure should be strowde, (The mantled meaddowes, and the fields so fayre.)
And by a siluer Well (with golden sands)
Ile sit me downe, and wash thine yuory hands.

And in the sweltring heate of summer time, I would make Cabinets for thee (my Loue:) Sweet-smelling Arbours made of Eglantine Should be thy shrine, and I would be thy Doue. Coole Cabinets of fresh greene Laurell boughs Should shadow vs, ore-set with thicke-set Eughes.

Or if thou list to bathe thy naked limbs,
Within the Christall of a Pearle-bright brooke,
Paued with dainty pibbles to the brims;
Or cleare, wherein thyselfe thy selfe mayst looke;
Weele goe to Ladon, whose still trickling noyse,
Will lull thee fast asleepe amids thy ioyes.

Or if thoult goe vnto the Riuer side,
To angle for the sweet fresh-water fish:
Arm'd with thy implements that will abide
(Thy rod, hooke, line) to take a dainty dish;
Thy rods shall be of cane, thy lines of silke,
Thy hooks of siluer, and thy bayts of milke.

Or if thou lou'st to heare sweet Melodie,
Or pipe a Round vpon an Oaten Reede,
Or make thy selfe glad with some myrthfull glee,
Or play them Musicke whilst thy flocke doth feede;
To Pans owne Pipe Ile helpe my louely Lad,
(Pans golden Pype) which he of Syrinx had.

Or if thou dar'st to climbe the highest Trees
For Apples, Cherries, Medlars, Peares, or Plumbs,
Nuts, Walnuts, Filbeards, Chest-nuts, Ceruices,
The hoary Peach, when snowy winter comes;
I haue fine Orchards full of mellowed frute;
Which I will giue thee to obtain my sute.

Not proud Alcynous himselfe can vaunt,
Of goodlier Orchards or of brauer Trees
Than I haue planted; yet thou wilt not graunt
My simple sute; but like the honey Bees
Thou suckst the flowre till all the sweet be gone;
And lou'st mee for my Coyne till I haue none.

Leaue Guendolen (sweet hart) though she be faire
Yet is she light; not light in vertue shining:
But light in her behauiour, to impaire
Her honour in her Chastities declining;
Trust not her teares, for they can watonnize,
When teares in pearle are trickling from her eyes.

THE AFFECTIONATE [R. Barnfield. Nov. 1594.

If thou wilt come and dwell with me at home;
My sheep-cote shall be strowd with new greene rushes:
Weele haunt the trembling Prickets as they rome
About the fields, along the hauthorne bushes;
I have a pie-bald Curre to hunt the Hare:
So we will live with daintie forrest fare.

Nay more than this, I have a Garden-plot,
Wherein there wants nor hearbs, nor roots, nor flowers;
(Flowers to smell, roots to eate, hearbs for the pot,)
And dainty Shelters when the Welkin lowers:
Sweet-smelling Beds of Lillies and of Roses,
Which Rosemary banks and Lauender incloses.

There growes the Gilliflowre, the Mynt, the Dayzie (Both red and white,) the blew-veynd-Violet:
The purple Hyacinth, the Spyke to please thee,
The scarlet dyde Carnation bleeding yet;
The Sage, the Sauery, and sweet Margerum,
Isop, Tyme, and Eye-bright, good for the blinde and dumbe.

The Pinke, the Primrose, Cowslip, and Daffadilly, The Hare-bell blue, the crimson Cullumbine, Sage, Lettis, Parsley, and the milke-white Lilly, The Rose, and speckled flowre cald Sops in wine, Fine pretic King-cups, and the yellow Bootes, That growes by Riuers, and by shallow Brookes.

And manie thousand moe (I cannot name)
Of hearbs and flowers that in gardens grow,
I haue for thee; and Coneyes that be tame,
Yong Rabbets, white as Swan, and blacke as Crow,
Some speckled here and there with daintie spots:
And more I haue two mylch and milke-white Goates.

All these, and more, Ilc giue thee for thy loue; If these, and more, may tyce thy loue away: I haue a Pidgeon-house, in it a Doue, Which I loue more than mortall tongue can say: And last of all, Ile giue thee a little Lambe To play withall, new weaned from her Dam.

But if thou wilt not pittie my Complaint,
My Teares, nor Vowes, nor Oathes, made to thy Beautie:
What shall I doo? But languish, die, or faint,
Since thou dost scorne my Teares, and my Soules Duetie:
And Teares contemned, Vowes and Oaths must faile;
For where Teares cannot, nothing can preuaile.

Compare the loue of faire Queene Guendolin
With mine, and thou shalt is ee how she doth loue thee:
I loue thee for thy qualities divine,
But She doth loue another Swaine about thee:
I loue thee for thy gifts, She for hir pleasure;
I for thy Vertue, She for Beauties treasure.

And alwaies (I am sure) it cannot last,
But sometime Nature will denie those dimples:
In steed of Beautie (when thy Blossom's past)
Thy face will be deformed, full of wrinckles:
Then She that lou'd thee for thy Beauties sake,
When Age drawes on, thy loue will soone forsake.

But I that lou'd thee for thy gifts diuine,
In the December of thy Beauties waning,
Will still admire (with ioy) those louely eine,
That now behold me with their beauties baning:
Though Ianuarie will neuer come againe,
Yet Aprill yeres will come in showers of raine.

When will my May come, that I may embrace thee?
When will the hower be of my soules ioying?
Why dost thou seeke in mirthe still to disgrace mee?
Whose mirth's my health, whose griefe's my harts annoying.
Thy bane my bale, thy blisse my blessednes,
Thy ill my hell, thy weale my welfare is.

Thus doo I honour thee that loue thee so, And loue thee so, that so doo honour thee, Much more than anie mortall man doth know, Or can discerne by Loue or Iealozie:

But if that thou disdainst my louing euer; Oh happie I, if I had loued neuer. Finis.

Plus fellis quam mellis Amor.

The second Dayes Lamentation of

the Affectionate Shepheard.

Ext Morning when the golden Sunne was risen,
And new had bid good morrow to the Mountaines;
When Night her siluer light had lockt in prison,
Which gaue a glimmering on the christall
Fountaines:

Then ended sleepe: and then my cares began, Eu'n with the vprising of the siluer Swan.

O glorious Sunne quoth I, (viewing the Sunne)
That lightenst euerie thing but me alone:
Why is my Summer season almost done?
My Spring-time past, and Ages Autumne gone?
My Haruest's come, and yet I reapt no corne:
My loue is great, and yet I am forlorne.

Witnes these watrie eyes my sad lament (Receauing cisternes of my ceaseles teares), Witnes my bleeding hart my soules intent, Witnes the weight distressed Daphnis beares:

Sweet Loue, come ease me of thy burthens paine;
Or els I die, or else my hart is slaine.

And thou loue-scorning Boy, cruell, vnkinde;
Oh let me once againe intreat some pittie:
May be thou wilt relent thy marble minde,
And lend thine eares vnto my dolefull Dittie:
Oh pittie him, that pittie craues so sweetly;
Or else thou shalt be neuer named meekly.

If thou wilt loue me, thou shalt be my Boy, My sweet Delight, the Comfort of my minde, My Loue, my Doue, my Sollace, and my Ioy: But if I can no grace nor mercie finde, Ile goe to Caucasus to ease my smart, And let a Vulture gnaw vpon my hart.

Yet if thou wilt but show me one kinde looke (A small reward for my so great affection)
Ile graue thy name in Beauties golden Booke,
And shrowd thee vnder *Hellicons* protection;
Making the Muses chaunt thy louely prayse:
(For they delight in Shepheards lowly layes.)

And when th'art wearie of thy keeping Sheepe Vpon a louely Downe, (to please thy minde) Ile giue thee fine ruffe-footed Doues to keepe, And pretie Pidgeons of another kinde:

A Robbin-red-brest shall thy Minstrell bee, Chirping thee sweet, and pleasant Melodie.

Or if thou wilt goe shoote at little Birds
With bow and boult (the Thrustle-cocke and Sparrow)
Such as our Countrey hedges can afford's;
I haue a fine bowe, and an yuorie arrow:
And if thou misse, yet meate thou shalt [not] lacke,
Ile hang a bag and bottle at thy backe.

Wilt thou set springes in a frostie Night,
To catch the long-billd Woodcocke and the Snype?
(By the bright glimmering of the Starrie light)
The Partridge, Phæsant, or the greedie Grype?
Ile lend thee lyme-twigs, and fine sparrow calls,
Wherewith the Fowler silly Birds inthralls.

Or in a mystic morning if thou wilt
Make pit-falls for the Larke and Pheldifare;
Thy prop and sweake shall be both ouer-guilt;
With Cyparissus selfe thou shalt compare
For gins and wyles, the Oozels to beguile;
Whilst thou vnder a bush shalt sit and smile.

Or with Hare-pypes (set in a muset hole)
Wilt thou deceaue the deep-earth-deluing Coney?
Or wilt thou in a yellow Boxen bole,
Taste with a woodden splent the sweet lythe honey?
Clusters of crimson Grapes Ile pull thee downe;
And with Vine-leaues make thee a louely Crowne.

14 THE AFFECTIONATE [R. Barnfield. Nov. 15)4.

Or wilt thou drinke a cup of new-made Wine Froathing at top, mixt with a dish of Creame; And Straw-berries, or Bil-berries in their prime, Bath'd in a melting Sugar-Candie streame:

Bunnell and Perry I haue for thee (alone)
When Vynes are dead, and all the Grapes are gone.

I have a pleasant noted Nightingale, (That sings as sweetly as the silver Swan) Kept in a Cage of bone; as white as Whale, Which I with singing of *Philemon* wan:

Her shalt thou have, and all I have beside; If thou wilt be my Boy, or else my Bride.

Then will I lay out all my Lardarie (Of Cheese, of Cracknells, Curds and Clowted-creame)
Before thy male-content ill-pleasing eye:
But why doo I of such great follies dreame?
Alas, he will not see my simple Coate;
For all my speckled Lambe, nor milk-white Goate.

Against my Birth-day thou shalt be my guest:
Weele haue Greene-cheeses and fine Silly-bubs;
And thou shalt be the chiefe of all my feast.
And I will giue thee two fine pretie Cubs,
With two young Whelps, to make thee sport withall,
A golden Racket, and a Tennis-ball.

A guilded Nutmeg, and a race of Ginger,
A silken Girdle, and a drawn-worke Band,
Cuffs for thy wrists, a gold Ring for thy finger,
And sweet Rose-water for thy Lilly-white hand,
A Purse of silke, bespangd with spots of gold,
As braue a one as ere thou didst behold.

A paire of Kniues, a greene Hat and a Feather, New Gloues to put vpon thy milk-white hand Ile giue thee, for to keep thee from the weather; With Phœnix feathers shall thy Face be fand, Cooling those Cheekes, that being cool'd wexe red, Like Lillyes in a bed of Roses shed. Why doo thy Corall lips disdaine to kisse,
And sucke that Sweete, which manie have desired?
That Baulme my Bane, that meanes would mend my misse:
Oh let me then with thy sweete Lips b'inspired;
When thy Lips touch my Lips, my Lips will turne
To Corall too, and being cold yee will burne.

Why should thy sweete Loue-locke hang dangling downe, Kissing thy girdle-steed with falling pride? Although thy Skin be white, thy haire is browne: Oh let not then thy haire thy beautie hide; Cut off thy Locke, and sell it for gold wier: (The purest gold is tryde in hottest fier).

Faire-long-haire-wearing Absolon was kild,
Because he wore it in a brauerie:
So that whiche gracde his Beautie, Beautie spild,
Making him subject to vile slauerie,
In being hangd: a death for him too good,
That sought his owne shame, and his Fathers blood.

Againe, we read of old King *Priamus*, (The haplesse syre of valiant *Hector* slaine) That his haire was so long and odious In youth, that in his age it bred his paine:

For if his haire had not been halfe so long, His life had been, and he had had no wrong.

For when his stately Citie was destroyd (That Monument of great Antiquitie)
When his poore hart (with griefe and sorrow cloyd)
Fled to his Wife (last hope in miserie;)

Pyrrhus (more hard than Adamantine rockes)
Held him and halde him by his aged lockes.

These two examples by the way I show,
To proue th'indecencie of mens long haire:
Though I could tell thee of a thousand moe,
Let these suffice for thee (my louely Faire)
Whose eye's my starre; whose smiling is my Sunne;
Whose loue did ende before my ioys begunne.

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Fond Loue is blinde, and so art thou (my Deare)
For thou seest not my Loue, and great desart;
Blinde Loue is fond, and so thou dost appeare;
For fond, and blinde, thou greeust my greeuing hart:
Be thou fond-blinde, blinde-fond, or one, or all;
Thou art my Loue, and I must be thy thrall.

Oh lend thine yuorie fore-head for Loues Booke,
Thine eyes for candles to behold the same;
That when dim-sighted ones therein shall looke
They may discerne that proud disdainefull Dame;
Yet claspe that Booke, and shut that Cazement light;
Lest th'one obscurde, the other shine too bright.

Sell thy sweet breath to th'daintie Musk-ball-makers; Yet sell it so as thou mayst soone redeeme it:

Let others of thy beauty be pertakers;

Els none but Daphnis will so well esteeme it:

For what is Beauty except it be well knowne?

And how can it be knowne, except first showne?

Learne of the Gentlewomen of this Age,
That set their Beauties to the open view,
Making Disdaine their Lord, true Loue their Page;
A Custome Zeale doth hate, Desert doth rue:
Learne to looke red, anon waxe pale and wan,
Making a mocke of Loue, a scorne of man.

A candle light, and couer'd with a vaile,
Doth no man good, because it giues no light;
So Beauty of her beauty seemes to faile,
When being not seene it cannot shine so bright.
Then show thy selfe and know thy selfe withall,
Lest climing high thou catch too great a fall.

Oh foule Eclipser of that fayre sun-shine,
Which is intitled Beauty in the best;
Making that mortall, which is els diuine,
That staines the fayre which Womens steeme not least:
Get thee to Hell againe (from whence thou art)
And leave the Center of a Woman's hart.

Ah be not staind, (sweet Boy) with this vilde spot,
Indulgence Daughter, Mother of mischaunce;
A blemish that doth euery beauty blot;
That makes them loath'd, but neuer doth aduaunce
Her Clyents, fautors, friends; or them that loue her;
And hates them most of all, that most reproue her.

Remember Age, and thou canst not be prowd, For age puls downe the pride of euery man; In youthfull yeares by Nature tis allowde To haue selfe-will, doo Nurture what she can; Nature and Nurture once together met, The Soule and shape in decent order set.

Pride looks aloft, still staring on the starres,
Humility looks lowly on the ground;
Th'one menaceth the Gods with ciuill warres,
The other toyles til he haue Vertue found:
His thoughts are humble, not aspiring hye;
But Pride looks haughtily with scornefull eye.

Humillity is clad in modest weedes,
But Pride is braue and glorious to the show;
Humillity his friends with kindnes feedes,
But Pride his friends (in neede) will neuer know:
Supplying not their wants, but them disdaining;
Whilst they to pitty neuer neede complayning.

Humillity in misery is relieu'd,
But Pride in neede of no man is regarded;
Pitty and Mercy weepe to see him grieu'd
That in distresse had them so well rewarded:
But Pride is scornd, contemnd, disdaind, derided,
Whilst Humblenes of all things is prouided.

Oh then be humble, gentle, meeke, and milde; So shalt thou be of every mouth commended; Be not disdainfull, cruell, proud, (sweet childe) So shalt thou be of no man much condemned; Care not for them that Vertue doo despise; Vertue is loathde of fooles; loude of the wise. O faire Boy trust not to thy Beauties wings, They cannot carry thee aboue the Sunne: Beauty and wealth are transitory things, (For all must ende that euer was begunne) But Fame and Vertue neuer shall decay; For Fame is toombles, Vertue liues for aye.

The snow is white, and yet the pepper's blacke,
The one is bought, the other is contemned:
Pibbles we haue, but store of Ieat we lacke;
So white comparde to blacke is much condemned:
We doo not praise the Swanne because shees white,
But for she doth in Musique much delite.

And yet the siluer-noted Nightingale,
Though she be not so white is more esteemed;
Sturgion is dun of hew, white is the Whale,
Yet for the daintier Dish the first is deemed;
What thing is whiter than the milke-bred Lilly?
Thou knowes it not for naught, what man so silly?

Yea what more noysomer vnto the smell
Than Lillies are? what's sweeter than the Sage?
Yet for pure white the Lilly beares the Bell
Till it be faded through decaying Age;
House-Doues are white, and Oozels Blacke-birds bee;
Yet what a difference in the taste, we see.

Compare the Cow and Calfe, with Ewe and Lambe;
Rough hayrie Hydes, with softest downy Fell;
Hecfar and Bull, with Weather and with Ramme,
And you shall see how far they doo excell;
White Kine with blacke, blacke Coney-skins with gray,
Kine, nesh and strong; skin, deare and cheape alway.

The whitest siluer is not alwaies best,
Lead, Tynne, and Pewter are of base esteeme;
The yellow burnisht gold, that comes from th'East,
And West (of late inuented), may be seeme
The worlds ritch Treasury, or Mydas eye;
(The Ritch mans God, poore mans felicitie.)

Bugle and Ieat, with snow and Alablaster
I will compare: White Dammasin with blacke;
Bullas and wheaton Plumbs, (to a good Taster,)
The ripe red Cherries haue the sweetest smacke;
When they be greene and young, th'are sowre and naught;
But being ripe, with eagerness th'are baught.

Compare the Wyld-cat to the brownish Beauer, Running for life, with hounds pursued sore; When Hunts-men of her pretious Stones bereaue her (Which with her teeth sh'had bitten off before): Restoratiues, and costly curious Felts Are made of them, and rich imbroydred Belts.

To what vse serues a peece of crimbling Chalke? The Agget stone is white, yet good for nothing: Fie, fie, I am asham'd to heare thee talke; Be not so much of thine owne Image doating: So faire Narcissus lost his loue and life. (Beautie is often with itselfe at strife).

Right Diamonds are of a russet hieu,
The brightsome Carbuncles are red to see too,
The Saphyre stone is of a watchet blue,
(To this thou canst not chuse but soone agree too):
Pearles are not white but gray, Rubies are red:
In praise of Blacke, what can be better sed?

For if we doo consider of each mortall thing
That flyes in welkin, or in waters swims,
How euerie thing increaseth with the Spring,
And how the blacker still the brighter dims:
We cannot chuse, but needs we must confesse,
Sable excels milk-white in more or lesse.

As for example, in the christall cleare
Of a sweete streame, or pleasant running Riuer,
Where thousand formes of fishes will appeare,
(Whose names to thee I cannot now deliuer:)
The blacker still the brighter haue disgrac'd,
For pleasant profit, and delicious taste.

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Salmon and Trout are of a ruddie colour,
Whiting and Dare is of a milk-white hiew:
Nature by them (perhaps) is made the fuller,
Little they nourish, be they old or new:
Carp, Loach, Tench, Eeles (though black and bred in mud)
Delight the tooth with taste, and breed good blud.

Innumerable be the kindes, if I could name them;
But I a Shepheard, and no Fisher am:
Little it skills whether I praise or blame them,
I onely meddle with my Ew and Lamb:
Yet this I say, that blacke the better is,
In birds, beasts, frute, stones, flowres, herbs, mettals, fish.

And last of all, in blacke there doth appeare
Such qualities, as not in yuorie;
Black cannot blush for shame, looke pale for fear,
Scorning to weare another liuorie.
Blacke is the badge of sober Modestie,
The wonted weare of ancient Grauetie.

The learned Sisters sute themselues in blacke,
Learning abandons white, and lighter hues:
Pleasure and Pride light colours neuer lacke;
But true Religion doth such Toyes refuse:
Vertue and Grauity are sisters growne,

Since blacke by both, and both by blacke are knowne.

White is the colour of each paltry Miller,
White is the Ensigne of each comman Woman;
White, is white Vertues for blacke Vyces Piller;
White makes proud fooles inferiour vnto no man:
White, is the white of Body, blacke of Minde,
(Vertue we seldome in white Habit finde.)

Oh then be not so proud because th'art fayre,
Vertue is onely the ritch gift of God:
Let not selfe-pride thy vertues name impayre,
Beate not greene youth with sharpe Repentance Rod:
(A Fiend, a Monster, and mishapen Diuel;
Vertues foe, Vyces friend, the roote of euill.)

Apply thy minde to be a vertuous man,
Auoyd ill company (the spoyle of youth;)
To follow Vertues Lore doo what thou can
(Whereby great profit vnto thee ensu[e]th:)
Reade Bookes, hate Ignorance, (the foe to Art,
The Damme of Errour, Enuy of the hart).

Serue Ioue (vpon thy knees) both day and night, Adore his Name aboue all things on Earth: So shall thy vowes be gracious in his sight, So little Babes are blessed in their Birth: Thinke on no worldly woe, lament thy sin; (For lesser cease, when greater griefes begin).

Sweare no vaine oathes; heare much, but little say; Speake ill of no man, tend thine owne affaires, Bridle thy wrath, thine angrie mood delay; (So shall thy minde be seldome cloyd with cares:)

Be milde and gentle in thy speech to all,
Refuse no honest gaine when it doth fall.

Be not beguild with words, proue not vngratefull, Releeue thy Neighbour in his greatest need, Commit no action that to all is hatefull, Their want with welth, the poore with plentie feed:

Twit no man in the teeth with what th'hast done; Remember flesh is fraile, and hatred shunne.

Leaue wicked things, which Men to mischiefe moue, (Least crosse mis-hap may thee in danger bring,) Craue no preferment of thy heauenly *Ioue*, Nor anie honor of thy earthly King:

Boast not thy selfe before th'Almighties sight, (Who knowes thy hart, and anie wicked wight).

Be not offensive to the peoples eye,
See that thy praiers harts true zeale affords,
Scorne not a man that's falne in miserie,
Esteeme no tatling tales, nor babling words;
That reason is exiled alwaies thinke,
When as a drunkard rayles amidst his drinke.

Vse not thy louely lips to loathsome lyes,
By craftic meanes increase no worldly wealth;
Striue not with mightic Men (whose fortune flies)
With temp'rate diet nourish wholesome health:
Place well thy words, leaue not thy frend for gold;
First trie, then trust; in ventring be not bold.

In Pan repose thy trust; extoll his praise (That neuer shall decay, but euer liues):
Honor thy Parents (to prolong thy dayes),
Let not thy left hand know what right hand giues:
From needie men turn not thy face away,
(Though Charitie be now yelad in clay).

Heare Shepheards oft (thereby great wisdome growcs), With good aduice a sober answere make:

Be not remoou'd with euery winde that blowes, (That course doo onely sinfull sinners take).

Thy talke will shew thy fame or els thy shame; (As pratling tongue doth often purchase blame).

Obtaine a faithfull frend that will not faile thee, Thinke on thy Mothers paine in her child-bearing, Make no debate, least quickly thou bewaile thee, Visit the sicke with comfortable chearing: Pittie the prisner, helpe the fatherlesse, Reuenge the Widdowes wrongs in her distresse.

Thinke on thy graue, remember still thy end,
Let not thy winding-sheete be staind with guilt,
Trust not a fained reconciled frend,
More than an open foe (that blood hath spilt)
(Who tutcheth pitch, with pitch shalbe defiled),
Be not with wanton companie beguiled.

Take not a flattring woman to thy wife,
A shameles creature, full of wanton words,
(Whose bad, thy good; whose lust will end thy life,
Cutting thy hart with sharpe two edged swords:)
Cast not thy minde on her whose lookes allure,
But she that shines in Truth and Vertue pure.

Praise not thy selfe, let other men commend thee;
Beare not a flattring tongue to glauer anie,
Let Parents due correction not offend thee:
Rob not thy neighbor, seeke the loue of manie;
Hate not to heare good Counsell giuen thee,
Lay not thy money vnto Vsurie.

Restraine thy steps from too much libertie, Fulfill not th'enuious mans malitious minde; Embrace thy Wife, liue not in lecherie; Content thyselfe with what Fates haue assignde: Be rul'd by Reason, Warning dangers saue; True Age is reuerend worship to thy graue.

Be patient in extreame Aduersitie,
(Man's chiefest credit growes by dooing well,)
Be no high-minded in Prosperity;
Falshood abhorre, nor lying fable tell.
Giue not thy selfe to Sloth, (the sinke of Shame,
The moath of Time, the enemie to Fame.)

This leare I learned of a Bel-dame Trot,
(When I was yong and wylde as now thou art):
But her good counsell I regarded not;
I markt it with my eares, not with my hart:
But now I finde it too-too true (my Sonne),
When my Age-withered Spring is almost done.

Behold my gray head, full of siluer haires,
My wrinckled skin, deepe furrowes in my face:
Cares bring Old-Age, Old-Age increaseth cares;
My Time is come, and I haue run my Race:
Winter hath snow'd vpon my hoarie head,
And with my Winter all my ioys are dead.

And thou loue-hating Boy, (whom once I loued),
Farewell, a thousand-thousand times farewell;
My Teares the Marble Stones to ruth haue moued;
My sad Complaints the babling Ecchoes tell:
And yet thou wouldst take no compassion on mee,
Scorning that crosse which Loue hath laid vpon mee.

The hardest steele with fier doth mend his misse,
Marble is mollifyde with drops of Raine;
But thou (more hard than Steele or Marble is)
Doost scorne my Teares, and my true loue disdaine,
Which for thy sake shall euerlasting bee,
Wrote in the Annalls of Eternitie.

By this, the Night (with darknes ouer-spred)
Had drawne the curtaines of her cole-blacke bed;
And Cynthia muffling her face with a clowd,
(Lest all the world of her should be too prowd)
Had taken Conge of the sable Night,
(That wanting her cannot be halfe so bright;)

When I poore forlorne man and outcast creature (Despairing of my Loue, despisde of Beautie)
Grew male-content, scorning his louely feature,
That had disdaind my euer-zealous dutie:
I hy'd me homeward by the Moone-shine light;
Forswearing Loue, and all his fond delight.

FINIS.





The Shepherds Content

OR

The happines of a harmless life.

Written upon Occasion of the

former Subject.



F all the kindes of common Countrey life, Me thinkes a Shepheards life is most Content:

His State is quiet Peace, deuoyd of strife; His thoughts are pure from all impure intent.

His Pleasures rate sits at an easie rent: He beares no mallice in his harmles hart, Malicious meaning hath in him no part.

He is not troubled with th'afflicted minde,
His cares are onely ouer silly Sheepe;
He is not vnto Iealozie inclinde,
(Thrice happie Man) he knowes not how to weepe;
Whil'st I the Treble in deepe sorrowes keepe;
I cannot keepe the Meane; for why (alas)
Griefes haue no meane, though I for meane doe passe.

No Briefes nor Semi-Briefes are in my Songs,
Because (alas) my griefe is seldome shoot;
My Prick-Song's alwayes full of Largues and Longs,
(Because I neuer can obtaine the Port
Of my desires: Hope is a happie Fort.)
Prick-song (indeed) because it pricks my hart;
And Song, because sometimes I ease my smart.

The mightie Monarch of a royall Realme, Swaying his Scepter with a Princely pompe; Of his desires cannot so steare the Healme, But sometime falls into a deadly dumpe, When as he heares the shrilly-sounding Trumpe Of Forren Enemies, or home-bred Foes; His minde of griefe, his hart is full of woes.

Or when bad subjects gainst their Soueraigne (Like hollow harts) vnnaturally rebell, How carefull is he to suppresse againe Their desperate forces, and their powers to quell With loyall harts, till all (againe) be well:

When (being subdu'd) his care is rather more To keepe them vnder, than it was before.

Thus is he neuer full of sweete Content,
But either this or that his ioy debars:
Now Noble-men gainst Noble-men are bent,
Now Gentlemen and others fall at iarrs:
Thus is his Countrey full of ciuill warrs;
He still in danger sits, still fearing Death:
For Traitors seeke to stop their Princes breath.

The whylst the other hath no enemie,
Without it be the Wolfe and cruell Fates
(Which no man spare): when as his disagree
He with his sheep-hooke knaps them on the pates,
Schooling his tender Lambs from wanton gates:
Beasts are more kinde then Men, Sheepe seeke not blood
But countrey caytiues kill their Countreyes good.

The Courtier he fawn's for his Princes fauour,
In hope to get a Princely ritch Reward;
His tongue is tipt with honey for to glauer;
Pride deales the Deck whilst Chance doth choose the Card,
Then comes another and his Game hath mard;
Sitting betwixt him, and the morning Sun:
Thus Night is come before the Day is done.

Some Courtiers carefull of their Princes health,
Attends his Person with all dilligence
Whose hand's their hart; whose welfare is their wealth,
Whose safe Protection is their sure Defence,
For pure affection, not for hope of pence:
Such is the faithfull hart, such is the minde,
Of him that is to Vertue still inclinde.

The skilfull Scholler, and braue man at Armes,
First plies his Booke, last fights for Countries Peace;
Th'one feares Obliuion, th'other fresh Alarmes;
His paines nere ende, his trauailes neuer cease;
His with the Day, his with the Night increase:
He studies how to get eternall Fame;
The Souldier fights to win a glorious Name.

The Knight, the Squire, the Gentleman, the Clowne, Are full of crosses and calamities;

Lest fickle Fortune should begin to frowne,
And turne their mirth to extreame miseries:

Nothing more certaine than incertainties;

Fortune is full of fresh varietie:

Constant in nothing but inconstance.

The wealthie Merchant that doth crosse the Seas, To Denmarke, Poland, Spaine, and Barbarie; For all his ritches, liues not still at ease; Sometimes he feares ship-spoyling Pyracie, Another while deceipt and treacherie

Of his owne Factors in a forren Land;
Thus doth he still in dread and danger stand.

Well is he tearmd a Merchant-Venturer,
Since he doth venter lands, and goods, and all:
When he doth trauell for his Traffique far,
Little he knowes what fortune may befall,
Or rather what mis-fortune happen shall:
Sometimes he splits his Ship against a rocke;
Loosing his men, his goods, his wealth, his stocke.

And if he so escape with life away,
He counts himselfe a man most fortunate,
Because the waves their rigorous rage did stay,
(When being within their cruell powers of late,
The Seas did seeme to pittie his estate)
But yet he neuer can recover health,
Because his ioy was drowned with his wealth.

The painfull Plough-swaine, and the Husband-man Rise vp each morning by the breake of day, Taking what toyle and drudging paines they can, And all is for to get a little stay; And yet they cannot put their care away:

When Night is come, their cares begin afresh, Thinking vpon their Morrowes busines.

Thus everie man is troubled with vnrest,
From rich to poore, from high to low degree:
Therefore I thinke that man is truly blest,
That neither cares for wealth nor povertie,
But laughs at Fortune and her foolerie;
That gives rich Churles great store of golde and fee,
And lets poore Schollers live in miserie,

O fading Branches of decaying Bayes
Who now will water your dry-wither'd Armes?
Or where is he that sung the louely Layes
Of simple Shepheards in their Countrey-Farmes?
Ah he is dead, the cause of all our harmes:
And with him dide my ioy and sweete delight;
And cleare to Clowdes, the Day is turnd to Night.

SYDNEY. The Syren of this latter Age; SYDNEY. The Blasing-starre of England's glory; SYDNEY. The Wonder of wise and sage; SYDNEY. The Subject of true Vertues story; This Syren, Starre, this Wonder, and this Subject; In dumbe, dim, gone, and mard by Fortunes Object. And thou my sweete Amintas vertuous minde, Should I forget thy Learning or thy Loue; Well might I be accounted but vnkinde, Whose pure affection I so oft did proue: Might my poore Plaints hard stones to pitty moue; His losse should be lamented of each Creature, So great his Name, so gentle was his Nature.

But sleepe his soule in sweet Elysium,
(The happy Hauen of eternall rest:)
And let me to my former matter come,
Prouing by Reason, Shepheard's life is best,
Because he harbours Vertue in his Brest;
And is content (the chiefest thing of all)
With any fortune that shall him befall.

He sits all Day lowd-piping on a Hill,
The whilst his flocke about him daunce apace,
His hart with ioy, his eares with Musique fill:
Anon a bleating Weather beares the Bace,
A Lambe the Treble; and to his disgrace
Another answers like a middle Meane:
Thus every one to beare a Part are faine.

Like a great King he rules a little Land,
Still making Statutes, and ordayning Lawes;
Which if they breake, he beates them with his Wand:
He doth defend them from the greedy Iawes
Of rau'ning Woolues, and Lyons bloudy Pawes.
His Field, his Realme; his Subjects are his Sheepe;
Which he doth still in due obedience keepe.

First he ordaines by Act of Parlament,
(Holden by custome in each Countrey Towne),
That if a sheepe (with any bad intent)
Presume to breake the neighbour Hedges downe,
Or haunt strange Pastures that be not his owne;
He shall be pounded for his lustines,
Vntill his Master finde out some redres.

Also if any proue a Strageller
From his owne fellowes in a forraine field,
He shall be taken for a wanderer,
And forc'd himselfe immediatly to yeeld,
Or with a wyde-mouth'd Mastiue Curre be kild.
And if not claimd within a twelue-month's space,
He shall remaine with Land-lord of the place.

Or if one stray to feede far from the rest,
He shall be pincht by his swift pye-bald Curre;
If any by his fellowes be opprest,
The wronger (for he doth all wrong abhorre)
Shall be well bangd so long as he can sturre.
Because he did anoy his harmeles Brother,
That meant not harme to him nor any other.

And last of all, if any wanton Weather,
With briers and brambles teare his fleece in twaine,
He shall be forc'd t'abide cold frosty weather,
And powring showres of ratling stormes of raine,
Till his new fleece begins to grow againe:
And for his rashnes he is doom'd to goe
without a new Coate all the Winter throw.

Thus doth he keepe them, still in awfull feare,
And yet allowes them liberty inough;
So deare to him their welfare doth appeare,
That when their fleeces gin to waxen rough,
He combs and trims them with a Rampicke bough,
Washing them in the streames of siluer Ladon,
To cleanse their skinnes from all corruption.

Another while he wooes his Country Wench,
(With Chaplets crownd, and gaudy girlonds dight)
Whose burning Lust her modest eye doth quench,
Standing amazed at her heauenly sight,
(Beauty doth rauish Sense with sweet Delight)
Clearing Arcadia with a smoothed Browe
When Sun-bright smiles melts flakes of driuen snowe.

Thus doth he frollicke it each day by day,
And when Night comes drawes homeward to his Coate,
Singing a ligge or merry Roundelay;
(For who sings commonly so merry a Noate,
As he that cannot chop or change a groate)
And in the winter Nights (his chiefe desire)
He turns a Crabbe or Cracknell in the fire.

He leads his Wench a Country Horn-pipe Round, About a May-pole on a Holy-day; Kissing his louely Lasse (with Garlands Crownd) With whoopping heigh-ho singing Care away; Thus doth he passe the merry month of May: And all th'yere after in delight and ioy, (Scorning a King) he cares for no annoy.

What though with simple cheere he homely fares?
He liues content, a King can doo no more;
Nay not so much, for Kings haue manie cares:
But he hath none; except it be that sore
Which yong and old, which vexeth ritch and poore,
The pangs of Loue. O! who can vanquish Loue?
That conquers Kingdomes, and the Gods aboue?

Deepe-wounding Arrow, hart-consuming Fire;
Ruler of Reason, slaue to tyraunt Beautie;
Monarch of harts, Fuell of fond desire,
Prentice to Folly, foe to faind Duetie.
Pledge of true Zeale, Affections moitie;
If thou kilst where thou wilt, and whom it list thee,
(Alas) how can a silly Soule resist thee?

By thee great Collin lost his libertie,
By thee sweet Astrophel forwent his ioy;
By thee Amyntas wept incessantly,
By thee good Rowland liu'd in great annoy;
O cruell, peeuish, vylde, blind-seeing Boy:
How canst thou hit their harts, and yet not see?
(If thou be blinde, as thou art faind to bee).

A Shepheard loues no ill, but onely thee;
He hath no care, but onely by thy causing:
Why doost thou shoot thy cruell shafts at mee?
Giue me some respite, some short time of pausing:
Still my sweet Loue with bitter lucke th'art sawcing:
Oh, if thou hast a minde to shew thy might;
Kill mightie Kings, and not a wretched wight.

Yet (O Enthraller of infranchizd harts)
At my poor hart if thou wilt needs be ayming,
Doo me the fauour, show me both thy Darts,
That I may chuse the best for my harts mayming,
(A free consent is priuiledgd from blaming:)
Then pierce his hard hart with thy golden Arrow,
That thou my wrong, that he may rue my sorrow.

But let mee feele the force of thy lead Pyle,
What should I doo with loue when I am old?
I know not how to flatter, fawne, or smyle;
Then stay thy hand, O cruell Bow-man hold:
For if thou strik'st me with thy dart of gold,
I sweare to thee (by Ioues immortall curse)
I haue more in my hart, than in my purse.

The more I weepe, the more he bends his Bow, For in my hart a golden Shaft I finde: (Cruell, vnkinde) and wilt thou leaue me so? Can no remorce nor pittie moue thy minde? Is Mercie in the Heauens so hard to finde?

Oh, then it is no meruaile that on earth Of kinde Remorce there is so great a dearth.

How happie were a harmles Shepheards life, If he had neuer knowen what Loue did meane; But now fond Loue in euery place is rife, Staining the purest Soule with spots vncleane, Making thicke purses, thin: and fat bodies, leane: Loue is a fiend, a fire, a heauen, a hell; Where pleasure, paine, and sad repentance dwell.

There are so manie Danaes nowadayes,
That loue for lucre; paine for gaine is sold:
No true affection can their fancie please,
Except it be a Ioue, to raine downe gold
Into their laps, which they wyde open hold:
If legem pone comes, he is receau'd,
When Vix haud habeo is of hope bereau'd.

Thus haue I showed in my Countrey vaine
The sweet Content that Shepheards still inioy;
The mickle pleasure, and the little paine
That euer doth awayte the Shepheards Boy:
His hart is neuer troubled with annoy.
He is a King, for he commands his Sheepe;
He knowes no woe, for he doth seldome weepe.

He is a Courtier, for he courts his Loue:
He is a Scholler, for he sings sweet Ditties:
He is a Souldier, for he wounds doth proue;
He is the fame of Townes, the shame of Citties;
He scornes false Fortune, put true Vertue pitties.
He is a Gentleman, because his nature
Is kinde and affable to euerie Creature.

Who would not then a simple Shepheard bee, Rather than be a mightie Monarch made? Since he inioyes such perfect libertie, As neuer can decay, nor neuer fade:

He seldome sits in dolefull Cypresse shade,
But liues in hope, in ioy, in peace, in blisse:
Ioying all ioy with this content of his.

But now good-fortune lands my little Boate
Vpon the shoare of his desired rest:
Now I must leaue (awhile) my rurall noate,
To thinke on him whom my soule loueth best;
He that can make the most vnhappie blest:
In whose sweete lap Ile lay me downe to sleepe,
And neuer wake till Marble-stones shall weepe.



SONNET.



OE here behold these tributarie Teares
Paid to thy faire, but cruell tyrant Eyes;
Loe here the blossome of my youthfull
yeares,

Nipt with the fresh of thy Wraths winter, dyes,

Here on Loues Altar I doo offer vp
This burning hart for my Soules sacrifice;
Here I receaue this deadly-poysned Cu[p]
Of Circe charm'd; wherein deepe Magicke lyes.

Then Teares (if thou be happie Teares indeed),
And Hart (if thou be lodged in his brest),
And Cup (if thou canst helpe despaire with speed);
Teares, Hart, and Cup conjoyne to make me blest:
Teares moue, Hart win, Cup cause, ruth, loue, desire,
In word, in deed, by moane, by zeale, by fire.

FINIS.





THE COMPLAINT

OF CHASTITIE.

Briefely touching the cause of the death of Matilda Fitzwalters an English Ladie; sometime loued of King Iohn, after poysoned. The Storie is at large written by Michael Dreyton.



Ou modest Dames, inricht with Chastitie.

Maske your bright eyes with Vestaes sable
Vaile.

Since few are left so faire or chast as shee; (Matter for me to weepe, you to bewaile): For manie seeming so, of Vertue faile;

Whose louely Cheeks (with rare vermillion tainted)

Can neuer blush because their faire is painted.

O faire-foule Tincture, staine of Woman-kinde, Mother of Mischiefe, Daughter of Deceate, False traitor to the Soule, blot to the Minde, Vsurping Tyrant of true Beauties seate, Right Cousner of the eye, lewd Follies baite, The flag of filthines, the sinke of shame, The Diuells dye, dishonour of thy name. Monster of Art, Bastard of bad Desier, Il-worshipt Idoll, false Imagerie, Ensigne of Vice, to thine owne selfe a lier, Silent Inchaunter, mindes Anatomie, Sly Bawd to Lust, Pandor to Infamie, Slaunder of Truth, Truth of Dissimulation; Staining our Clymate more than anie Nature.

What shall I say to thee? thou scorne of Nature, Blacke spot of sinne, vylde lure of lecherie; Iniurious Blame to euerie faemale creature, Wronger of time, Broker of trecherie, Trap of greene youth, false Womens witcherie, 'Hand-maid of pride, high-way to wickednesse; Yet path-way to Repentance, nere the lesse.

Thou dost entice the minde to dooing euill,
Thou setst dissention twixt the man and wife;
A Saint in show, and yet indeed a deuill:
Thou art the cause of euerie common strife;
Thou art the life of Death, the death of Life!
Thou doost betray thyselfe to Infamie,
When thou art once discernd by the eye.

Ah, little knew Matilda of thy being,
Those times were pure from all impure complection;
Then Loue came at Desert, Desert of seeing,
Then Vertue was the mother of Affection,
(But Beautie now is vnder no subjection),
Then women were the same that men did deeme,
But now they are the same they doo not seeme.

What fæmale now intreated of a King With gold and iewels, pearles and precious stones, Would willingly refuse so sweete a thing? Onely for a little show of Vertue ones? Women haue kindnes grafted in their bones.

Gold is a deepe-perswading Orator, Especially where few the fault abhor. But yet shee rather deadly poyson chose, (Oh cruell Bane of most accursed Clime;)
Than staine that milk-white Mayden-virgin Rose,
Which shee had kept vnspotted till that time:
And not corrupted with this earthly slime
Her soule shall liue: inclosed eternally,
In that pure shrine of Immortality.

This is my Doome: and this shall come to passe, For what are Pleasures but still-vading ioyes? Fading as flowers, brittle as a glasse, Or Potters Clay; crost with the least annoyes; All thinges in this life are but trifling Toyes:

But Fame and Vertue neuer shall decay,
For Fame is Toomblesse, Vertue liues for aye!

FINIS.





Hellens Rape.

OR

A light Lanthorne for light Ladies.

Written in English Hexameters.

Ouely a Lasse, so loued a Lasse, and (alas) such a louing

Lasse, for a while (but a while) was none such a sweet bonny Loue-Lasse

As Helen, Mænelaus louing, lou'd, loulie a loue-lasse,

Till spightfull Fortune from a loue-lasse made her a loue-lesse

Wife. From a wise woman to a witles vvanton abandond, When her mate (vnawares) made warres in Peloponessus, Adultrous Paris (then a Boy) kept sheepe as a shepheard On Ida Mountaine, vnknowne to the King for a Keeper Of sheep, on Ida Mountaine, as a Boy, as a shepheard: Yet such sheep he kept, and was so seemelie a shepheard, Seemlie a Boy, so seemlie a youth, so seemlie a Younker, That on Ida was not such a Boy, such a youth, such a Younker. Sonne now reconcil'd to the Father, fained a letter Sent him by Iupiter (the greatest God in Olympus) For to repaire with speede to the brauest Gracian Hauen,

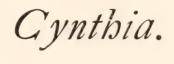
And to redeeme againe Hesyone latelie revolted From Troy by Aiax, whom she had newly betrothed. Well, so well he told his tale to his Aunt Amaryllis That Amaryllis, (his Aunt,) obtaind aid of his aged Syre, that he sent him a ship, and made Capten of Argus. Great store went to Greece with lust-bewitched Alexis, Telamour, and Tydias: with these he sliceth the salt seas, The salt seas slicing, at length he comes to the firme land, Firme land an auntient Iland cald old Lacedæmon. Argus (eye full Earle) when first the ken of a Castle He had spide bespake: (to the Mate, to the men, to the Mates-man) Lo behold of Greece (quoth he) the great Cytadella. (Ycleaped Menela) so tearmed of Deliaes Husband: Habbie Helen, Womens most woonder, beautifull Helen. Oh would God (quoth he) with a flattring Tongue he repeated: Oh would God (quoth he) that I might descrue to be husband To such a happie huswife, to such a beautifull Helen. This he spake to intice the minde of a lecherous young-man: But what spurres need now, for an untam'd Titt to be trotting: Or to add old Oile to the flame, new flaxe to the fier: Paris heard him hard, and gaue good care to his hearkening: And then his love to a lust, his lust was turnd to a fier, Fier was turnd to a flame, and flame was turnd to a burning Brand: and mothers Dreame was then most truelie resolued. Well so far th'are come, that now th'are come to the Castle, Castle all of stone, yet eucry stone vvas a Castle: Euerie foote had a Fort, and eueric Fort had a fountaine, Euerie fountaine a spring, and euerie spring had a spurting Streame: so strong without, within, so stately a building, Neuer afore vvas seene; If neuer afore Polyphæbe Was seene: vvas to be seene, if nere to be seene vvas Olympus. Flovvers vvere framd of flints, Walls, Rubies, Rafters of Argent: Pauement of Chrisolite, Windows contriu'd of a Cristall: Vessels were of gold, with gold was each thing adorned: Golden Webs more worth than a vicalthy Souldan of Egypt, And her selfe more worth than a wealthy Souldan of Egypt:

And her selfe more worth than all the wealth shee possessed;
Selfe? indeede such a selfe, as thundring Ioue in Olympus,
Though he were father could finde in his hart to be husband.
Embassage ended, to the Queene of faire Lacedæmon;
(Happie King of a Queene so faire, of a Countrey so famous)
Embassage ended, a Banquet braue was appointed:
Sweet Repast for a Prince, fine Iunkets fit for a Kings sonne.
Biskets and Carrawayes, Comfets, Tart, Plate, Ielley, Gingerbread.

Lymons and Medlars: and Dishes moe by a thousand. First they fell to the feast, and after fall to a Dauncing, And from a Dance to a Trance, from a Trance they fell to a falling, Either in other armes, and either in armes of another. Pastime ouer-past, and Banquet duely prepared, Denoutly pared: Each one hies home to his owne home, Saue Lord and Ladie; Young Lad, but yet such an old Lad, In such a Ladies lappe, at such a slipperie by-blow, That in a vvorld so vvilde, could not be found such a wilie Lad: in an Age so old, could not be found such an old lad: Old lad, and bold lad, such a Boy, such a lustie Iuuentus: Well to their vvorke they goe, and both they iumble in one Bed: Worke so well they like, that they still like to be vvorking: For Aurora mounts before he leaves to be mounting: And Astræa fades before she faints to be falling: (Helen a light Huswife, now a lightsome starre in Olympus.)

FINIS.





VVITH CER-

taine Sonnets, and the Legend of

Cassandra.

Quod cupio nequeo.

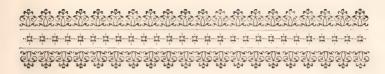


At London,

Printed for Humfrey

Lownes, and are to bee sold at the VVest doore of Paules. 1595.



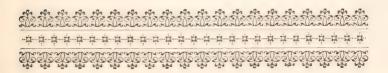


To the Right Honorable, and most noble-minded Lorde, William Stanley, Earle of Darby, &c.

Ight Honorable, the dutifull affection I beare to your manie vertues, is cause, that to manifest my loue to your Lordship, I am constrained to shew my simplenes to the world. Many are they that admire your worth, of the which number, I (though the meanest in abilitie, yet with the formost in affection) am one that most desire to scrue, and onely to serue your Honour.

Small is the gift, but great is my good-will; the which, by how much the lesse I am able to expresse it, by so much the more it is infinite. Line long: and inherit your Predecessors vertues, as you doe their dignitie and estate. This is my wish: the which your honorable excellent giftes doe promise me to obtaine: and whereof these few rude and vnpollished lines, are a true (though an vndescruing) testimony. If my ability were better, the signes should be greater; but being as it is, your honour must take me as I am, not as I should be. My yeares being so young, my perfection cannot be greater: But howsoeuer it is, yours it is; and I my selfe am yours; in all humble service, most ready to be commaunded.

Richard Barnefeilde.



To the curteous Gentlemen Readers.

Entlemen; the last Terme [i.e., November 1594] there came forth a little toy of mine, intituled, The affectionate Shepheard: In the which, his Country Content found such friendly fauor, that it hath incouraged me to publish my second fruites.

The affectionate Shepheard being the first: howsoeuer undeseruedly (I protest) I have beene thought (of some) to have beene the authour of two Books heretofore. I neede not to name them, because they are two-well knowne already: nor will I deny them, because they are dislik't; but because they are not mine. This protestation (I hope) will satisfie th'indifferent: as for them that are maliciously enuious, as I cannot, so I care not to please. Some there were, that did interpret The affectionate Shepheard, otherwise then (in truth) I meant, touching the subject thereof, to wit, the loue of a Shepheard to a boy; a fault, the which I will not excuse, because I neuer made. Onely this, I will vnshaddow my conceit: being nothing else, but an imitation of Virgill, in the second Eglogue of Alexis. In one or two places (in this Booke) I vse the name of Eliza pastorally: wherein, lest any one should misconster my meaning (as I hope none will) I have here briefly discovered my harmeles conceipt as concerning that name: whereof once (in a simple Shepheards deuice) I wrot this Epigramme.

One name there is, which name aboue all other I most esteeme, as time and place shall prove: The one is Vesta, th'other Cupids Mother, The first my Goddesse is, the last my love; Subject to Both I am: to that by berth; To this for beautie; fairest on the earth.

Thus, hoping you will beare with my rude conceit of Cynthia, (if for no other cause, yet, for that it is the first imitation of the verse of that excellent Poet, Maister Spencer, in his Fayrie Queene) I will leave you to the reading of that, which I so much desire may breed your Delight.

T. T. in commendation of the Authour his worke.

Hylom that in a shepheards gray coate masked, (Where masked loue the nonage of his skill)
Reares new Eagle-winged pen, new tasked,
To scale the by-clift Muse sole-pleasing hill:

Dropping sweete Nectar poesie from his quill, Admires faire CYNTHIA with his iuory pen Faire CYNTHIA lou'd, fear'd, of Gods and men.

Downe sliding from that cloudes ore-pearing mounteine:
Decking with double grace the neighbour plaines, [fountain,
Drawes christall dew, from PEGASE foote-sprung
Whose flower set banks, delights, sweet choice containes:
Nere yet discouerd to the country swaines:

Heere bud those branches, which adorne his turtle, With loue made garlands, of heart-bleeding Mirtle.

Rays'd from the cynders, of the thrice-sact towne:
ILLIONS sooth-telling SYBILLIST appeares,
Eclipsing PHOEBUS loue, with scornefull frowne,
Whose tragicke end, affords warme-water teares,
(For pitty-wanting PACOE, none forbeares)
Such period haps, to beauties price ore-priz'd:
Where IANVS-faced loue, doth lurke disguiz'd.

Nere-waining C Y N T H I A yeelds thee triple thankes, Whose beames vnborrowed darke the worlds faire eie And as full streames that euer fill their bankes, So those rare Sonnets, where wits ripe doth lie, With Troian Nimph, doe soare thy fame to skie.

And those, and these, contend thy Muse to raise (Larke mounting Muse) with more then common praise.

ENG. SCH. LIB. No. 14.



To his Mistresse.

Right Starre of Beauty, fairest Faire aliue,
Rare president of peerelesse chastity;
(In whom the Muses and the Graces striue,
VVhich shall possesse the chiefest part of thee:)
Oh let these simple lines accepted bee:
VVhich here I offer at thy sacred shrine:
Sacred, because sweet Beauty is diuine.

And though I cannot please each curious eare,
With sugred Noates of heauenly Harmonie:
Yet if my loue shall to thy selfe appeare,
No other Muse I will inuoke but thee:
And if thou wilt my faire Thalia be,
Ile sing sweet Hymnes and praises to thy name,
In that cleare Temple of eternall Fame.

But ah (alas) how can mine infant Muse
(That neuer heard of Helicon before)
Performe my promise past: when they refuse
Poore Shepheards Plaints? yet will I still adore
Thy sacred Name, al though I write no more:
Yet hope I shall, if this accepted bee:
If not, in silence sleepe eternally.



CYNTHIA.



Ow was the Welkyn all inuelloped
With duskie Mantle of the sable Night:
And CYNTHIA lifting vp her drouping
head.

Blusht at the Beautie of her borrowed light,

When Sleepe now summon'd euery mortal wight,

Then loe (me thought) I saw or seem'd to see, An heauenly Creature like an Angell bright, That in great haste came pacing towards me: Was neuer mortall eye beheld so faire a Shee.

Thou lazie man (quoth she) what mak'st thou heere (Luld in the lap of Honours Enimie?)

I heere commaund thee now for to appeare (By vertue of Ioves mickle Maiestie)

In yonder Wood. (Which with her finger shee Out-poynting) had no sooner turn'd her face, And leauing mee to muze what she should bee, Yuanished into some other place:

But straite (me thought) I saw a rout of heauenlie Race.

Downe in a Dale, hard by a Forrest side,
(Vnder the shaddow of a loftic Pine,)
Not far from whence a trickling streame did glide,
Did nature by her secret art combine,
A pleasant Arbour, of a spreading Vine:
Wherein Art stroue with nature to compaire,
That made it rather seeme a thing divine
Being scituate all in the open Aire:
A fairer nere was seene, if any seene so faire.

There might one see, and yet not see (indeede)
Fresh Flora flourishing in chiefest Prime,
Arrayed all in gay and gorgeous weede,
The Primrose and sweet-smelling Eglantine,
As fitted best beguiling so the time:
And euer as she went she strewd the place,
Red-roses mixt with Daffadillies fine,
For Gods and Goddesses, that in like case
In this same order sat, with il-beseeming grace.

First, in a royall Chaire of massie gold,
(Bard all about with plates of burning steele)
Sat Iupiter most glorious to behold,
And in his hand was placed Fortunes wheele:
The which he often turn'd, and oft did reele.
And next to him, in griefe and gealouzie,
(If sight may censure what the heart doth feele)
In sad lament was placed Mercurie;
That dying seem'd to weep, and weeping seem'd to die.

On th'other side, aboue the other twaine,
(Delighting as it seem'd to sit alone)
Sat Mulciber; in pride and high disdaine,
Mounted on high vpon a stately throne,
And euen with that I heard a deadly grone:
Muzing at this, and such an vncouth sight,
(Not knowing what shoulde make that piteous mone)
I saw three furies, all in Armour dight,
With euery one a Lampe, and euery one a light.

I deemed so; nor was I much deceau'd,
For poured forth in sensuall Delight,
There might I see of Sences quite bereau'd
King Priams Sonne, that Alexander hight
(Wrapt in the Mantle of eternall Night.)
And vnder him, awaiting for his fall,
Sate Shame, here Death, and there sat fel Despight,
That with their Horrour did his heart appall:
Thus was his Blisse to Bale, his Hony turn'd to gall.

In which delight feeding mine hungry eye,
Of two great Goddesses a sight I had,
And after them in wondrous Iollity,
(As one that inly ioy'd, so was she glad)
The Queene of Loue full royallie yclad,
In glistring Gold, and peerelesse precious stone,
There might I spie: and her Companion had,
Proud Paris, Nephew to Laomedon,
That afterward did cause the Death of many a one.

By this the formost melting all in teares,
And rayning downe resolued Pearls in showers,
Gan to approach the place of heauenly Pheares,
And with her weeping, watring all their Bowers,
Throwing sweet Odors on those fading flowers,
At length, she them bespake thus mournfullie.
High *Ioue* (quoth she) and yee Cœlestiall powers,
That here in Iudgement sit twixt her and mee,
Now listen (for a while) and iudge with equitie.

Sporting our selues to day, as wee were woont
(I meane, I, Pallas, and the Queene of Loue.)
Intending with Diana for to hunt,
On Ida Mountaine top our skill to proue,
A golden Ball was trindled from aboue,
And on the Rinde was writ this Poesie,
PVLCHERIMÆ for which a while we stroue,
Each saying shee was fairest of the three,
When loe a shepheards Swaine not far away we see.

I spi'd him first, and spying thus bespake,
Shall yonder Swaine vnfolde the mysterie?
Agreed (quoth Venus) and by Stygian Lake,
To whom he giues the ball so shall it bee:
Nor from his censure will I flie, quoth shee,
(Poynting to Pallas) though I loose the gole.
Thus euery one yplac'd in her degree,
The Shepheard comes, whose partial eies gan role,
And on our beuties look't, and of our beuties stole.

I promis'd wealth, Minerua promised wit, (Shee promis'd wit to him that was vnwise,)
But he (fond foole) had soone refused it,
And minding to bestow that glorious Prize,
On Venus, that with pleasure might suffize
His greedie minde in loose lasciuiousnes:
Vpon a sudden, wanting goode aduice,
Holde heere (quoth he) this golden Ball possesse,
Which Paris giues to thee for meede of worthines,

Thus haue I shew'd the summe of all my sute,
And as a Plaintiffe heere appeale to thee,
And to the rest. Whose folly I impute
To filthie lust, and partialitie,
That made him iudge amisse: and so doo we
(Quoth Pallas, Venus,) nor will I gaine-say,
Although it's mine by right, yet willinglie,
I heere disclaime my title and obey:
When silence being made, Ioue thus began to saie.

Thou Venus, art my darling, thou my deare,
(Minerua,) shee, my sister and my wife:
So that of all a due respect I beare,
Assign'd as one to end this doubtfull strife,
(Touching your forme, your fame, your loue, your life)
Beauty is vaine much like a gloomy light,
And wanting wit is counted but a trife,
Especially when Honour's put to flight:
Thus of a louely, soone becomes a loathly sight.

VVit without wealth is bad, yet counted good, wealth wanting wisdom's worse, yet deem'd as wel, From whence (for ay) doth flow, as from a flood, A pleasant Poyson, and a heavenly Hell, where mortall men do couet still to dwell. Yet one there is to Vertue so inclin'd. That as for Maiesty she beares the Bell. So in the truth who tries her princelie minde, Both Wisdom, Beauty, Wealth, and all in her shall find.

In Westerne world amids the Ocean maine. In compleat Vertue shining like the Sunne, In great Renowne a maiden Queene doth raigne, Whose royall Race, in Ruine first begun, Till Heauens bright Lamps dissolue shall nere be done: In whose faire eies Loue linckt with vertues been. In euerlasting Peace and Vnion. Which sweet Consort in her full well beseeme Of Bounty, and of Beauty fairest Favrie Queene.

And to conclude, the gifts in her yfound. Are all so noble, royall, and so rare, That more and more in her they doe abound; In her most peerelesse Prince without compare, Endowing still her minde with vertuous care: That through the world (so wide) the flying fame, (And Name that Enuies selfe cannot impaire,) Is blown of this faire Queen, this gorgeous dame, Fame borrowing al men's mouths to royalize the same.

And with this sentence Iupiter did end, This is the Pricke (quoth he), this is the praies, To whom, this as a Present I will send, That shameth Cynthia in her siluer Raies, If so you three this deed doe not displease. Then one, and all, and euery one of them, To her that is the honour of her daies, A second Indith in IERVSALEM.

To her we send this Pearle, this Iewell, and this Iem.

Then call'd he vp the winged Mcrcury,

(The mighty Messenger of Gods enrold,)

And bad him hither hastily to hie,

Whom tended by her Nymphes he should behold,
(Like Pearles ycouched all in shining gold.)

And euen with that, from pleasant slumbring sleepe,
(Desiring much these wonders to vnfold)

I wak'ning, when Aurora gan to peepe,
Depriu'd so soone of my sweet Dreame, gan almost weepe.

The Conclusion.

Hus, sacred Virgin, Muse of chastitie,
This difference is betwixt the Moone and thee:
Shee shines by Night; but thou by Day do'st

Shee Monthly changeth; thou dost nere decline:
And as the Sunne, to her, doth lend his light,
So hee, by thee, is onely made so bright:
Yet neither Sun, nor Moone, thou canst be named,
Because thy light hath both their beauties shamed:
Then, since an heauenly Name doth thee befall,
Thou VIRGO art: (if any Signe at all).

FINIS.





[SONNETS.]

SONNET. I.

Porting at fancie, setting light by loue,

There came a theefe, and stole away my
heart,

(And therefore robd me of my chiefest

part)
Yet cannot Reason him a felon proue.
For why his beauty (my hearts thiefe)

affirmeth.

Piercing no skin (the bodies fensiue wall)
And having leave, and free consent withall,
Himselfe not guilty, from love guilty tearmeth,
Conscience the Iudge, twelve Reasons are the Iurie,
They finde mine eies the be[a]utie t' have let in,
And on this verdict given, agreed they bin,
VVherefore, because his beauty did allure yee,
Your Doome is this: in teares still to be drowned,
VVhen his faire forehead with disdain is frowned.

SONNET. II.

E[a] uty and Maiesty are falne at ods,
Th'one claimes his cheeke, the other claimes
his chin;
Then Vertue across and note has title in

Then Vertue comes, and puts her title in.

(Quoth she) I make him like th'immortall Gods.

(Quoth Maiestie) I owne his lookes, his Brow,
His lips, (quoth Loue) his eies, his faire is mine.
And yet (quoth Maiesty) he is not thine,
I mixe Disdaine with Loues congealed Snow.
I, but (quoth Loue) his lockes are mine (by right)
His stately gate is mine (quoth Maiestie,)
And mine (quoth Vertue) is his Modestie.
Thus as they striue about this heauenly wight,
At last the other two to Vertue yeeld,
The lists of Loue, fought in faire Beauties field.

SONNET. III.

That vertue is the chiefest good of all,

The Academicks on Idea call.

The Epicures in pleasure spend their youth,

The Perrepatetickes iudge felicitie,

To be the chiefest good aboue all other,

One man, thinks this: and that conceaues another:

So that in one thing very few agree.

Let Stoicks haue their Vertue if they will,

And all the rest their chiefe-supposed good,

Let cruell Martialists delight in blood,

And Mysers ioy their bags with gold to fill:

My chiefest good, my chiefe felicity,

Is to be gazing on my loues faire eie.

SONNET. IIII.

Wo stars there are in one faire firmament,

(Of some intitled Ganymedes sweet face),

VVhich other stars in brightnes doe disgrace,
As much as Po in clearenes passeth Trent.

As much as Po in clearenes passeth Trent.

Nor are they common natur'd stars: for why,
These stars when other shine vaile their pure light,
And when all other vanish out of sight,
They adde a glory to the worlds great eie.
By these two stars my life is onely led,
In them I place my ioy, in them my pleasure,
Loue's piercing Darts, and Natures precious treasure
With their sweet foode my fainting soule is fed:
Then when my sunne is absent from my sight
How can it chuse (with me) but be dark night?

SONNET. V.

T is reported of faire Thetis Sonne,

(Achilles famous for his chiualry,

His noble minde and magnanimity,)

That when the Troian wars were new begun,

Whos'euer was deepe-wounded with his speare,
Could neuer be recured of his maime,
Nor euer after be made whole againe:
Except with that speares rust he holpen were.
Euen so it fareth with my fortune now,
Who being wounded with his piercing eie,
Must either thereby finde a remedy,
Or els to be releeu'd, I know not how.
Then if thou hast a minde still to annoy me,
Kill me with kisses, if thou wilt destroy me.

SONNET. VI.

Weet Corrall lips, where Nature's treasure lies,
The balme of blisse, the soueraigne salue of sorrow,
The secret touch of loues heart-burning arrow,
Come quench my thirst or els poor Daphnis dies.
One night I dream'd (alas twas but a Dreame)
That I did feele the sweetnes of the same,
Where-with inspir'd, I young againe became,
And from my heart a spring of blood did streame,
But when I wak't, I found it nothing so,
Saue that my limbs (me thought) did waxe more strong
And I more lusty far, and far more yong.
This gift on him rich Nature did bestow.
Then if in dreaming so, I so did speede,
What should I doe, if I did so indeede?

SONNET. VII.

Weet Thames I honour thee, not for thou art

The chiefest Riuer of the fairest Ile,
Nor for thou dost admirers eies beguile,
But for thou hold'st the keeper of my heart,
For on thy waues, (thy Christal-billow'd waues,)
My fairest faire, my siluer Swan is swimming:
Against the sunne his pruned feathers trimming:
Whilst Neptune his faire feete with water laues,
Neptune, I feare not thee, not yet thine eie,
And yet (alas) Apollo lou'd a boy,
And Cyparissus was Siluanus ioy.
No, no, I feare none but faire Thetis, I,
For if she spie my Loue, (alas) aie me,
My mirth is turn'd to extreame miserie.

SONNET. VIII.

Ometimes I wish that I his pillow were,
So might I steale a kisse, and yet not seene,
So might I gaze vpon his sleeping eine,
Although I did it with a panting feare:

But when I well consider how vaine my wish is,
Ah foolish Bees (thinke I) that doe not sucke
His lips for hony; but poore flowers doe plucke
Which haue no sweet in them: when his sole kisses,
Are able to reuiue a dying soule.

Kisse him, but sting him not, for if you doe,
His angry voice your flying will pursue:
But when they heare his tongue, what can controule,
Their back-returne? for then they plaine may see,

How hony combs from his lips dropping bee.

SONNET. IX.

Iana (on a time) walking the wood,

To sport herselfe, of her faire traine forlorne,
Chaunc't for to pricke her foote against a thorne,
And from thence issu'd out a streame of blood.

No sooner shee was vanisht out of sight,
But loues faire Queen came there away by chance,
And having of this hap a glym'ring glance,
She put the blood into a christall bright,
When being now come vnto mount Rhodope,
With her faire hands she formes a shape of Snow,
And blends it with this blood; from whence doth grow
A louely creature, brighter than the Dey.

And being christned in faire *Paphos* shrine, She call'd him *Ganymede*: as all diuine.

SONNET. X.

Hus was my loue, thus was my Ganymed,
(Heauens ioy, worlds wonder, natures fairest
work,

In whose aspect Hope and Dispaire doe lurke)
Made of pure blood in whitest snow yshed,
And for sweete Venus only form'd his face,
And his each member delicately framed,
And last of all faire Ganymede him named,
His limbs (as their Creatrix) her imbrace.
But as for his pure, spotles, vertuous minde,
Because it sprung of chaste Dianaes blood,
(Goddesse of Maides, directresse of all good,)
Hit wholy is to chastity inclinde.
And thus it is: as far as I can proue,
He loues to be beloued, but not to loue.

SONNET XI.

Ighing, and sadly sitting by my Loue,
He ask't the cause of my hearts sorrowing,
Coniuring me by heauens eternall King
To tell the cause which me so much did moue.

Compell'd: (quoth I) to thee will I confesse, Loue is the cause; and only loue it is That doth depriue me of my heauenly blisse.

Loue is the paine that doth my heart oppresse.

And what is she (quoth he) whom thou dos't loue?

Looke in this glasse (quoth I) there shalt thou see

The perfect forme of my fælicitie.

When, thinking that it would strange Magique proue, He open'd it: and taking of the couer, He straight perceau'd himselfe to be my Louer.

SONNET. XII.

Ome talke of Ganymede th' Idalian Boy,
And some of faire Adonis make their boast,
Some talke of him whom louely Læda lost,
And some of Eschaes love that was so soy

And some of Ecchoes loue that was so coy.

They speake by heere-say, I of perfect truth,

They partially commend the persons named,
And for them, sweet Encomions haue framed:

I onely t'him haue sacrifized my youth.

As for those wonders of antiquitie,
And those whom later ages haue inioy'd,
(But ah what hath not cruell death destroide?

Death, that enuies this worlds felicitie),

They were (perhaps) lesse faire then Poets write.

But he is fairer then I can indite.

SONNET. XIII.

Peake Eccho, tell; how may I call my loue? Loue.

But how his Lamps that are so christaline?

Evne.

Oh happy starrs that make your heavens divine: And happy Iems that admiration moue.

How tearm'st his golden tresses wau'd with aire? Haire.

Oh louely haire of your more-louely Maister, Image of loue, faire shape of Alablaster,

Why do'st thou driue thy Louer to dispaire?
How do'st thou cal the bed wher beuty grows?

How do'st thou cal the bed wher beuty grows? Ros
Faire virgine-Rose, whose mayden blossoms couer

The milke-white Lilly, thy imbracing Louer:

Whose kisses makes thee oft thy red to lose.

And blushing oft for shame, when he hath kist thee, He vades away, and thou raing'st where it list thee.

SONNET. XIIII.

Ere, hold this gloue (this milk-white cheueril gloue)
Not quaintly ouer-wrought with curious knots,
Not deckt with golden spangs, nor siluer spots,
Yet wholsome for thy hand as thou shalt proue.
Ah no; (sweet boy) place this gloue neere thy heart,
Weare it, and lodge it still within thy brest,
So shalt thou make me (most vnhappy,) blest.
So shalt thou rid my paine, and ease my smart:
How can that be (perhaps) thou wilt reply,
A gloue is for the hand not for the heart,
Nor can it well be prou'd by common art,
Nor reasons rule. To this, thus answere I:
If thou from gloue do'st take away the g,
Then gloue is loue: and so I send it thee.

SONNET. XV.

[H] fairest Ganymede, disdaine me not,
Though silly Sheepeheard I, presume to loue thee,
Though my harsh songs and Sonnets cannot
moue thee.

Yet to thy beauty is my loue no blot. Apollo, Ioue, and many Gods beside,

S' daind not the name of cuntry shepheards swains, Nor want we pleasure, though we take some pains,

We liue contentedly: a thing call'd pride,

Which so corrupts the Court and euery place, (Each place I meane where learning is neglected, And yet of late, euen learnings selfe's infected)

I know not what it meanes, in any case:
Wee onely (when *Molorchus* gins to peepe)
Learne for to folde, and to vnfold our sheepe.

SONNET. XVI.

Ong haue I long'd to see my Loue againe,
Still haue I wisht, but neuer could obtaine it;
Rather than all the world (if I might gaine it)
Would I desire my loues sweet precious gaine.
Yet in my soule I see him euerie day,
See him, and see his still sterne countenaunce,
But (ah) what is of long continuance,
Where Maiestie and Beautie beares the sway?
Sometimes, when I imagine that I see him,
(As loue is full of foolish fantasies)
VVeening to kisse his lips, as my loues fee's,
I feele but Aire: nothing but Aire to bee him.
Thus with Ixion, kisse I clouds in vaine:
Thus with Ixion, feele I endles paine.

SONNET. XVII.

Herry-lipt Adonis in his snowie shape,

Might not compare with his pure Iuorie white,
On whose faire front a Poets pen may write,
Whose rosiate red excels the crimson grape,
His loue-enticing delicate soft limbs,
Are rarely fram'd t'intrap poore gazing eies:
His cheekes, the Lillie and Carnation dies,
With louely tincture which Apolloes dims.
His lips ripe strawberries in Nectar wet,
His mouth a Hiue, his tongue a hony-combe,
Where Muses (like Bees) make their mansion.
His teeth pure Pearle in blushing Correll set.
Oh how can such a body sinne-procuring,
Be slow to loue, and quicke to hate, enduring?

SONNET. XVIII.

Ot Megabætes nor Cleonymus,

(Of whom great Plutarch makes such mention,
Praysing their faire with rare inuention)

As Ganymede were halfe so beauteous.

They onely pleas'd the eies of two great Kings,
But all the worlde at my loue stands amazed,
Nor one that on his Angels face hath gazed,
But (rauisht with delight) him Presents brings.

Some weaning Lambs, and some a suckling Kyd,
Some Nuts, and fil-beards, others Peares and Plums,
Another with a milk-white Heyfar comes;
As lately Ægons man (Damætas) did:
But neither he, nor all the Nymphs beside,
Can win my Ganymede, with them t'abide.

SONNET. XIX.

H no; nor I my selfe: though my pure loue

(Sweete Ganymede) to thee hath still beene pure,

And euen till my last gaspe shall aie endure,

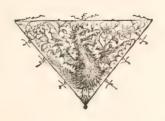
Could euer thy obdurate beuty moue:

Then cease oh Goddesse sonne (for sure thou art,
A Goddesse sonne that canst resist desire)
Cease thy hard heart, and entertaine loues fire,
Within thy sacred breast: by Natures art.
And as I loue thee more then any Creature,
(Loue thee, because thy beautie is divine;
Loue thee, because my selfe, my soule is thine:
Wholie devoted to thy louelie feature),
Euen so of all the vowels, I and V,
Are dearest vnto me, as doth ensue.

SONNET. XX.

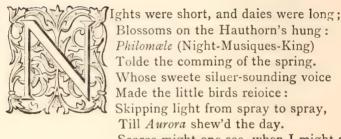
Ut now my Muse toyld with continuall care,
Begins to faint, and slacke her former pace,
Expecting fauour from that heauenly grace,
That maie (in time) her feeble strength repaire.
Till when (sweete youth) th'essence of my soule,
(Thou that dost sit and sing at my hearts griefe.
Thou that dost send thy shepheard no reliefe)
Beholde, these lines; the sonnes of Teares and Dole.
Ah had great Colin chiefe of sheepheards all,
Or gentle Rowland, my professed friend,
Had they thy beautie, or my pennance pend,
Greater had beene thy fame, and lesse my fall:
But since that euerie one cannot be wittie,
Pardon I craue of them, and of thee, pitty.

FINIS.





ANODE.



Blossoms on the Hauthorn's hung: Philomæle (Night-Musiques-King) Tolde the comming of the spring. Whose sweete siluer-sounding voice Made the little birds rejoice: Skipping light from spray to spray, Till Aurora shew'd the day. Scarce might one see, when I might see (For such chaunces sudden bee) By a well of Marble-stone A Shepheard lying all alone. Weepe he did; and his weeping Made the fading flowers spring. Daphnis was his name (I weene) Youngest Swaine of Summers Queene. When Aurora saw 'twas he. Weepe she did for companie: Weepe she did for her sweete sonne That (when antique *Troy* was wonne) Suffer'd death by lucklesse fate, Whom she now laments too late: And each morning (by Cocks crew) Showers downe her siluer dew. Whose teares (falling from their spring) Giue moysture to each liuing thing, That on earth increase and grow,

Through power of their friendlie foe. Whose effect when Flora felt, Teares, that did her bosome melt, (For who can resist teares often, But Shee whom no teares can soften?) Peering straite aboue the banks. Shew'd herselfe to give her thanks. Wondring thus at Natures worke. (Wherein many maruailes lurke) Me thought I heard a dolefull noise. Consorted with a mournfull voice, Drawing nie to heare more plaine, Heare I did, vnto my paine, (For who is not pain'd to heare Him in griefe whom heart holdes deare?) Silly swaine (with griefe ore-gone) Thus to make his piteous mone. Loue I did, (alas the while) Loue I did, but did beguile My deare loue with louing so. (VVhom as then I did not know.) Loue I did the fairest boy, That these fields did ere enjoy. Loue I did, fair Ganymed; (Venus darling, beauties bed:) Him I thought the fairest creature; Him the quintessence of Nature: But vet (alas) I was deceiu'd. (Loue of reason is bereau'd) For since then I saw a Lasse (Lasse) that did in beauty passe, (Passe) faire Ganymede as farre As Phæbus doth the smallest starre. Loue commaunded me to loue: Fancy bade me not remoue My affection from the swaine

Which he cannot graunt the crauer?) Loue at last (though loath) preuailde; (Loue) that so my heart assailde; Whom I neuer could obtaine: (For who can obtaine that fauour, Wounding me with her faire eies, (Ah how Loue can subtelize. And deuize a thousand shifts. How to worke men to his drifts.) Her it is, for whom I mourne: Her, for whom my life I scorne; Her, for whom I weepe all day; Her, for whom I sigh, and say, Either She, or els no creature, Shall enjoy my loue: whose feature Though I neuer can obtaine, Yet shall my true loue remaine: Till (my body turn'd to clay) My poore soule must passe away, To the heauens; where (I hope) Hit shall finde a resting scope: Then since I loued thee (alone) Remember me when I am gone. Scarce had he these last words spoken, But me thought his heart was broken; With great griefe that did abound, (Cares and griefe the heart confound) In whose heart (thus riu'd in three) ELIZA written I might see: In Caracters of crimson blood, (VVhose meaning well I vnderstood.) Which, for my heart might not behold, I hyed me home my sheep to folde.



CASSANDRA.



Pon a gorgious gold embossed bed, [sunne, With Tissue curtaines drawne against the (Which gazers eies into amazement led, So curiously the workmanship was done,)

Lay faire Cassandra, in her snowie smocke, Whose lips the Rubies and the pearles did locke.

And from her Iuory front hung dangling downe,
A bush of long and louely curled haire;
VVhose head impalled with a precious Crowne
Of orient Pearle, made her to seeme more faire:
And yet more faire she hardly could be thought,
Then Loue and Nature in her face had wrought.

By this, young Phæbus rising from the East,
Had tane a view of this rare Paragon:
Wherewith he soone his radiant beames addresst,
And with great ioy her (sleeping) gazed vpon:
Til at the last, through her light cazements cleare,
He stole a kisse; and softly call'd her Deare.

Yet not so softly but (therwith awak't,)
Shee gins to open her faire christall couers,
Wherewith the wounded God, for terror quakt,
(Viewing those darts that kill disdained louers:)
And blushing red to see himselfe so shamed
He scorns his Coach, and his owne beauty blamed.

Now with a trice he leaues the azure skies, (As whilome *Ioue* did at *Europaes* rape,)
And rauisht with her loue-a[l]luring eies,
He turns himselfe into a humane shape:
And that his wish the sooner might ensue,
He sutes himselfe like one of *Venus* crew.

Vpon his head he wore a Hunters hat
Of crimson veluet, spangd with stars of gold,
Which grac'd his louely face: and ouer that
A siluer hatband ritchly to behold:
On his left shoulder hung a loose Tyara,
As whilome vs'd faire Penthesilea.

Faire Penthesilea th'Amazonian Queene,
When she to Troy came with her warlike band,
Of braue Viragoes glorious to be seene;
Whose manlike force no power might withstand:
So look't Apollo in his louely weedes,
As he vnto the Troian Damzell speedes.

Not faire, Adonis in his chiefest pride,
Did seeme more faire, then young Apollo seemed,
When he through th'aire inuisibly did glide,
T'obtaine his Loue, which he Angelike deemed;
Whom finding in her chamber all alone,
He thus begins t'expresse his piteous mone.

O fairest, faire, aboue all faires (quoth hee)
If euer Loue obtained Ladies fauour,
Then shew thy selfe compassionate to me,
Whose head surpriz'd with thy diuine behauior,
Yeelds my selfe captiue to thy conqu'ring eies:
O then shew mercy, do not tyrannize.

Scarce had Apollo vtter'd these last words (Rayning downe pearle from his immortall eies) When she for answere, naught but feare affords, Filling the place with lamentable cries:

But Phæbus fearing much these raging fits,
With sugred kisses sweetely charm'd her lips.

(And tells her softly in her softer eare)
That he a God is, and no mortall creature:
Wherewith abandoning all needlesse feare,
(A common frailtie of weake womans nature)
She boldly askes him of his deitie,
Gracing her question with her wanton eie.

Which charge to him no sooner was assignde,
But taking faire Cassandra by the hand
(The true bewraier of his secrete minde)
He first begins to let her vnderstand,
That he from Demogorgon was descended:
Father of th'Earth, of Gods and men commended.

The tenor of which tale he now recites, Closing each period with a rauisht kisse: Which kindnes, she vnwillingly requites, Conioyning oft her Corrall lips to his: Not that she lou'd the loue of any one; But that she meant to cozen him anone.

Hee briefly t'her relates his pedegree:
The sonne of *Ioue*, sole guider of the sunne,
He that slue *Python* so victoriouslie,
He that the name of wisdomes God hath wonne,
The God of Musique, and of Poetry:
Of Phisicke, Learning, and Chirurgery.

All which he eloquently reckons vp,
That she might know how great a God he was:
And being charm'd with Cupid's golden cup
He partiallie vnto her praise doth passe,
Calling her tipe of honour, Queen of beauty:
To whom all eies owe tributary duety.

I loued once, (quoth hee) aie me I lou'd,
As faire a shape as euer nature framed:
Had she not been so hard t'haue beene remou'd,
By birth a sea-Nymph; cruell Daphne named:
Whom, for shee would not to my will agree,
The Gods transform'd into a Laurell tree.

Ah therefore be not, (with that word he kist her)
Be not (quot[h] he) so proud as Daphne was:
Ne care thou for the anger of my sister,
She cannot, nay she shall not hurt my Cass:
For if she doe, I vow (by dreadfull night)
Neuer againe to lend her of my light.

This said: he sweetly doth imbrace his loue, Yoaking his armes about her Iuory necke: And calls her wanton *Venus* milk-white Doue, VVhose ruddie lips the damaske roses decke. And euer as his tongue compiles her praise, Loue daintie Dimples in her cheekes doth raise.

And meaning now to worke her stratagem Vpon the silly God, that thinks none ill, She hugs him in her armes, and kisses him; (Th'easlyer to intice him to her will.)

And being not able to maintaine the feeld, Thus she begins (or rather seemes) to yeeld.

VVoon with thy words, and rauisht with my beauty,
Loe here Cassandra yeelds her selfe to thee,
Requiring nothing for thy vowed duety,
But only firmnesse, Loue, and secrecy:
Which for that now (euen now) I meane to try thee,
A boone I crave; which thou canst not deny me.

Scarce were these honywords breath'd from her lips, But he, supposing that she ment good-faith, Her filed tongues temptations interceps; And (like a Nouice,) thus to her he saith:

Aske what thou wilt, and I will giue it thee; Health, wealth, long life, wit, art, or dignitie.

Here-with she blushing red, (for shame did adde A crimson tincture to her palish hew,)
Seeming in outward semblance passing glad,
(As one that th'end of her petition knew)
She makes him sweare by vgly Acheron,
That he his promise should performe anon.

Which done: relying on his sacred oath,
She askes of him the gift of prophecie:
He (silent) giues consent: though seeming loath
To grant so much to fraile mortalitie:
But since that he his vowes maie not recall,
He giues to her the sp'rite propheticall.

But she no sooner had obtain'd her wish, VVhen straite vnpris'ning her lasciuiuous armes From his softe bosom (th'aluary of blisse) She chastely counterchecks loues hote alarmes: And fearing lest his presence might offend her, She slips aside; and (absent) doth defend her.

(Muliere ne credas, ne mortuæ quidem.)

Looke how a brightsome Planet in the skie, (Spangling the Welkin with a golden spot) Shootes suddenly from the beholders eie, And leaues him looking there where she is not:

Euen so amazed Phæbus (to descrie her)
Lookes all about, but no where can espie her.

Not th'hungry Lyon, hauing lost his pray, With greater furie runneth through the wood, (Making no signe of momentarie staie, Till he haue satisfi'd himslfe with blood,)

Then angry *Phæbus* mounts into the skie:
Threatning the world with his hot-burning eie.

Now nimbly to his glist'ring Coach he skips,
And churlishlie ascends his loftie chaire,
Yerking his head strong Iades with yron whips,
Whose fearefull neighing ecchoes through the aire,
Snorting out fierie Sulphure from theire nosethrils:
Whose deadly damp the worlds poore people kils.

Him leaue me (for a while) amids the heauens, VVreaking his anger on his sturdie steedes: Whose speedful course the day and night now eeuens, (The earth dis-robed of her summer weedes)

And nowe black-mantled night with her browne vaile, Couers each thing that all the world might quaile.

VVhen loe, Cassandra lying at her rest,
(Her rest were restlesse thoughts:) it so befell,
Her minde with multitude of cares opprest,
Requir'd some sleepe her passions to expell:

VVhich when sad Morpheus will did vnderstand,
He clos'd her eie-lids with his leaden hand.

Now sleepeth shee: and as shee sleepes, beholde; Shee seemes to see the God whom late shee wronged Standing before her; whose fierce looks vnfold, His hidden wrath (to whom iust ire belonged) Seeing, shee sighs, and sighing quak't for feare, To see the shaddow of her shame appeare.

Betwixt amaze and dread as shee thus stands,
The fearefull vision drew more neere vnto her:
Aud pynioning her armes in captiue bands
So sure, that mortall wight may not vndoe her,
He with a bloudy knife (oh cruell part,)
VVith raging fury stabd her to the heart.

Heerewith awaking from her slumbring sleepe, (For feare, and care, are enemies to rest:)
At such time as Aurora gins to peepe
And shew her selfe; far orient in the East:
Shee heard a voice which said: O wicked woman,
Why dost thou stil the gods to vengeance summon?

Thou shalt (indeede) fore-tell of things to come;
And truely, too; (for why my vowes are past)
But heare the end of *Ioucs* eternall doome:
Because thy promise did so little last,
Although thou tell the truth, (this gift I giue thee)
Yet for thy falsehood, no man shall beleeue thee.

And (for thy sake) this pennance I impose
Vpon the remnant of all woman kinde,
For that they be such truth professed foes;
A constant woman shall be hard to finde:
And that all flesh at my dread name may tremble,
When they weep most, then shall they most dissemble.

This said Apollo then: And since that time His words have proved true as Oracles: Whose turning thoughtes ambitiously doe clime To heavens height; and world with lightnes fils: VVhose sex are subject to inconstancie, As other creatures are to destinie.

Yet famous Sabrine on thy banks doth rest
The fairest Maide that euer world admired:
Whose constant minde, with heauenly gifts possest
Makes her rare selfe of all the world desired.
In whose chaste thoughts no vanitie doth enter;
So pure a minde Endymions Love hath lent her.

Queene of my thoughts, but subject of my verse, (Divine Eliza) pardon my defect:
Whose artlesse pen so rudely doth reherse
Thy beauties worth; (for want of due respect)
Oh pardon thou the follies of my youth;
Pardon my faith, my loue, my zeale, my truth.

But to Cassandra now: who having heard
The cruell sentence of the threatning voice;
At length (too late) begins to waxe affeard,
Lamenting much her vnrepentant choice:
And seeing her hard hap without reliefe,
She sheeds salt teares in token of her griefe.

VVhich when Aurora saw, and saw t'was shee, Euen shee her selfe whose far-renowmed fame Made all the world to wonder at her beauty, It mou'd compassion in this ruthfull Dame: And thinking on her Sonnes sad destinie, With mournfull teares she beares her companie.

Great was the mone, which faire Cassandra made:
Greater the kindnesse, which Aurora shew'd:
VVhose sorrow with the sunne began to fade,
And her moist teares on th'earths green grasse bestow'd:
Kissing the flowers with her siluer dew,
VVhose fading beautie, seem'd her case to rew.

Scarce was the louely Easterne Queene departed, From stately *Ilion* (whose proud-reared wals Seem'd to controule the cloudes, till *Vulcan* darted Against their Tower his burning fier-bals)

When sweet *Cassandra* (leauing her soft bed)
In seemely sort her selfe apparelled.

And hearing that her honourable Sire, (Old princely *Pryamus Troy*'s aged King)
Was gone into *Ioucs* Temple, to conspire
Against the *Greekes*, (whom he to war did bring)
Shee, (like a Furie), in a bedlam rage,
Runs gadding thither, his fell wrath t'assuage.

But not preuailing: truely she fore-tolde
The fall of *Troy* (with bold erected face:)
They count her hare-brain'd, mad, and ouer-bold,
To presse in presence in so graue a place:
But in meane season *Paris* he is gone,
To bring destruction on faire *Ilion*.

What, ten-yeeres siedge by force could not subuert, That, two false traitors in one night destroi'd: Who richly guerdon'd for their bad desert, VVas of Æneas but small time inioi'd: VVho, for concealement of Achilles loue, VVas banished; from Ilion to remoue.

King Pryam dead and all the Troians slaine; (His sonnes, his friends and deere confederates) And lots now cast for captiues that remaine, (Whom Death hath spared for more cruell fates) Cassandra then to Agamemnon fell, With whom a Lemman she disdain'd to dwell.

She, weepes; he, wooes; he would, but she would not: He, tell's his birth; shee, pleades virginitie: He saith, selfe-pride doth rarest beauty blot: (And with that word he kist her louingly:)
Shee, yeeldingly resists; he faines to die: Shee, fall's for feare; he, on her feareleslie.

But this braue generall of all the Greekes, VVas quickly foyled at a womans hands, For who so rashly such incounters seekes, Of hard mis-hap in danger euer stands:

Onely chaste thoughts, vertuous abstinence, Gainst such sweet poyson is the sur'st defence.

But who can shun the force of beauties blow?
Who is not rauisht with a louely looke?
Grac'd with a wanton eie, (the hearts dumb show)
Such fish are taken with a siluer hooke:
And when true loue cannot these pearles obtaine
Vnguentum Album is the only meane.

Farre be it from my thought (diuinest Maid)
To have relation to thy heavenly hew,
(In whose sweete voice the Muses are imbaid)
No pen can paint thy commendation due:
Saue only that pen, which no pen can be,
An Angels quill, to make a pen for thee.

But to returne to these vnhappie Louers, (Sleeping securely in each others armes)
VVhose sugred ioies nights sable mantle couers,
Little regarding their ensuing harmes:
VVhich afterward they iointlie both repented:
"Fate is fore-seene, but neuer is preuented."

Which saying to be true, this lucklesse Dame Approved in the sequele of her story:

Now waxing pale, now blushing red (for shame),
She seales her lips with silence (womens glory)
Till Agamemnon vrging her replies,
Thus of his death she truely prophecies.

The day shall come, (quoth she) O dismal daie! When thou by false Ægistus shalt be slaine: Heere could she tell no more; but made a stay. (From further speech as willing to refraine:) Not knowing then, nor little did she thinke, That she with him of that same cup must drinke

But what? (fond man) he laughs her skil to scorne, And iesteth at her divination:

Ah to what vnbeliefe are Princes borne?
(The onely ouer-throw of many a Nation:)

And so it did befall this lucklesse Prince,
Whom all the world hath much lamented since.

Insteede of teares, he smileth at her tale:
Insteede of griefe, he makes great shew of gladnes:
But after blisse, there euer followes bale;
And after mirth, there alwaies commeth sadnes:
But gladnesse, blisse, and mirth had so possest him,
That sadnes, bale, and griefe could not molest him.

Oh cruell Parcæ (quoth Cassandra then)
Why are you Parcæ, yet not mou'd with praier?
Oh small security of mortall men,
That liue on earth, and breathe this vitall aire:
When we laugh most, then are we next to sorrow;
The Birds feede vs to-day, we them to-morrow.

But if the first did little moue his minde, Her later speeches lesse with him preuailed; Who beinge wholy to selfe-will inclinde, Deemes her weake braine with lunacy assailed: And still the more shee councels him to stay, The more he striueth to make haste away.

How on the Seas he scap'd stormes, rocks and sholes, (Seas that enuide the conquest he had wone, Gaping like hell to swallow Greekish soules,)

I heere omit; onely suppose it done:

His storm-tyrde Barke safely brings him to shore,
His whole Fleete els, or suncke or lost before.

Lift vp thy head, thou ashie-cyndred *Troy*,
See the commaunder of thy traitor foes,
That made thy last nights woe, his first daies ioie,
Now gins his night of ioy and daie of woes:
His fall be thy delight, thine was his pride:
As he thee then, so now thou him deride.

He and Cassandra now are set on shore, VVhich he salutes with ioy, she greetes with teares, Currors are sent that poast to Court before, Whose tidings fill th'adultrous Queene with feares, Who with Ægistus in a lust-staind bed, Her selfe, her King, her State dishonored.

She wakes the lecher with a loud-strain'd shrike, Loue-toies they leaue, now doth lament begin: Ile flie (quoth he) but she doth that mislike, Guilt vnto guilt, and sinne she ads to sinne: Shee meanes to kill (immodest loue to couer) A kingly husband, for a caytiue louer.

The peoples ioies, conceiued at his returne,
Their thronging multitudes: their gladsome cries,
Their gleeful hymnes, whiles piles of incense burne:
Their publique shewes, kept at solemnities:
We passe: and tell how King and Queene did meet,

Where he with zeale, she him with guile did greet.

He (noble Lord) fearelesse of hidden treason, Sweetely salutes this weeping Crocodile: Excusing every cause with instant reason That kept him from her sight so long a while: She, faintly pardons him; smiling by Art: (For life was in her lookes, death in her hart.)

For pledge that I am pleas'd receive (quoth shee)
This rich wrought robe, thy Clytennestras toile:
Her ten yeeres worke this day shall honour thee,
For ten yeeres war, and one daies glorious spoile:
Whil'st thou contendedst there, I heere did this:
Weare it my loue, my life, my ioy, my blisse.

Scarce had the Syren said what I haue write, But he (kind Prince) by her milde words misled, Receiu'd the robe, to trie if it were fit; (The robe) that had no issue for his head; Which, whilst he vainly hoped to haue found, Ægistus pierst him with a mortal wound.

Oh how the *Troyan* Damzell was amazed To see so fell and bloudy a Tragedie, Performed in one Act; she naught but gazed, Vpon the picture; whom shee dead did see, Before her face: whose body she emballms, With brennish teares, and sudden deadly qualms.

Faine would she haue fled backe on her swift horse But Clytemnestra bad her be content,
Her time was com'n: now bootelesse vsd she force,
Against so many; whom this Tygresse sent
To apprehend her: who (within one hower
Brought backe againe) was lockt within a Tower.

Now is she ioylesse, friendlesse, and (in fine)
Without all hope of further libertie:
Insteed of cates, cold water was her wine,
And Agamennons corps her meate must be,
Or els she must for hunger starue (poore sole)
What could she do but make great mone and dole.

So darke the dungeon was, wherein she was,
That neither Sunne (by day) nor Mone (by night)
Did shew themselues: and thus it came to passe.
The Sunne denide to lend his glorious light
To such a periur'd wight, or to be seene;
(What neede she light, that ouer-light had bin?)

Now silent night drew on; when all things sleepe,
Saue theeves, and cares; and now stil mid-night came:
When sad Cassandra did naught els but weepe;
Oft calling on her Agamemnons name.
But seeing that the dead did not replie,
Thus she begins to mourne, lament, and crie.

Oh cruell Fortune (mother of despaire,)
Well art thou christen'd with a cruell name:
Since thou regardest not the wise, or faire,
But do'st bestow thy riches (to thy shame)
On fooles and lowly swaines, that care not for thee:
And yet I weepe, and yet thou do'st abhorre me.

Fie on ambition, fie on filthy pride,
The roote of ill, the cause of all my woe:
On whose fraile yee my youth first slipt aside:
And falling downe, receiv'd a fatall blow.
Ah who hath liv'd to see such miserie
As I have done, and yet I cannot die?

I liu'd (quoth she) to see *Troy* set on fire:
I liu'd to see, renowned *Hector* slaine:
I liu'd to see, the shame of my desire:
And yet I liue, to feel my grieuous paine:
Let all young maides example take by me,
To keepe their oathes, and spotlesse chastity.

Happy are they, that neuer liu'd to know
What 'tis to liue in this world happily:
Happy are they which neuer yet felt woe:
Happy are they, that die in infancie:
Whose sins are cancell'd in their mothers wombe:
Whose cradle is their graue, whose lap their tomb.

Here ended shee; and then her teares began,
That (Chorus-like) at every word downe rained.
VVhich like a paire of christall fountaines ran,
Along her louely cheekes: with roses stained:
Which as they wither still (for want of raine)
Those silver showers water them againe.

Now had the poore-mans clock (shrill chauntcleare)
Twice giuen notice of the Mornes approach,
(That then began in glorie to appeare,
Drawne in her stately colour'd saffron-Coach)
VVhen shee (poore Lady) almost turn'd to teares,
Began to teare and rend her golden haires.

Lie there (quoth shee) the workers of my woes
You trifling toies, which my liues staine haue bin:
You, by whose meanes our coines chiefly growes,
Clothing the backe with pride, the soule with sin:
Lie there (quoth shee) the causers of my care;
This said, her robes she all in pieces tare.

Here-with, as weary of her wretched life, (VVhich shee inioy'd with small felicitie)
She ends her fortune with a fatall knife; (First day of ioy, last day of miserie:)
Then why is death accounted Nature's foe, Since death (indeed) is but the end of woe?

For as by death, her bodie was released
From that strong prison made of lime and stone;
Euen so by death her purest soule was eased,
From bodies prison, and from endlesse mone:
VVhere now shee walkes in sweete Elysium
(The place for wrongful Death and Martirdum.)

FINIS.



The Encomion of Lady Pecunia:

The praise of Money.

quærenda pecunia primum est, Virtus post nummos. Horace.

By Richard Barnfeild, Graduate in Oxford.



LONDON,

Printed by G. S. for Iohn Iaggard, and are to be sold at his shoppe neere Temple-barre, at the Signe of the Hand and starre.

1598.





To the Gentlemen Readers.

Entlemen, being incouraged through your gentle acceptance of my Cynthia, I have once more adventured on your Curtesies: hoping to finde you (as I have done heretofore) friendly. Being determined to write of somthing, and yet not resolved of any thing, I considered with my selfe, if one should write of Loue (they will say) why, every one writes of Loue: if of Vertue, why, who regards Vertue? To be short, I could thinke of nothing, but either it was common, or not at all in request. At length I bethought my selfe of a Subject, both new (as having never beene written ypon before) and

pleasing (as I thought) because Mans Nature (commonly) loues to heare that praised, with whose pressence, hee is most pleased.

Erasmus (the glory of Netherland, and the refiner of the

Latin Tongue) wrote a whole Booke, in the prayse of Folly. Then if so excellent a Scholler, writ in praise of Vanity, why may not I write in praise of that which is profitable? There are no two Countreys, where Gold is esteemed, lesse than in *India*, and more then in *England*: the reason is, because the

Indians are barbarous, and our Nation civill.

I have given *Pecunia* the title of a Woman, Both for the termination of the Word, and because (as Women are) shee is lov'd of men. The brauest Voyages in the World, have beene made for Gold: for it, men have venterd (by Sea) to the furthest parts of the Earth: In the Pursute whereof, *Englands Nestor* and *Neptune* (Haukins and Drake) lost their

liues. Vpon the Deathes of the which two, of the first I writ this:

The Waters were his Winding sheete, the Sea was made his Toome; Yet for his fame the Ocean Sea, was not sufficient roome.

Of the latter this:

England his hart; his Corps the Waters haue; And that which raysd his fame, became his grave.

The Prætorians (after the death of Pertinax) in the election of a new Emperour, more esteemed the money of Iulianus, then either the vertue of Seuerus, or the Valour of Pessennius. Then of what great estimation and account, this Lady Pecunia, both hath beene in the Worlde, and is at this present, I leave to your Iudgement. But what speake I so much of her praise in my Epistle, that have commended her so at large in my Booke? To the reading wherof, (Gentlemen) I referre you.



[THE AUTHORS FIRST EPISTLE-DEDICATORY (1605).

[Collated with the Bridgwater House copy.]

ZEd by the swift report of winged Fame,
With siluer trumpet, sounding forth your name
To you I dedicate this merry Muse,
And for my Patron, I your fauour chuse:

She is a Lady, she must be respected:
She is a Queene, she may not be neglected.
This is the shadow, you the substance haue,
Which substance now this shadow seems to crave.

RICHARD BARNFIELD.]



The prayse of Lady Pecunia.



Sing not of Angellica the faire,
(For whom the Palladine of Fraunce fell
mad)

Nor of sweet Rosamond, olde Cliffords heire, (Whose death did make the second Henry sad)

But of the fairest Faire Pecunia, The famous Queene of rich America.

Goddesse of Golde, great Empresse of the Earth, O thou that canst doe all Thinges vnder Heauen: That doost conuert the saddest minde to Mirth; (Of whom the elder Age was quite bereauen) Of thee Ile sing, and in thy Prayse Ile write;

You, you alone, can make my Muse to speake; And tell a golden Tale, with siluer Tongue: You onely can my pleasing silence breake; And adde some Musique, to a merry Songue:

You golden Angels helpe me to indite.

But amongst all the fiue, in Musicks Art, I would not sing the Counter-tenor part.

The Meane is best, and that I meane to keepe; So shall I keepe my selfe from That I meane: Lest with some Others, I be forc'd to weepe, And cry *Peccaui*, in a dolefull Scæne.

But to the matter which I haue in hand, The Lady Regent, both by Sea and Land. When Saturne liu'd, and wore the Kingly Crowne, (And Ioue was yet vnborne, but not vnbred)
This Ladies fame was then of no renowne;
(For Golde was then, no more esteem'd then Lead)
Then Truth and Honesty were onely vs'd,
Siluer and Golde were vtterly refus'd.

But when the Worlde grew wiser in Conceit,
And saw how Men in manners did decline,
How Charitie began to loose her heate,
And One did at anothers good repine,
Then did the Aged, first of all respect her;
And vowd from thenceforth, neuer to reject her.

Thus with the Worlde, her beauty did increase;
And manie Suters had she to obtaine her:
Some sought her in the Wars, and some in peace;
But few of youthfull age, could euer gaine her:
Or if they did, she soone was gone againe;
And would with them, but little while remaine.

For why against the Nature of her Sexe,
(That commonlie dispise the feeble Olde)
Shee, loues olde men; but young men she rejects;
Because to her, their Loue is quicklie colde:
Olde men (like Husbands jealous of their Wiues)
Lock her vp fast, and keepe her as their Liues.

The young man carelesse to maintaine his life,
Neglects her Loue (as though he did abhor her)
Like one that hardly doeth obtaine a wife,
And when he hath her once, he cares not for her:
Shee, seeing that the young man doeth despyse her,
Leaues the franke heart, and flies vnto the Myser.

Hee intertaines her, with a ioyfull hart;
And seemes to rue her vndeserued wrong:
And from his Pressence, she shall neuer part;
Or if shee doo, he thinkes her Absence long:
And oftentimes he sends for her againe,
Whose life without her, cannot long remaine.

And when he hath her, in his owne possession, He locks her in an iron-barred Chest, And doubting somewhat, of the like Transgression, He holds that iron-walled Prison best.

And least some *rusty* sicknesse should infect her, He often visits her, and doeth respect her.

As for the young man (subject vnto sinne)
No maruell though the Diuell doe distresse him;
To tempt mans frailtie, which doth neuer linne,
Who many times, hath not a Crosse to blesse him:
But how can hee incurre the Heauens Curse,
That hath so many Crosses in his Purse?

Hee needes not feare those wicked sprights, that waulke Vnder the Couerture of cole-blacke Night; For why the Diuell still, a Crosse doeth baulke, Because on it, was hangd the Lorde of Light:

But let not Mysers trust to siluer Crosses,

Least in the End, their gaines be turnd to losses.

But what care they, so they may hoorde vp golde?
Either for God, or Diuell, or Heauen, or Hell?
So they may faire Pecuniaes face behold;
And euery Day, their Mounts of Money tell.
What tho to count their Coyne, they neuer blin,
Count they their Coyne, and counts not God their sin?

But what talke I of sinne, to Vsurers?
Or looke for mendment, at a Mysers hand?
Pecunia, hath so many followers,
Bootlesse it is, her Power to with-stand.
King Couetise, and Warinesse his Wife,
The Parents were, that first did giue her Life.

But now vnto her Praise I will proceede,
Which is as ample, as the Worlde is wide:
What great Contentment doth her Pressence breede
In him, that can his wealth with Wysdome guide?
She is the Soueraigne Queene, of all Delights:
For her the Lawyer pleades; the Souldier fights.

For her, the Merchant venters on the Seas:
For her, the Scholler studdies at his Booke:
For her, the Vsurer (with greater ease)
For sillie fishes, layes a siluer hooke:
For her, the Townsman leaves the Countrey Village:
For her, the Plowman gives himselfe to Tillage.

For her, the Gentlemen doeth raise his rents:
For her, the Seruingman attends his maister:
For her, the curious head new toyes inuents:
For her, to Sores, the Surgeon layes his plaister.
In fine for her, each man in his Vocation,
Applies himselfe, in euerie sev'rall Nation.

What can thy hart desire, but thou mayst haue it, If thou hast readie money to disburse? Then thanke thy Fortune, that so freely gaue it; For of all friends, the surest is thy purse.

Friends may proue false, and leaue thee in thy need; But still thy Purse will bee thy friend indeed.

Admit thou come, into a place vnknowne;
And no man knowes, of whence, or what thou art:
If once thy faire *Pecunia*, shee be showne,
Thou art esteem'd a man of great Desart:
And placed at the Tables vpper ende;
Not for thine owne sake, but thy faithfull frende.

But if you want your Ladies louely grace,
And haue not wherewithall to pay your shot,
Your Hostis pressently will step in Place,
You are a Stranger (Sir) I know you not:
By trusting Diuers, I am run in Det;
Therefore of mee, nor meate nor Bed you get.

O who can then, expresse the worthie praise, Which faire *Pecunia* iustly doeth desarue? That can the meanest man, to Honor raise; And feed the soule, that ready is to starue. Affection, which was wont to bee so pure, Against a golden Siege, may not endure.

Witnesse the trade of Mercenary sinne;
(Or Occupation, if thou list to tearme it)
Where faire Pecunia must the suite beginne;
(As common-tride Experience doeth confirme it)
Not Mercury himselfe, with siluer Tongue,
Can so inchaunt, as can a golden Songue.

When nothing could subdue the *Phrygian Troy*, (That Citty through the world so much renowned) *Pecunia* did her vtterly destroy:

And left her fame, in darke Obliuion drowned.

And many Citties since, no lesse in fame,
For Loue of her, haue yeelded to their shame.

What Thing is then, so well belou'd as money?
It is a speciall Comfort to the minde;
More faire then Women are; more sweet then honey:
Easie to loose, but very harde to finde.
In fine, to him, whose Purse beginns to faint,
Golde is a God, and Siluer is a Saint.

The Tyme was once, when Honestie was counted A Demy god; and so esteem'd of all:
But now Pecunia on his Seate is mounted;
Since Honestie in great Disgrace did fall.
No state, no Calling now, doeth him esteeme;
Nor of the other ill, doeth any deeme.

The reason is, because he is so poore:
(And who respects the poore, and needie Creature?)
Still begging of his almes, from Doore to Doore:
All ragd, and torne; and eeke deformed in feature.
In Countinance so changde, that none can know him;
So weake, and every vice doeth overthrow him.

But faire *Pecunia*, (most diuinely bred)
For sundrie shapes, doth *Proteus* selfe surpasse:
In one Lande, she is suted all in Lead;
And in another, she is clad in Brasse:
But still within the Coast of *Albion*,
She euer puts, her best Apparell on.

Siluer and Golde, and nothing else is currant, In Englands, in faire Englands happy Land: All baser sorts of Mettalls, haue no Warrant; Yet secretly they slip, from hand to hand. If any such be tooke, the same is lost, And pressently is nayled on a Post.

Which with Quick-siluer, being flourisht ouer,
Seemes to be perfect Siluer, to the showe:
As Woemens paintings, their defects doe couer,
Vnder this false attyre, so doe they goe.
If on a woollen Cloth, thou rub the same,
Then will it straight beginne to blush, for shame.

If chafed on thy haire, till it be hot,
If it good Siluer bee, the scent is sweete:
If counterfeit, thy chafing hath begot
A ranke-smelt sauour; for a Queene vnmeete:
Pecunia is a Queene, for her Desarts,
And in the Decke, may goe for Queene of harts.

The Queene of harts, because she rules all harts; And hath all harts, obedient to her Will: Whose Bounty, fame vnto the Worlde imparts; And with her glory, all the Worlde doeth fill: The Queene of Diamonds, she cannot bee; There is but one, ELIZA, thou art shee.

And thou art shee, O sacred Soueraigne;
Whom God hath helpt with his Al-mighty hand:
Blessing thy People, with thy peacefull raigne;
And made this little Land, a happy Land:
May all those liue, that wish long life to thee,
And all the rest, perish eternally.

Thy tyme was once, when faire *Pecunia*, here Did basely goe attyred all in Leather:
But since her raigne, she neuer did appeere
But richly clad; in Golde, or Siluer either:
Nor reason is it, that her Golden raigne
With baser Coyne, eclypsed should remaine.

And as the Coyne, she hath repurifyde,
From baser substance, to the purest Mettels:
Religion so, hath shee refinde beside,
From Papistrie, to Truth; which daily settles
Within her Peoples harts; though some there bee,
That cleaue vnto their wonted Papistrie.

No flocke of sheepe, but some are still infected:
No peece of Lawne so pure, but hath some fret:
All buildings are not strong, that are erected:
All Plants proue not, that in good ground are set:
Some tares are sowne, amongst the choicest seed:
No garden can be cleaned of every Weede.

But now to her, whose praise is her pretended, (Diuine Pecunia) fairer then the morne:
Which cannot be sufficiently commended;
Whose Sun-bright Beauty doeth the Worlde adorne,
Adorns the World, but specially the Purse;
Without whose pressence, nothing can be worse.

Not faire Hæsione (King of Priams sister)
Did euer showe more Beauty, in her face,
Then can this louely Lady, if it list her
To showe her selfe; admir'd for comely grace:
Which neither Age can weare, nor Tyme conclude;
For why, her Beauty yeerely is renude.

New Coyne is coynd each yeare, within the Tower; So that her Beauty neuer can decay:
Which to resist, no mortall man hath Power,
When as she doeth her glorious Beames display.
Nor doeth *Pecunia*, onely please the eie,
But charms the eare, with heauenly Harmonie.

Lyke to an other *Orpheus*, can she play Vpon her *treble Harpe*, whose siluer sound Inchaunts the eare, and steales the hart away: Nor hardly can deceit, therein be found.

Although such Musique, some a Shilling cost, Yet is it worth but *Nine-pence*, at the most.

Had I the sweet inchaunting Tongue of Tully,
That charmd the hearers, lyke the Syrens Song;
Yet could I not describe the Prayses fully,
Which to Pecunia iustly doe belong.
Let it suffice, her Beauty doeth excell:
Whose praise no Pen can paint, no Tongue can tell.

Then how shall I describe, with artlesse Pen,
The praise of her, whose praise, all praise surmounteth?
Breeding amazement, in the mindes of men:
Of whom, this pressent Age to much accounteth.
Varietie of Words, would sooner want,
Then store of plentious matter, would be scant.

Whether yee list, to looke into the Citty:
(Where money tempts the poore Beholders eye)
Or to the Countrey Townes, deuoyde of Pitty:
(Where to the poore, each place doeth almes denye)
All Thinges for money now, are bought and solde,
That either hart can thinke, or eie beholde.

Nay more for money (as report doeth tell)
Thou mayst obteine a Pardon for thy sinnes:
The Pope of Rome, for money will it sell;
(Whereby thy soule, no small saluation winnes)
But how can hee, (of Pride the chiefe Beginner)
Forgiue thy sinnes, that is himselfe a sinner?

Then, sith the Pope is subject vnto sinne,
No maruell tho, diuine *Pecunia* tempt him,
With her faire Beauty; whose good-will to winne,
Each one contends; and shall we then exempt him.
Did neuer mortall man, yet looke vpon her,
But straightwaies he became, enamourd on her.

Yet would I wish, the Wight that loues her so, And hath obtain'd, the like good-will againe, To vse her wisely, lest she proue his foe; And so, in stead of Pleasure, breed his paine.

She may be kyst; but shee must not be clypt:
Lest such Delight in bitter gall be dypt.

The iuyce of grapes, which is a soueraigne Thing To cheere the hart, and to reuiue the spirits; Being vsde immoderatly (in surfetting)
Rather Dispraise, then commendation merits:
Euen so Pecunia, is, as shee is vsed;
Good of her selfe, but bad if once abused.

With her, the Tenant payes his Landlords rent:
On her, depends the stay of euery state:
To her, rich Pressents euery day are sent:
In her, it rests to end all dire Debate:
Through her, to Wealth, is raisd the Countrey Boore:
From her, proceedes much proffit to the poore.

Then how can I, sufficiently commend,
Her Beauties worth, which makes the World to wonder?
Or end her prayse, whose prayses haue no End?
Whose absence brings the stoutest stomack vnder:
Let it suffice, Pecunia hath no peere;
No Wight, no Beauty held; more faire, more deere.

FINIS.

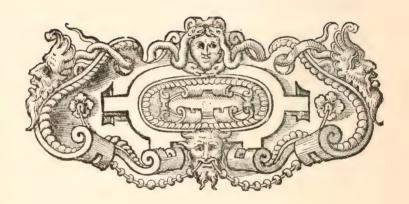


His Prayer to Pecunia.

Reat Lady, sith I have complyde thy Prayse,
(According to my skill and not thy merit:)

And sought thy Fame about the starrs to rayse;
(Had I sweete Ovids vaine, or Virgils spirit)

I craue no more but this, for my good will,
That in my Want, thou wilt supplye me still.



THE

Complaint of Poetrie, for the Death of Liberalitie.

Viuit post funera virtus.



LONDON,

Printed by G. S. for Iohn Iaggard, and are to be solde at his shoppe neere Temple-barre, at the Signe of the Hand and starre.

1598.





To his Worshipfull wel-willer, Maister Edward Leigh, of Grayes Inne.

Mage of that, whose losse is here lamented;
(In whom, so many vertues are containd)
Daine to accept, what I have novv presented.
Though Bounties death, herein be not fained,
In your mind, she not review (with speed)
Then will I sweare, that shee is dead indeed.





THE COMPLAINT OF Poetrie, for the Death of Liberalitie.



Eepe Heauens now, for you have lost your light;

Ye Sunne and Moone, beare witnes of my

The cleere is turnd to clouds; the day to night:

And all my hope, and all my ioy is gone:

Bounty is dead, the cause of my annoy;

Bounty is dead, and with her dide my ioy.

O who can comfort my afflicted soule?
Or adde some ende to my increasing sorrowes?
Who can deliuer me from endlesse dole?
(Which from my hart eternall torment borrowes.)
When Bounty liu'd, I bore the Bell away;
When Bounty dide, my credit did decay.

I neuer then, did write one verse in vaine;
Nor euer went my Poems vnregarded:
Then did each Noble breast, me intertaine,
And for my Labours I was well rewarded:
But now Good wordes, are stept in Bounties place,
Thinking thereby, her glorie to disgrace.

But who can liue with words, in these hard tymes? (Although they came from *Iupiter* himselfe?) Or who can take such Paiment, for his Rymes? (When nothing now, is so esteem'd as Pelfe?) Tis not *Good wordes*, that can a man maintaine; Wordes are but winde; and winde is all but vaine.

Where is Mecanas, Learnings noble Patron?
(That Maroes Muse, with Bountie so did cherish?)
Or faire Zenobia, that worthy Matron?
(Whose name, for Learnings Loue, shall neuer perish)
What tho their Bodies, lie full lowe in graue,
Their fame the worlde; their souls the Heauens haue.

Vile Auaricia, how hast thou inchaunted
The Noble mindes, of great and mightie Men?
Or what infernall furie late hath haunted
Their niggard purses? (to the learned pen)
Was it Augustus wealth, or noble minde,
That euerlasting fame, to him assinde?

If wealth? Why Cræsus was more rich then hee; (Yet Cræsus glorie, with his life did end)
It was his Noble mind, that moued mee
To write his praise, and eeke his Acts commend.
Who ere had heard, of Alexanders fame,
If Quintus Curtius had not pend the same?

Then sith by mee, their deedes have been declared, (Which else had perisht with their lives decay) Who to augment their glories, have not spared To crowne their browes, with neuer-fading Bay:

What Art deserves such Liberalitie,
As doeth the peerlesse Art of Poetrie?

But Liberalitie is dead and gone:
And Auarice vsurps true Bounties seat.
For her it is, I make this endlesse mone,
(Whose praises worth no men can well repeat.
Sweet Liberalitie adiew for euer,
For Poetrie againe, shall see thee neuer.

Neuer againe, shall I thy presence see:
Neuer againe, shal I thy bountie tast:
Neuer againe, shal I accepted bee:
Neuer againe, shall I be so embrac't:
Neuer againe, shall I the bad recall:
Neuer againe, shall I be lou'd of all:

Thou wast the Nurse, whose Bountie gaue me sucke:
Thou wast the Sunne, whose beames did lend me light:
Thou wast the Tree, whose fruit I still did plucke:
Thou wast the Patron, to maintaine my right:
Through thee I liu'd; on thee I did relie;
In thee I ioy'd; and now for thee I die.

What man, hath lately lost a faithfull frend? Or Husband, is depriued of his Wife? But doth his after-daies in dolour spend? (Leading a loathsome, discontented life?)

Dearer then friend, or wife, haue I forgone;

Then maruell not, although I make such mone.

Faire Philomela, cease thy sad complaint;
And lend thine eares, vnto my dolefull Ditty:
(Whose soule with sorrowe, now begins to faint,
And yet I cannot moue mens hearts to pitty:)
Thy woes are light, compared vnto mine:
You waterie Nymphes, to mee your plaints resigne.

And thou Melpomene, (the Muse of Death)
That neuer sing'st, but in a dolefull straine;
Sith cruell Destinie hath stopt her breath,
(Who whilst she liu'd, was Vertues Soueraigne
Leaue Hellicon, (whose bankes so pleasant bee)
And beare a part of sorrowe now with mee.

The Trees (for sorrowe) shead their fading Leaues, And weepe out gum, in stead of other teares; Comfort nor ioy, no Creature now conceiues, To chirpe and sing, each little bird forbeares.

The sillie Sheepe, hangs downe his drooping head, And all because, that Bounty she is dead.

The greater that I feele my griefe to be,
The lesser able, am I to expresse it;
Such is the nature of extremitie,
The heart it som-thing eases, to confesse it.
Therefore Ile wake my muse, amidst her sleeping,
And what I want in wordes, supplie with weeping.

Weepe still mine eies, a Riuer full of Teares,
To drowne my Sorrowe in, that so molests me;
And rid my head of cares; my thoughts of feares:
Exiling sweet Content, that so detests me.
But ah (alas) my Teares are almost dun,
And yet my griefe, it is but new begun.

Euen as the Sunne, when as it leaues our sight, Doth shine with those Antipodes, beneath vs; Lending the other worlde her glorious light, And dismall Darknesse, onely doeth bequeath vs: Euen so sweet Bountic, seeming dead to mee, Liues now to none, but smooth-Tongd Flatterie.

O Adulation, Canker-worme of Truth;
The flattring Glasse of Pride, and Self-conceit:
(Making olde wrinkled Age, appeare like youth)
Dissimulations Maske, and follies Beate:
Pittie it is, that thou art so rewarded,
Whilst Truth and Honestie, goe vnregarded.

O that Nobilitie, it selfe should staine,
In being bountifull, to such vile Creatures:
Who, when they flatter most, then most they faine;
Knowing what humor best, will fit their Natures.
What man so mad, that knowes himselfe but pore,
And will beleeue that he hath riches store.

Vpon a time, the craftie Foxe did flatter
The foolish Pye (whose mouth was full of meate)
The Pye beleeuing him, began to chatter,
And sing for ioy, (not having list to eate)
And whil'st the foolish Pye, her meate let fall,
The craftie Foxe, did runne awaie with all.

Terence describeth vnder Gnatoes name,
The right conditions of a Parasyte:
(And with such Eloquence, sets foorth the same,
As doeth the learned Reader much delyght)
Shewing, that such a Sycophant as Gnato,
In more esteem'd, then twentie such a Plato.

Bounty looke backe, vpon thy goods mispent;
And thinke how ill, thou hast bestow'd thy mony:
Consider not their wordes, but their intent;
Their hearts are gall, although their tongues be hony:
They speake not as they thinke, but all is fained,
And onely to th'intent to be maintained.

And herein happie, I areade the poore;
No flattring Spanyels, fawne on them for meate:
The reason is, because the Countrey Boore
Hath little enough, for himselfe to eate:
No man will flatter him, except himselfe;
And why? because hee hath no store of wealth.

But sure it is not Liberalitie
That doeth reward these fawning smel-feasts so:
It is the vice of Prodigalitie,
That doeth the Bankers of Bounty over-flo:
Bounty is dead: yea so it needes must bee;
Or if aliue, yet is shee dead to mee.

Therefore as one, whose friend is lately dead, I will bewaile the death, of my deere frend; Vppon whose Tombe, ten thousand Teares Ile shead, Till drearie Death, of mee shall make an end:

Or if she want a Toombe, to her desart, Oh then, Ile burie her within my hart.

But (Bounty) if thou loue a Tombe of stone, Oh then seeke out, a hard and stonie hart: For were mine so, yet would it melt with mone, And all because, that I with thee must part. Then, if a stonie hart must thee interr, Goe finde a Step-dame, or a Vsurer. And sith there dies no Wight, of great account,
But hath an Epitaph compos'd by mee,
Bounty, that did all other far surmount,
Vpon her Tombe, this Epitaph shall bee:
Here lies the Wight, that Learning did maintaine,
And at the last, by AVARICE was slaine.

Vile Auarice, why hast thou kildd my Deare?
And robd the World, of such a worthy Treasure?
In whome no sparke of goodnesse doth appeare,
So greedie is thy mind, without all measure,
Thy death, from Death did merit to release her:
The Murtherers deseru'd to die, not Caesar.

The Merchants wife; the Tender-hearted Mother
That leaves her loue; whose Sonne is prest for warre;
(Resting, the one; as woefull as the other;)
Hopes met at length, when ended is the iarre,
To see her Husband; see her Sonne again;
"Were it not then for Hope, the hart were slaine."

But I, whose hope is turned to despaire
Nere looke to see my dearest Deare againe:
Then Pleasure sit thou downe, in Sorrowes Chaire,
And (for a while) thy wonted Mirth refraine.
Bounty is dead, that whylome was my Treasure,
Bounty is dead, my joy and onely pleasure.

If Pythias death, of Damon were bewailed;
Or Pillades did rue, Orestes ende:
If Hercules, for Hylas losse were quailed;
Or Theseus, for Pyrithous Teares did spende:
When doe I mourne for Bounty, being dead:
Who liuing, was my hand, my hart, my head.

My hand, to helpe mee, in my greatest need:
My hart, to comfort mee, in my distresse:
My head, whom onely I obeyd, indeed:
If she were such, how can my griefe be lesse?
Perhaps my wordes, may pierce the Parcæ's eares;
If not with wordes, Ile moue them with my teares.

But ah (alas) my Teares are spent in vaine, (For she is dead, and I am left aliue)
Teares cannot call, sweet Bounty backe againe;
Then why doe I, gainst Fate and Fortune striue?
And for her death, thus weepe, lament, and crie;
Sith euery mortall wight, is borne to die.

But as the woefull mother doeth lament,
Her tender babe, with cruell Death opprest:
Whose life was spotlesse, pure, and innocent,
(And therefore sure, it[s] soule is gone to rest)
So Bountie, which her selfe did vpright keepe,
Yet for her losse, loue cannot chuse but weepe.

The losse of her, is losse to many a one:
The losse of her, is losse vnto the poore:
And therefore not a losse, to mee alone,
But vnto such, as goe from Doore to Doore.
Her losse, is losse vnto the fatherlesse;
And vnto all, that are in great distresse.

The maimed Souldier, comming from the warre, The woefull wight, whose house was lately burnd; The sillie soule; the wofull Traueylar; And all, whom Fortune at her feet hath spurnd; Lament the losse of Liberalitie:

"Its ease, to haue in griefe some Companie."

The Wife of Hector (sad Andromache)
Did not bewaile, her husbands death alone:
But (sith he was the Troians onely stay)
The wives of Troy (for him) made æquall mone.
Shee, shead the teares of Loue; and they of pittie:
Shee, for her deare dead Lord; they, for their Cittie.

Nor is the Death of Liberalitie,
(Although my griefe be greater than the rest)
Onely lamented, and bewaild of mee;
(And yet of mee, she was beloued best)
But, sith she was so bountifull to all,
She is lamented, both of great and small.

O that my Teares could moue the powres diuine, That Bountie might be called from the dead:
As Pitty pierc'd the hart of Proserpine;
Who (moued with the Teares Admetus shead)
Did sende him backe againe, his louing Wife;
Who lost her owne, to saue her husbands life.

Impartiall Parcæ, will no prayers moue you?
Can Creatures so diuine, haue stony harts?
Haplesse are they, whose hap it is to proue you,
For you respect no Creatures good Desarts.
O Atropos, (the cruelst of the three)
Why hast thou tane, my faithfull friend from mee?

But ah, she cannot (or shee will not) heare me,
Or if shee doo, yet may not she repent her:
Then come (sweet Death) O why doest thou forbeare me?
Aye mee! thy Dart is blunt, it will not enter.
Oh now I knowe the cause, and reason why;
I am immortall, and I cannot dye.

So Cytheraa would have dide, but could not; When faire Adonis by her side lay slaine: So I desire the Sisters, what I should not; For why (alas) I wish for Death in vaine; Death is their servant, and obeys their will; And if they bid him spare, he cannot kill.

Oh would I were, as other Creatures are;
Then would I die, and so my griefe were ended:
But Death (against my will) my life doeth spare;
(So little with the fates I am befrended)
Sith, when I would, thou doost my sute denie,
Vile Tyrant, when thou wilt, I will not die.

And Bounty, though her body thou hast slaine,
Yet shall her memorie remaine for euer:
For euer, shall her memorie remaine;
Whereof no spitefull Fortune can bereaue her.
Then Sorrowe cease, and wipe thy weeping eye;
For Fame shall liue, when all the World shall dye.



THE

Combat, betweene

Conscience and Couetousnesse, in the minde of Man.

quid non mortalia pectora cogis Auri sacra fames? Virgil.



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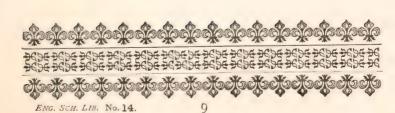




To his Worshipfull good friend,

Maister Iohn Steuenton, of Dothill, in the County of Salop, Esquire.

O let her in the Countrey, finde some Pitty:
But if she be exilde, the Countrey too,
O let her finde, some fauour yet of you.





The Combat betweene Conscience and Couetousnesse in the mind of Man.



Ow had the cole-blacke steedes, of pitchie Night,

(Breathing out Darknesse) banisht cheerfull Light,

And sleepe (the shaddowe of eternall rest) My seuerall senses, wholy had possest. When loe, there was presented to my view, A vision strange, yet not so strange, as true.

Conscience (me thought) appeared vnto mee, Cloth'd with good Deedes, with Trueth and Honestie, Her countinance demure, and sober sad, Nor any other Ornament shee had. Then Couetousnesse did incounter her, Clad in a Cassock, lyke a Vsurer, The Cassock, it was made of poore-mens skinnes, Lac'd here and there, with many seuerall sinnes: Nor was it furd, with any common furre; Or if it were, himselfe hee was the fur. A Bag of money, in his hande he helde, The which with hungry eie, he still behelde. The place wherein this vision first began, (A spacious plaine) was cald The Minde of Man. The Carle no sooner, Conscience had espyde, But swelling lyke a Toade, (puft vp with pryde)

He straight began against her to inuey: These were the wordes, which Couetise did sev. Conscience (quoth hee) how dar'st thou bee so bold, To claime the place, that I by right doe hold? Neither by right, nor might, thou canst obtaine it: By might (thou knowst full well) thou canst not gaine it The greatest Princes are my followars, The King in Peace, the Captaine in the Warres: The Courtier, and the simple Countrey-man: The Iudge, the Merchant, and the Gentleman: The learned Lawyer, and the Politician: The skilfull Surgeon, and the fine Physician: In briefe, all sortes of men mee entertaine. And hold mee, as their Soules sole Soueraigne, And in my quarrell, they will fight and die. Rather then I should suffer injurie. And as for title, interest, and right, Ile proue its mine by that, as well as might, Though Couetousnesse, were vsed long before, Yet Iudas Treason, made my Fame the more; When Christ he caused, crucifyde to bee, For thirtie pence, man solde his minde to mee: And now adaies, what tenure is more free, Than that which purchas'd is, with Gold and fee?

Conscience.

With patience, haue I heard thy large Complaint, Wherein the Diuell, would be thought a Saint: But wot ye what, the Saying is of olde? One tale is good, vntill anothers tolde. Truth is the right, that I must stand vpon, (For other title, hath poore Conscience none) First I will proue it, by Antiquitie, That thou art but an vp-start, vnto mee; Before that thou wast euer thought vpon, The minde of Man, belongd to mee alone. For after that the Lord, hath Man created, And him in blisse-full Paradice had seated; (Knowing his Nature was to vice inclynde) God gaue me vnto man, to rule his mynde, And as it were, his Gouernour to bee,

To guide his minde, in Trueth, and Honestie. And where thou sayst, that man did sell his soule; That Argument, I quicklie can controule: It is a fayned fable, thou doost tell, That, which is not his owne, he cannot sell; No man can sell his soule, altho he thought it: Mans soule is *Christs*, for hee hath dearely bought it. Therefore vsurping *Couetise*, be gone. For why, the minde belongs to mee alone.

Couetousnesse.

Alas poore Conscience, how thou art deceav'd? As though of senses, thou wert quite bereaud. What wilt thou say (that thinkst thou canst not erre) If I can proue my selfe the ancienter? Though into Adams minde, God did infuse thee, Before his fall, yet man did neuer vse thee. What was it else, but Aurice in Eue, (Thinking thereby, in greater Blisse to liue) That made her taste, of the forbidden fruite? Of her Desier, was not I the roote? Did she not couet? (tempted by the Deuill) The Apple of the Tree, of good and euill? Before man vsed Conscience, she did couet: Therefore by her Transgression, here I proue it. That Couetousnesse possest the minde of man, Before that any Conscience began.

Conscience.

Euen as a counterfeited precious stone,
Seemes to bee far more rich, to looke vpon,
Then doeth the right: But when a man comes neere,
His baseness then, doeth euident appeere:
So Couctise, the Reasons thou doost tell,
Seeme to be strong, but being weighed well,
They are indeed, but onely meere Illusions,
And doe inforce but very weake Conclusions.
When as the Lord (fore-knowing his offence)
Had given man a Charge, of Abstinence,
And to refraine, the fruite of good and ill:
Man had a Conscience, to obey his will,

And neuer would be tempted thereunto,
Vntill the Woeman, shee, did worke man woe.
And make him breake, the Lords Commaundement,
Which all Mankinde, did afterward repent:
So that thou seest, thy Argument is vaine,
And I am prov'd, the elder of the twaine.

Couetousnesse.

Fond Wretch, it was not Conscience, but feare, That made the first man (Adam) to forbeare To tast the fruite, of the forbidden Tree, Lest, if offending hee were found to bee, (According as Iehouah saide on hye, For his so great Transgression, hee should dye.) Feare curbd his minde, it was not Conscience then, (For Conscience freely, rules the harts of men) And is a godly motion of the mynde, To euerie vertuous action inclynde, And not enforc'd, through feare of Punishment, But is to vertue, voluntary bent:

Then (simple Trul) be packing presentlie, For in this place, there is no roome for thee.

Conscience.

Ave mee (distressed Wight) what shall I doe? Where shall I rest? Or whither shall I goe? Vnto the rich? (woes mee) they, doe abhor me: Vnto the poore? (alas) they, care not for me: Vnto the Olde-man? hee; hath mee forgot: Vnto the Young-man? yet hee, knowes me not: Vnto the Prince? hee; can dispence with me: Vnto the Magistrate? that, may not bee: Vnto the Court? for it, I am too base: Vnto the Countrey? there, I have no place: Vnto the Citty? thence; I am exilde: Vnto the Village? there; I am reuilde: Vnto the Barre? the Lawyer there, is bribed? Vnto the Warre? there, Conscience is derided: Vnto the Temple? there, I am disguised: Vnto the Market? there, I am dispised: Thus both the young and olde, the rich and poore, Against mee (silly Creature) shut their doore. Then, sith each one seekes my rebuke and shame, Ile goe againe to Heauen (from whence I came.)

This saide (me thought) making exceeding mone, She went her way, and left the Carle alone, Who vaunting of his late-got victorie, Aduanc'd himselfe in pompe and Maiestie: Much like a Cocke, who having kild his foe, Brisks vp himselfe, and then begins to crow. So Couetise, when Conscience was departed, Gan to be proud in minde, and hauty harted: And in a stately Chayre of state he set him, (For Conscience banisht) there are none to let him. And being but one entrie, to this Plaine, (Whereof as king and Lord, he did remaine) Repentance cald, he caused that to be kept, Lest Conscience should returne, whilst as he slept: Wherefore he causd it, to be watcht and warded Both night and Day, and to be strongly guarded: To keepe it safe, these three he did intreat, Hardnesse of hart, with Falshood and Deceat: And if at any time, she chaunc'd to venter, Hardnesse of hart, denide her still to enter. When Conscience was exilde the minde of Man, Then Couetise, his gouernment began. This once being seene, what I had seene before, (Being onely seene in sleepe) was seene no more; For with the sorrowe, which my Soule did take At sight hereof, foorthwith I did awake.

FINIS.



Poems:

In diuers humors.

Trabit sua quemque voluptas. Virgil.



LONDON,

Printed by G. S. for Iohn Iaggard, and are to be solde at his shoppe neere Temple-barre, at the Signe of the Hand and starre.





To the learned, and accomplisht Gentleman,

Maister Nicholas Blackleech, of Grayes Inne.

O you, that know the tuch of true Conceat;

(Whose many gifts I neede not to repeat)

I vvrite these Lines; fruits of vnriper yeares;

Wherein my Muse no harder censure feares:

Hoping in gentle Worth, you will them take;

Not for the gift, but for the giuers sake.





SONNET. I.

To his friend Maister R. L. In praise of Musique and Poetrie.



F Musique and sweet Poetrie agree,
As they must needes (the Sister and the
Brother)

Then must the Loue be great, twixt thee and mee,

Because thou lou'st the one, and I the other.

Dowland to thee is deare; whose heauenly tuch Vpon the Lute, doeth rauish humaine sense:

Spenser to mee; whose deepe Conceit is such,
As passing all Conceit, needs no defence.
Thou lou'st to heare the sweete melodious sound,
That Phæbus Lute (the Queene of Musique) makes:
And I in deepe Delight am chiefly drownd,
When as himselfe to singing he betakes.

One God is God of Both (as Poets faigne)
One Knight loues Both, and Both in thee remaine.

SONNET. II.

Against the Dispraysers of Poetrie.

Haucer is dead; and Gower lyes in grave;
The Earle of Surrey, long agoe is gone;
Sir Philip Sidncis soule, the Heauens haue;
George Gascoigne him beforne, was tomb'd in stone.

Yet, tho their Bodies lye full low in ground, (As euery thing must dye, that earst was borne) Their liuing fame, no Fortune can confound; Nor euer shall their Labours be forlorne.

And you, that discommend sweete Poetrie,

And you, that discommend sweete Foethe, (So that the Subject of the same be good)
Here may you see, your fond simplicitie;
Sith Kings haue fauord it, of royall Blood.
The King of Scots (now liuing) is a Poet,
As his Lepanto, and his Furies shoe it.

030

A Remembrance of some English Poets.



Your Spenser euer, in thy Fairy Queene:
Whose like (for deepe Conceit) was neuer seene
Crownd mayst thou bee, vnto thy more renowne
(As King of Poets) with a Lawrell Crowne.

And Daniell, praised for thy sweet-chast Verse: Whose Fame is grav'd on Rosamonds blacke Herse. Still mayst thou liue: and still be honored, For that rare Worke, The White Rose and the Red.

And Drayton, whose wel-written Tragedies, And sweete Epistles, soare thy fame to skies. Thy learned Name, is æquall with the rest; Whose stately Numbers are so well addrest. And Shakespeare thou, whose hony-flowing Vaine, (Pleasing the World) thy Praises doth obtaine. Whose Venus, and whose Lucrece (sweete, and chaste) Thy Name in fames immortall Booke haue plac't. Liue euer you, at least in Fame liue euer: Well may the Bodye dye, but Fame dies neuer.



An Ode.



S it fell vpon a Day, In the merrie Month of May, Sitting in a pleasant shade, Which a groue of Myrtles made, Beastes did leape, and Birds did sing, Trees did grow, and Plants did spring: Euery thing did banish mone, Saue the Nightingale alone. Shee (poore Bird) as all forlorne, Leand her Breast vp-till a Thorne, And there sung the dolefulst Ditty, That to heare it was great Pitty. Fie, fie, fie, now would she cry Teru Teru, by and by: That to heare her so complaine, Scarce I could from Teares refraine: For her griefes so liuely showne, Made me thinke vpon mine owne. Ah (thought I) thou mournst in vaine; None takes Pitty on thy paine: Senslesse Trees, they cannot heere thee; Ruthlesse Beares, they wil not cheer thee. King Pandion, hee is dead: All thy friends are lapt in Lead. All thy fellow Birds doe singe, Carelesse of thy sorrowing.

Whilst as fickle Fortune smilde. Thou and I, were both beguilde. Enerie one that flatters thee. Is no friend in miserie: Words are easie, like the winde; Faithfull friends are hard to finde: Euerie man will bee thy friend, Whilst thou hast wherewith to spend: But if store of Crownes be scant, No man will supply thy want. If that one be prodigall, Bountifull, they will him call. And with such-like flattering, Pitty but hee were a King. If hee bee adict to vice. Ouickly him, they will intice. If to Woemen hee be bent. They have at Commaundement. But if Fortune once doe frowne, Then farewell his great renowne: They that fawnd on him before, Vse his company no more. Hee that is thy friend indeed, Hee will helpe thee in thy neede: If thou sorrowe, hee will weepe: If thou wake, hee cannot sleepe: Thus of euerie griefe, in hart, Hee, with thee, doeth beare a Part. These are certaine Signes, to knowe Faithfull friend, from flatt'ring foe.



Written, at the Request of a Gentleman,

vnder a Gentlewoman's Picture.

Uen as Apelles could not paint Campaspes face aright: Because Campaspes Sun-bright eyes did dimme

Abelles sight:

Euen so, amazed at her sight, her sight, all sights

excelling,

Like Nyobe the Painter stoode, her sight his sight expelling, Thus Art and Nature did contend, who should the Victor bee, Till Art by Nature was supprest, as all the worlde may see.



An Epitaph vpon the Death, of Sir Philip

Sidney, Knight; Lord-gouernour of Vlissing.



Hat England lost, that Learning lov'd, that euery mouth commended,

That fame did prayse, that Prince did rayse, that Countrey do defended,

Here lyes the man: lyke to the Swan, who know-

ing shee shall die,

Doeth tune her voice vnto the Spheares, and scornes Mortalitie. Two worthie Earls his vncles were; a Lady was his Mother; A Knight his father; and himselfe a noble Countesse Brother. Belov'd, bewaild; aliue, now dead; of all, with Teares for euer; Here lyes Sir Philip Sidneis Corps, whom cruell Death did seuer.

He liv'd for her, hee dyde for her; for whom he dyde, he liued: O graunt (O God) that wee of her, may neuer be depriued.

An Epitaph vpon the Death of his Aunt,

Mistresse Elizabeth Skrymsher.

Oe here beholde the certaine Ende, of euery liuing wight:

No Creature is secure from Death, for Death

will haue his Right.

He spareth none: both rich and poore, both young and olde must die;

So fraile is flesh, so short is Life, so sure Mortalitie.

When first the Bodye liues to Life, the soule first dies to sinne:

And they that loose this earthly Life, a heauenly Life shall winne.

If they liue well: as well she liv'd, that lyeth Vnder heere; Whose Vertuous Life to all the Worlde, most plainly did appeare.

Good to the poore, friend to the rich, and foe to no Degree: A President of modest Life, and peerelesse Chastitie.

Who louing more, Who more belov'd of euerie honest mynde? Who more to Hospitalitie, and Clemencie inclinde

Then she? that being buried here, lyes wrapt in Earth below:

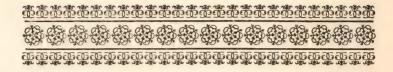
From whence we came, to whom wee must, and bee as shee is now.

A Clodd of Clay: though her pure soule in endlesse Blisse doeth rest:

Ioying all Ioy, the Place of Peace, prepared for the blest: Where holy Angells sit and sing, before the King of Kings; Not mynding worldly Vanities, but onely heavenly Things. Vnto which Ioy, Vnto which Blisse, Vnto which Place of Pleasure.

God graunt that wee may come at last, t' inioy that heauenly Treasure.

Which to obtaine, to liue as shee hath done let us endeuor; That wee may liue with Christ himselfe, (above) that liues for euer.



A Comparison of the Life of Man.

Ans life is vvell compared to a feast,
Furnisht with choice of all Varietie:
To it comes Tyme; and as a bidden guest
Hee sets him downe, in Pompe and Maiestie;
The three-folde Age of Man, the Waiters bee,
Then with an earthen voyder (made of clay)
Comes Death, and takes the table clean
away.

FINIS.



The English Scholar's Library, etc.

No. 12.

MENAPHON.

1589.

The pure Carbon Ink supplied by us for the printing of this book is unaffected by acids or alkalies; and will retain its $jet\ black$ colour for a very long period of time.

Wolverhampton

MANDER BROTHERS.

The above-described Ink of Messrs Mander Brothers has been solely used in the printing of this Volume.

TURNBULL & SPEARS,
EDINBURGH.

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THE ENGLISH WORKS OF ROBERT GREENE, GABRIEL HARVEY, AND THOMAS NASH.

1580-1600 A.D.

Strange to say, such a Chronological List as this is still a desideratum. We have included in it the novels of LYLY and LODGE, so as to make it represent the principal Romance Writers of the Euphuistic School in ELIZABETH's reign.

It naturally comprises all the Works which expressed the famous Quarrel between RICHARD and GABRIEL HARVEY, and TOM NASH: in respect to which, it must always be remembered that the HARVEYS began it, in A Theological Discourse of The Lamb of GOD &c., 23 Oct. 1589; and that when NASH was beguiled so as to insert an Apology, as handsome as it was honest (in the First edition of his CHRIST's teares over Jerusalem, 8 Sept. 1593), GABRIEL HARVEY scornfully rejected the offer, and so brought upon himself the severest invectives of one, whom both GREENE (in his Groat's Worth, 1592), and MERES (in his Palladis Tamia, 1598) called the English Juvenal.

In the following List; there comes 1st, Date of registration at Stationers' Hall, with a reference in () to the page in the Transcript of the Registers &c. 1875-6, where the entry may be found. 2nd, The Writer, a short part of the title, and the date of title page of First Edition, which is often of the year following that of the registration. 3rd, The Printer or Publisher to whom the First Edition was licensed,

as G. CAWOOD.

All the concurrent MARTIN MARPRELATE books are omitted from this List. For these, see pp. 197-200 of No. 8 of this Series.

1578.

- 2 Dec. (ii. 342). J.Lyly, M.A. EUPHUES. Anatomy of Wit. 1579. G. CAWOOD. 1579.
- 24 July (ii. 357). J. Lyly, M.A. EUPHUES and his England. 1580. G. CAWOOD. 1580.
- 30 June (ii. 373). E. Spenser and Dr. G. Harvey. Three proper, and wittie, familiar Letters, lately passed betweene two University men.

 H. BINNEMAN.
- 3 Oct. (ii. 378). R. Greene, M.A. MAMILLIA. A Mirrour or looking glasse for the Ladies of England. [GREENE's first printed Work.] T. WOODCOCK. 1581.
- 20 Mar. (ii. 391). R. Greene, M.A. A Ballad. Youthe seinge all his wais so Troublesome &c. 1582.
- 7 June (ii. 412). J. Yates, Servingman. The Castell of Courtesie . . . the Holde of Humilitie, with the Chariot of Chastitie. J. Wolf.
- 19 Aug. (ii. 427). A. Munday. The sweete sobbes, and amorous Complaintes of Shepardes and Nymphes in a fancye confusde.

 J. CHARLEWOOD.
- 6 Sept. (ii. 428). R. Greene, M.A. MAMILLIA. The Second part of the Triumph of Pallas. 1584. W. Ponsoney.
- 11 April (ii. 431). R. Greene, M.A. GWIDONIUS. The Carde of Fancie, W. Ponsoney.
- Not registered.
 R. Greene, M.A. The Mirrour of Modestie.
 R. WARD.
 Aug. (ii. 434).
 R. Greene, M.A. ARBASTO. The Anatomic of Fortune.
- 22 Sept. (ii. 435). W. Warner, Attorney in the Common Pleas. PAN his SYRINX or Pipe compact of seven reedes, including in one, seven Tragical and Comical Arguments.

 T. Purfoot.
- ? Not registered. R. Greene, M.A. opposition of the seven Planets,

 1585.
 Planetomachia, or the first part of the general T. CADMAN.
- 8 Aug. (ii. 452). R. Greene, M.A. MORANDO. The Tritameron of Love. E. WHITE.

1587.

[Not required to be registered.] R. Greene, M.A., adds a Second Part to the new edition of MORANDO of this year.

11 June (ii. 471). R. Greene, M.A. Farewell to folly.

E. AGGAS.

19 June (ii. 472). R. Greene, M.A. PENELOPE'S Web. E. AGGAS

18 Sept. (ii. 475). R. Greene, M.A. EUPHUES, his censure to PHILAUTUS. 1588. E. WHITE,

29 March (ii. 488). R. Greene, M.A. PERIMIDIES the Blacksmith. E. WHITE.

I July (ii. 493). R. Greene, M.A. PANDOSTO. The Triumph of Time. [Registerea as The complaint of tyme.]

T. ORWIN.

[: The foundation story of SHAKESPEARE's Winter's Tale.]

19 Sept. (ii. 499). T. Nash. The Anatomie of Absurdities. [p. xiii.] T. Hacket.
[Not however published in August 1589, see p. 18. The first and only edition

in the Author's life-time is dated 1590.]
9 Dec. (ii. 510). R. Greene, M.A. ALCIDA. Greene's Metamorphosis. J. WOLF.

I Feb. (ii. 515). R. Greene, M.A. The Spanish Masquerado. T. CADMAN. ? Not registered. R. Greene, M.A. CICERONIS Amor. TULLIE'S Love.

Printed by R. Robinson, for T. Newman and J. Winnington, Assigned from Winnington's widow to J. Busby on 30 Oct. 1595 (iii. 51).

23 Aug. (ii. 529). R. Greene, M.A. MENAPHON. CAMILLA'S alarum to slumbering EUPHUES, in his melancholic Cell of Silexedra. S. CLARKE.

22 Sept. (ii. 530). T. Lodge, M.D. SCILLAES Metamorphosis, enterlaced with the

unfortunate Love of Glaucus.

R. Jones.

R. Jones.

23 Oct. (ii. 532). Richard Harvey. A Theological Discourse of the Lamb of GOD and his enemies. [Fublished after FIERCE PENNLESSE.] 1590. W. PONSONBY. [: Written against the Martinists; but is also the beginning of the strife between the HARVEYS, and LYLY, GREENE and NASH.

With this should be considered another fiece written by GAERIEL HARVEY. At Trinitie Hall, this fift of November, 1589, entituled An Advertisement for Parmatchet and Martin Mar-prelate; which appears as pp. 69-140 of his Pierce's Supererogation; which was not published by him till September 1593, four

months after PENRY had been hanged.]

1590.

9 Feb. (ii. 539). R. Greene, M.A. ORPHARION. Wherein is discovered a musicall concorde of pleasant Histories. E. WHITE.

15 April (ii. 545). [Registered to T. Nelson.] R. Greene, M.A. The Royal Exchange. Containing sundry Aphorismes of Phylosophie, and golden principles of Morrall and Naturall Quadruplicities. I. CHARLEWOOD for W. WRIGHT. [26 June (ii. 553)? Tarlton's News out of Purgatory. T. GUBBINS and T. NEWMAN.]

? Not registered. [?] The Cobler of Canterbury or An Invective against TARLTON's News out of Purgatory.

R. ROBINSON.

R. Greene, M.A. Never too Late. Or a Powder of Experience.
T. Orwin for N. L[ING] and J. Busey.

? Not registered. R. Greene, M.A. FRANCESCOS Fortunes. Or the Second Part of Never too Late. T. ORWIN for N. L[ING] and J. BUSBY.

6 Oct. (ii. 564). T. Lodge, M.D., eaited by R. Greene, M.A. ROSALYND. EUPHUES golden legacy, found after his death in his Cell at Silexedra.

1. The foundation story of SHAKESPEARE'S As you like it.

Nov. (ii. 567). R. Greene, M.A. Mourning Garment: given him by Repentance, at the Funerals of Love.

7 Not registered.

T. Lodge, M.D. The famous, true and historical life of ROBERT

[?] for N. L[ING] and J. BUSBY.

VIII CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF GREENE'S WORKS, &c.

T. Lodge, M.D. Catharos. DIOGENES in his Singularitie. ? Not registered. W. Hoskins and I. Danter for I. Busby.

6 Dec. (ii. 600). R. Greene, M.A. A Maidens Dream [upon the death of Sir C. HATTON, Lord Chancellor]. [T. SCARLET for] T. NELSON.

13 Dec. (ii. 600). R. Greene, M.A. A rotable Discovery of Coosnage. [T. SCARLET for T. NELSON.

[Registered as The Art of Connye katchinge to E. WHITE and T. NELSON.] 13 Dec. (ii. 600). R. Greene, M.A. The Second Part of Conny-catching

[T. WOLF for] W. WRIGHT. 1592.

The Third and last Part of Conny-catching. 7 Feb. (ii. 603). R. Greene, M.A. T. SCARLET [for C. BURBY].

T. Lodge, M.D. EUPHUES shadow, with the Deaf man's [A. Jeffes for] N. LING and J. Busby. 17 Feb. (ii. 604). Dialogue. 21 April (ii, 609). Cuthbert Conny-catcher. The Defence of Connye Catchinge. [A. JEFFES for] T. GUBBINS and J. BUSBY.

? Not registered. [?] A Disputation betweene a He Conny Catcher, and a Shee A. J[EFFES for] T. G[UBBINS]. Conny-catcher.

(ii. 614). [Registered tentatively to J. Wolf.] R. Greene, M.A. PHILO-The Lady Fitzwalllter's Nightingale. R. B. for E. WHITE.

21 July (ii. 617). R. Greene, M.A. A Quip for an Upstart Courtier. J. Wolf. 8 Aug. (ii. 619). T. Nash. Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Deuill. [: The surreptitious First edition with the long Title page.] T. Nash. PIERCE PENNILESSE his Supplication to the Divell. Not registered.

[: The authentic Second edition with the short Title.] A. JEFFES for J. BUSBY. 21 Aug. (ii. 619). R. Greene, M.A. The Blacke Bookes Messenger. Laying open the Life and Death of NED BROWNE. J. DANTER [for T. NELSON].

[29 Aug., the date of C. BIRD's letter from Saffron Walden, in Dr. G. HARVEY's Foure Letters &c. (Licensed the following 4 Dec.). It describes GREENE, as, Now sicke as a Dog, and states that, in A Quip &c, he had attacked GABRIEL's father, old Master HARVEY of Saffron Walden.

Robert Greene dies 4 September, 1592.

The details of his death are given by G. HARVEY in the Second of his Foure Letters &c.; which is dated, London, 5 of September, 1592]. 20 Sept. (ii. 620). R. Greene, M.A. Groatsworth of Witte bought with a Million

W. WRIGHT. of Repentance.

(ii. 620). [?] The Repentance of ROBERT GREENE, M.A. J. DANTER. 6 Oct. [A copy is in the Malone Collection, in the Bodleian Library.]

Dr. G. Harvey. Four Letters, and certaine Sonnets: espe-(ii. 623). 4 Dec. J. Wolf. W. Wright. cially touching ROBERT GREENE. KIND HART'S Dreame.

(ii. 623). Henry Chettle. [?] GREENE's Vision. for T. NEWMAN. ? Not registered. 1593.

12 Jan. (ii. 624). T. Nash. Strange News of the intercepting certaine Letters.

[Registered as The Apologie of PIERCE PENNYLESSE, or strange newes, &c.] (ii. 626). B[arnaby] R[ich]. GREENE'S Newes both from Heaven and 3 Feb. T. Adams and J. Oxenbridge. [18 Apr. (ii. 630). W. Shakespeare's first publication. VENUS and ADONIS.

R. FIELD.]

John Penry hanged, 29 May, 1593.

Christopher Marlowe dies from a stab, 16 June, 1593. The Terror of the night or a Discourse of

30 June (ii. 633). T. Nash. J. DANTER. Apparitions. (ii. 635). T. Nash. First Edition of Christ's teares over Ierusalem. ALICE CHARLEWOOD. 'but? printed by James Roberts for Andrew W. "

In the Epistle To the Reader, G. HARVEY having made "a slauish privat sub-

mission"; NASH makes the following "generall publike reconciliation."

Nil nisi flere libet, Gentles, heere is no ioyful subject towardes, if you will weepe, so it is. I have nothing to spend on you but passion. A hundred vnfortunate farewels to fantastical Satirisme. In those vaines heere-to-fore haue I mispent my spirite, and prodigally conspir'd against good houres. Nothing is there nowe so much in my vowes, as to be at peace with all men, and make submissive amends where I have most displeased. Not basely feare-blasted, or constraintively ouer-ruled, but purely pacifycatorie suppliant, for reconciliation and pardon doe I sue, to the principallest of them, gainst whom I profest ytter enmity.

Euen of Maister Docter Harucy, I hartily desire the like, whose fame and reputation, (though through some precedent iniurious prouocations, and feruent incitements of young heads,) I rashly assailed: yet now better aduised, and of his perfections more confirmedly persuaded, vnfainedly I entreate of the whole worlde, from my penne his worths may receiue no impeachment. All acknowledgements of aboundant Schollership, courteous well gouerned belaujour, and ripe experienst judgement, doe I attribute vnto him. Only

with his milde gentle moderation, heervnto hath he wonne me.

Take my inucctine against him, in that abject nature that you would doe the ralying of a Sophister in the schooles, or a scolding Lawyer at the barre,

which none but fooles wil wrest to defame.

As the Tytle of this Booke is *Christs Teares*, so be this Epistle the Teares of my penne. Many things haue I vainely settle forth, whereof now it repenteth me. S. *Augustine* writ a whole booke of his Retractations. Nothing so much do I retract, as that wherin soeuer I haue scandaliz'd the meanest.

No sconer was this published; and "the scalp of *Harney's* credit, new couered with a false periwig of commendations," than *Harrey* launched after "a cunning abuscado of confiscated idle oathes," that which had been in preparation for some six months, viz.,

Dr. G. Harvey's Pierce's Supererogation, or A new Prayse of the Old Asse.

J. Wolf.

In two Farts, each with a title page. The Second and larger Part was written first, and is dated 27 Aprill 1593. The first Part is short, and dated, At London: this 16 of July, 1593. The last date in the Book, is in the Printer's Postscript, and

is J. THORIUS's Letter from Oxford, 3 Aug. 1593. [? Two editions.]

Respecting this work, Nash says, (Haue with you to Saffron Walden, F. 2. Ed. 1596) Gabriell Harney... not content to haue the naked scalp of his credit now couered with a false periwig of commendations... hath since that time deepely forsworne himself in the arbitrement of peace, and after the ancient custome of Scottish amitie, vnawares proclaimed open warres a fresh in a whole Alexandrian Librarie of waste paper. "Piers his Supercrogation, or Nashes Saint Fame" pretely and quirkingly he christens it; and yet not so much to quirke and crosse me thereby, as to blesse himselfe and make his booke sell, did hee giue it that title. Now ... he takes a new lesson out of Plutarch, in making benefit of his enemie, and borrows my name, and the name of Piers Pennilesse (one of my Bookes) which he knew to be most saleable (pa-sing at the least through the pikes of sixe Impressions) to helpe his bedred stuffe to limpe out of Powles Churchyard.

Sept. (ii. 636). [Licensed to J. WOLF.] T. Nash. The unfortunate Traveller, Or, the life of IACK WILTON.
 T. SCARLET for C. BURBY.
 Oct. (ii. 636). Dr. G. Harvey. A New Letter of Notable Contents. J. WOLF.
 Dec. (ii. 641). R. Greene, M.A. A "plaie booke." The Historie of Or-

LANDO Furioso, one of the twelve Peeres of Fraunce.

Assigned by Danter, on 24 May, 1594 (ii. 650) to C. Burby, reserving the right of printing of any new editions,

1594.

T Nash. Second edition of Christ's Tears over Jerusalem. For A. Wise. In this Edition NASH substitutes a new Epistle to the Reader, in which he thus resents the malignity of HARVEY's pretended friendship.

The loue or pitie I shewed towards mine enemie, of all my ill fortunes hath

most confounded me . . .

Cleane contrarie to my expectation it hath fallen out, for treason was shrowded vnder termes of truce: whereas I thought to make my foe a bridge of golde, or faire words to flie by, he hath vsed it as a high way to inuade me. He pia lingua dedit. This it is to deale plainly. An extreme gull he is in this age and no better, that believes a man for his swearing. Impious Gabriell Harney, the vowed enemie to all vowes and protestations, plucking on with a slavish privat submission, a generall publike reconciliation, hath with a cunning ambuscado of confiscated idle othes, welneare betrayed me to infamie eternall (his owne proper chaire of torment in hell). I can say no more but the deuill and he be no men of their words.

I Feb. (ii. 644). R. B. Gent. Greene's Furneralles. J. DANTER. (ii. 645). T. Lodge, M.D., and R. Greene, M.A. A Looking Glasse for London and England. [A Play.] T. CREED [for W. BARLEY].

14 May (ii. 648). R. Greene, M.A. The Scottish Historie of James the Fourth, slaine at Flodden. [A Play.] T. Lodge, M.D. A Spyder's Webbe. [? now lost.] N. LING. 7 June (ii. 652).

1595.

? Not registered.

3 Jan. (ii. 668). [?] PAN his Pipe conteyning Three pastorall Egloges in Englishe Hexameter, with other delightful Verses.

I Apr. (ii. 295). A Comedie of GEORGE A GREENE, the Primer of Wakefield. [... Attributed to Greene.] C. BURBY.

? Not registered. R. R. Questions concerning Cony-hood. [:. A Copy was in CORSER's Third Sale, No. 399.

1596.

T. Nash. Have with you to Saffron Walden, or GABRIEL

HARVEY'S Hunt is up. J. DANTER. 1597. Dr. G. Harvey. The Trimming of THOMAS NASHE, Gentle II Oct. (iii, 92).

man. 1599. C. BURBY. (iii. 134). T. Nash. Lenten Stuffe. [for N. LING and] C. BURBY. II Jan.

(iii. 677). Archbishop WHITGIFT and BANCROFT Bishop of London, at Croyden, give Commandments to the Mas'er and Warden of the Stationers Company to seize and burn certain books. Among these, is the following:

That all NASSHES bookes and Doctor HARVYES bookes be taken wheresoeuer they maye be found and that none

of theire bookes bee euer printed hereafter/

(iii. 678). The Commandments are promulgated at Stationers' Hall; certain books are burnt &c.: and all the printers (a list of whose names is given) likely to be concerned in the production of such books are distinctly warned accordingly. 1600.

28 Oct. (iii. 175). T. Nash. A pleasant Comedie called SUMMER's last Will and Testament. S. STAFFORD for [C. BURBY and] W. BURRE.

T. Nash was evidently dead some time before December 1601, when the Return from Parnassus was written. See p. x. of No. 6 of this Series.

CHARLES FITZ GEOFFREY has a Latin Epitaph to him in his Cenotophia at the end of his Affana, printed by B. BARNES, at Oxford, in 1601.

J. Lyly died in 1606,



INTRODUCTION.



Fast. She does observe as pure a phrase, and use as choice figures in her ordinary conferences, as any be in the Arcadia.

Car. Or rather in Greenes works, whence she may steal with more security.

BEN JONSON. Every man out of his humour, Act ii., sc. 1. [Acted 1599] Printed [Ent. Stat. Hall, 8 April] 1600.]



Lt the arguments that have been written on the assumption that GREENE'S *MENAPHON* (including as it does NASH'S important prefatory *Epistle*), was *published* in 1587, are only so much waste paper. Its first edition was thus registered at Stationers' Hall.

23° die Augusti/[1589].

Sampson Clarke

Entred for his Copie, MENAPHON CAMILLUS allarum to slumberinge EPHEWES in his melancholly cell at Silexedria. | Vnder the handes of Master doctour Staller and bothe the Wardens. vjd/

Transcript of the Stationers' Registers, ii. 529. Ed. 1875.

This precise date is not of much consequence with regard to the Novel itself; for, like most of Greene's prose writings, it has not any date inside of it: but it is material in respect to the literary career of Tom Nash, to the supposed allusions in his Preface to Shakespeare, and to its positive allusion to a tragical character called *Hamlet*, as one well known at the time.

As NASH's Preface says, at p. 6,

I come (sweet friend) to thy Arcadian Menaphon,

it was evidently written subsequent to the rapid composition, probably also to the

printing of the Novel.

We have seen at p. 81 of our Introductory Sketch, No. 8 of this Series, that the first Martinist publication, the Epistle, came abroad in November 1588. Consequently all allusions to MARTIN as "anie durty mouthed Martin" are subsequent to that date: before which month the idea conveyed in it did not exist in our Literature.

In the following attack by NASH on those "night crows" [i.e. I. PENRY and J. THROCKMORTON], he clearly calls PENRY an "irregular idiot." It must be remembered that the Martinist press had not as yet been seized, at the time when NASH wrote this.

A secular wit that hath lived all daies of his life by what doo you lacke, to bee more judiciall in matters of conceit, than our quadrant crepundios, that spit ergo in the mouth of euerie one they meete: yet those and these are so affectionate to dogged detracting, as the most poysonous Pasquil, anie durtie mouthed Martin, or Momus euer composed, is gathered vp with greedinesse before it fall to the ground, and bought at the deerest though they smell of the friplers lauander halfe a yeare after: for I know not how the minde of the meanest is fedde with this follie, that they impute singularitie to him that slanders priuelie, and count it a great peece of arte in an inkhorne man, in anie tapsterlie tearmes whatsoeuer, to oppose his superiours to enuie. I will not denie but in scholler-like matters of controuersie, a quicker stile may passe as commendable; and that a quippe to an asse is as good as a goad to an oxe: but when an irregular idiot, that was vp to the eares in divinitie, before ever he met with probabile in the Vniuersitie, shall leaue pro et contra before he can scarcely pronounce it, and come to correct Common weales, that neuer heard of the name of Magistrate before he came to Cambridge, it is no meruaile if every alehouse vaunt the table of the world turned vpside down; since the childe beats his father, and the asse whippes his master. p. 8.

It seems therefore clear that NASH's Preface could not have been written before November 1588. Our belief is that he wrote it in the summer of 1589, before the appearance of Theses Martiniana on 22-29 July of that year.

II.



Ash asks, at p. 17, the Gentlemen Students of both Universities "to read," his Preface," favourably, to incourage me in the firstlings of my folly, and perswade your selues "&c. This then was his first published performance. But it was not his first written work. He says on the

nest page 18,

It may be, my Anatomie of Absurdities may acquaint you ere long. . . . If you chance to meete it in Paules, . . .

Yet the *Anatomie* had been already thus registered at Stationers' Hall, some eleven months before this Preface appeared.

19 Septembris [1588].

Master hacket.

Entred for his copie, The Anatomie of absurdyties: Aucthorised vnder Doctor Stallers hand, and Master Coldokes being to yt as warrant for this entrance.

Transcript, &-c. ii. 499. Ed. 1875.

But for NASH's own testimony above, we should have certainly inferred an edition of the *Anatomie* in 1588; though the British Museum copy of an edition by HACKET, is dated 1590: which is probably the first and only impression of the *Anatomie* published in the Author's lifetime.

III.



T is well known that the early tragedies of Elizabeth's reign were, like Ferrex and Porrex, imitations of those of Seneca; and that later on, our dramatists abandoned the old Latin, for the new Italian models.

NASH thus refers to a similar change, at p. 9.

It is a common practise now a daies amongst a sort of shifting companions, that runne through euery arte and thriue by none, to leave the trade of *Noucrint* whereto they were borne, and busic themselves with the indevers of Art, that could scarcelic latinize their necke-verse if they shoulde have neede;

and then he goes on to show how these men, these famished followers of SENECA, went on "to intermeddle with Italian translations." With all these, he contrasts "those men of import, that have laboured with credit in this laudable kinde of Translation," f. 10. So that, all the while, he is referring only to Verse Translators: first, from the Classics; secondly, from Italian.

It has been thought that he herein alluded to SHAKESPEARE; but the date is too early, and our great Poet is not known to have translated anything of the kind.

It is in connection with these Imitations of the Latin tragedies in Verse, that NASH says,

yet English Seneca read by candle light yeeldes manie good sentences, as Bloud is a begger, and so foorth: and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will affoord you whole Hamlets, I should say handfulls of tragical speaches. p. 9.

Here then we have a well known dramatic character of *HAMLET* before SHAKESPEARE's time.

Considerable discussion has arisen whether what is known as the First Quarto of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, is a revision by him of this earlier *Hamlet*; or whether it be a first draught of his own independent tragedy.

If there be any force whatever in NASH's allusion, it would appear that this point

may be easily determined.

He is speaking entirely of one who was writing plays in the style of SENECA. "Such an one, if you stood him wine on a frosty morning, would speak you whole HAMLETS! handsfull of tragical speaches." Is it not a fair inference that such a IIAMLET (so familiar to, and so ready to the hand of an "English SENECA") first appeared, and became renowned in an English Play constructed on the old Latin plan, with the long speeches, the chorus, and the dumb show?

Is the First Quarto framed on the model of SENECA's tragedies? If so, in all likelihood, it is the HAMLET here referred to by NASH; if not, it is SHAKES-

PEARE's own production, in its first draught?

We leave the working out of this point to Shakespearean specialists: merely noticing that Mr. J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPS, in his *Memoranda on the Tragedy of HAMLET*, p. 21, Ed. 1879, thus summarises all the extant allusions to this earlier play.

"The preceding notices may fairly authorise us to infer that the ancient play of

HAMIE

- Was written by either an attorney or an attorney's clerk, who had not received a University education.
- 2. Was full of tragical high sounding speeches.
- 3. Contained the passage, There are things called whips in store, spoken by HAMLET.
- 4. Included a very telling brief speech by the Ghost in the two words, HAMLET! Revenge!
- Was acted at the Theatre in Shoreditch, and at the Playhouse at Newington Butts.
- Had for its principal character, a hero exhibiting more general violence than can be attributed to Shakespeare's creation of Hamlet."

IV.



Ash's Preface is also very interesting as a piece of Contemporary Criticism on the Learned side of Poetry, more thought of then than now; as PUTTENHAM's Arte of English Poesie, of the same year, is of our Vernacular Verse.

V.

O BETTER or so copious specimens of Elizabethan Prose, in its virility, and its grace as well, exist than may be found in the Prose Works of GREENE, HARVEY, and NASH.

A collected Edition of them, as specified at pp. 6-10 is much wanted.

NASH, who was GREENE's intimate, thus describes him in Strange News, 1592.

Hee inherited more vertues than vices, a iolly long red peake [i.e., beard] like the spire of a steeple he cherisht continually without cutting, whereat a man might hang a Iewell,

it was so sharp and pendant.

VVhy should art answer for the infirmities of manners? He had his faultes, and thou [i.e., G. HARVEY] thy follyes. Debt and deadly sinne, who is not subject to? With any notorious crime I neuer knew him tainted. . . . A good fellow hee was. . . . In a night and a day would he haue yarkte vp a Pamphlet [i.e., a Romance like the present Text] as well as in seauen yeare, and glad was that Printer that might bee so blest to pay him deare for the very dregs of his wit.

Hee made no account of winning credite by his workes, as thou [G. HARVEY] dost, that dost no good workes, but thinkest to bee famosed by a strong faith of thy owne worthines. His only care was to have a spel in his purse to coniure vp a good cuppe of wine with at all times.

E. 4.

So Greene, with his Love Pamphlets, and Dryden, with his Comedies, are both signal examples of men of genius doing work in which they neither had any pride nor sought any reputation. A strange and fatuous squandering of their mental wealth!





To the right Worshipfull and ver-

tuous Ladie, the Ladie Hales, wife to the late deceased Sir Iames Hales; Robert Greene wisheth increase of Worship and vertue.



Hen Alexander (right worshipfull) was troubled with hottest feuers, Phillip the phisition broght him the coldest potions; extreams have ther Antidotes, and the driest melancholy hath a

moistest sanguin; wise Hortenzia, midst hir greatest dumpes, either playd with hir Children, or read some pleasant verses: such as sorrow hath pinched, mirth must cure. This considered; hearing (madam) of the passions your Ladiship hath vttered a late for the losse of your husband, a Knight in life worshipfull, vertuous, and full of honourable thoghts; discouering by such passionate sorowes the patterne of a louing and vertuous wife, whose ioyes liued in hir husbands weale, and ended with his life, I thought it my dutie to write this pastorall historie, conteyning the manifolde iniuries of fortune, that both your Ladiship might see her inconstant follies, and beare hir frownes with more patience, and when your dumpes were most deepe, then to looke on this little treatise for recreation: wherein there be as well humors to delight, as discourses to aduise. Which if your Ladiship shall vouch to accept, couering my presumption and faultes with your wonted courtesie; I haue the wished end of my labors. In which hope resting, I commit your Ladiship to the Almightie.

Yours in all humble seruice,

Robert Greene.





To the Gentlemen Readers, health.

T fareth with mee, Gentlemen, as with Batillus, the ouer bold poet of Rome, that at euerie winke of Cæsar would deliuer vp an hundred verses, though neuer a one plausible, thinking the Emperours smile a priviledge

for his ignorance: so I having your favor in letting passe my Pamphlets, feare not to trouble your patience with many works, and such as if Batillus had lived, hee might well have subscribed his name to. But resting vpon your favors I have thus farre adventured to let you see Camillas alarum to Euphues, who thought it necessarie not to let Euphues censure to Philautus, passe without requitall. If Gentlemen you finde my stile either magis humile in some place, or more sublime in another, if you finde darke Enigmacs or strange conceipts as if Sphinx on the one side, and Roscius on the other were playing the wagges; thinke the metaphors are well ment, and that I did it for your pleasures, whereunto I cuer aymed my thoughts: and desire you to take a little paines to prie into my imagination. Wherein if you shall rest mine, I shall ever as I have done rest yours; and so I bid you farewell.





To the Gentlemen Students of both Vniuersities.



Vrteous and wise, whose iudgements (not entangled with enuie) enlarge the deserts of the Learned by your liberall censures; vouchsafe to welcome your scholler-like Shepheard with such Vniuersitie entertainement, as either the nature of your bountie, or the custome of your common

ciuilitie may affoord. To you he appeales that knew him ab extrema pueritia, whose placet he accounts the plaudite of his paines; thinking his daie labour was not altogether lauisht sine linea, if there be anie thing of all in it, that doth olere atticum in your estimate.

I am not ignorant how eloquent our gowned age is growen of late; so that euerie mechanicall mate abhorres the english he was borne too, and plucks with a solemne periphrasis, his vt vales from the inkhorne; which I impute not so much to the perfection of arts, as to the seruile imitation of vainglorious tragedians, who contend not so seriouslie to excell in action, as to embowell the clowdes in a speach of comparison; thinking themselues more than initiated in poets immortalitie, if they but once get Boreas by the beard, and the heauenlie bull by the deaw-lap.

But herein I cannot so fully bequeath them to follie, as their idiote art-masters, that intrude themselues to our eares as the alcumists of eloquence; who (mounted on the stage of arrogance) think to outbraue better pens with the swelling bumbast of a bragging blanke verse. Indeed it may be the ingrafted overflow of some kilcow conceipt, that overcloieth their imagination with a more than drunken resolution, beeing not extemporall in the invention of anie other meanes to vent their manhood, commits the digestion of their cholerick incumbrances, to the spacious volubilitie of a drumming decasillabon. Mongst this kinde of men that repose eternitie in the mouth of a player, I can but ingrosse some deepe read Grammarians, who having no more learning in their scull, than will serue to take vp a commoditie; nor Arte in their brain, than was nourished in a seruing mans idlenesse, will take vpon them to be the ironicall censors of all; when God and Poetrie doth know, they are the simplest of all.

To leave these to the mercie of their mother tongue, that feed on nought but the crummes that fal from the translators trencher, I come (sweet friend) to thy Arcadian Menaphon; whose attire though not so statelie, yet comelie, dooth entitle thee above all other, to that temperatum dicendi genus, which Tullic in his Orator tearmeth true eloquence. Let other men (as they please) praise the mountaine that in seauen yeares brings foorth a mouse, or the Italionate pen, that of a packet of pilfries, affoordeth the presse a pamphlet or two in an age, and then in disguised arraie, vaunts Ouids and Plutarchs plumes as their owne; but give me the man, whose extemporall vaine in anie humor, will excell our greatest Artmasters deliberate thoughts; whose invention quicker than his eye, will challenge the proudest Rethoritian, to the contention of like perfection, with like expedition. What is he amongst Students so simple, that cannot bring forth (tandem aliquando) some or other thing singular, sleeping betwixt euerie sentence? Was it not Maros xii, years toyle, that so famed his xii. Eneidos? Or Peter Ramus xvj. yeares paines, that so praised his pettie Logique? Howe is it then, our drowping wits should so wonder at an exquisite line, that was his masters day labour? Indeede I must needes say, the descending yeares from the Philosophers Athens, have not been supplied with such present Orators, as were able in anie English vaine to be eloquent of their owne, but either they must borrow inuention of Ariosto, and his Countreymen, take vp choyce of words by exchange in Tullies Tusculane, and the Latine Historiographers store-houses; similitudes, nay whole sheetes and tractacts verbatim, from the plentie of Plutarch and Plinie, and to conclude, their whole methode of writing, from the libertie of Comical fictions, that have succeeded to our Rethoritians, by a second imitation: so that, well may the Adage, Nil dictum quod non dictum prius, bee the most iudiciall estimate, of our latter Writers.

But the hunger of our vnsatiate humorists, beeing such as it is readie to swallowe all draffe without indifference,. that insinuates it selfe to their senses under the name of delight, imployes oft times manie thred bare witts, to emptie their inuention of their Apish deuices, and talke most superficiallie of Pollicie, as those that neuer ware gowne in the Vniuersitie; wherein they reuiue the olde saide Adage, Sus Mincruam, and cause the wiser to quippe them with Asinus ad Lyram. Would Gentlemen and riper iudgements admit my motion of moderation in a matter of follie, I wold perswade them to phisicke their faculties of seeing and hearing, as the Sabaans doo their dulled senses with smelling; who (as Strabo reporteth) ouer-cloyed with such odoriferous sauours, as the naturall encrease of their Countrey (Balsamum, Amomum, with Myrrhe and Frankencense) sends foorth, refresh their nosthrills with the vnsauorie sent of the pitchie slime, that Euphrates casts vp, and the contagious fumes of Goates beardes burnt; so woulde I haue

them, being surfetted vnawares with the sweete sacietie of eloquence, which the lauish of our copious Language maie procure, to vse the remedie of contraries; and recreate their rebated witts, not as they did, with the senting of slyme or Goates beardes burnt, but with the ouer-seeing of that sublime dicendi genus, which walkes abroad for wast paper in each seruing mans pocket, and the otherwhile perusing of our Gothamists barbarisme; so shoulde the opposite comparison of Puritie, expell the infection of absurditie; and their ouer-rackte Rhethorique, bee the Ironicall recreation of the Reader.

But so farre discrepant is the idle vsage of our vnexperienst punies from this prescription, that a tale of Ihon a Brainfords will, and the vnluckie furmentie, wilbe as soon interteined into their libraries, as the best poeme that euer Tasso eternisht: which being the effect of an vndescerning iudgement, makes drosse as valuable as gold, and losse as welcome as gain, the Glowworme mentioned in Esops fables, namelie the apes follie, to be mistaken for fire, when as God wot poore soules, they have nought but their toyle for their heate, their paines for their sweate, and (to bring it to our english proverbe) their labour for their travaile. Wherin I can but resemble them to the Panther, who is so greedie of mens excrements; that if they be hangd vp in a vessell higher than his reach, he sooner killeth himselfe with the ouer-stretching of his windlesse bodie, than he wil cease from his intended enterprise.

Oft haue I observed what I now set downe; a secular wit that hath lived all daies of his life by what doo you lacke, to bee more indicial in matters of conceit, than our quadrant crepundios, that spit ergo in the mouth of everie one they meete: yet those and these are so affectionate to dogged detracting, as the most poysonous Pasquil, anie durtie mouthed Martin, or Momus ever composed, is gathered vp with greedinesse before it fall to the ground, and bought at the deerest though they smell of the friplers lavander halfe a yeere after: for I

know not how the minde of the meanest is fedde with this follie, that they impute singularitie to him that slanders priuelie, and count it a great peece of arte in an inkhorne man, in anie tapsterlie tearmes whatsoeuer, to oppose his superiours to enuie. I will not denie but in scholler-like matters of controuersie, a quicker stile may passe as commendable; and that a quippe to an asse is as good as a goad to an oxe: but when an irregular idiot, that was vp to the eares in diuinitie, before euer he met with probabile in the Vniuersitie, shall leaue pro et contra before he can scarcely pronounce it, and come to correct Common weales, that neuer heard of the name of Magistrate before he came to Cambridge, it is no meruaile if euery alehouse vaunt the table of the world turned vpside down; since the childe beats his father, and the asse whippes his master.

But least I might seeme with these night crowes, Nimis curiosus in aliena republica, I'le turne backe to my first text, of studies of delight; and talke a little in friendship with a few of our triviall translators. It is a common practise now a daies amongst a sort of shifting companions, that runne through euery arte and thriue by none, to leaue the trade of Nouerint whereto they were borne, and busie themselues with the indeuors of Art, that could scarcelie latinize their necke-verse if they should have neede; yet English Seneca read by candle light yeeldes manie good sentences, as Bloud is a begger, and so foorth: and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will affoord you whole Hamlets, I should say handfulls of tragical speaches. But ô griefe! tempas edax rerum, what's that will last alwaies? The sea exhaled by droppes will in continuance be drie, and Seneca let bloud line by line and page by page, at length must needes die to our stage: which makes his famisht followers to imitate the Kidde in Æsop, who enamored with the Foxes newfangles, forsooke all hopes of life to leape into a new

occupation; and these men renowncing all possibilities of credit or estimation, to intermeddle with Italian translations: wherein how poorelie they have plodded, (as those that are neither prouenzall men, nor are able to distinguish of Articles.) let all indifferent Gentlemen that have trauailed in that tongue, discerne by their twopenie pamphlets: and no meruaile though their home-born mediocritie be such in this matter; for what can be hoped of those, that thrust Elisium into hell, and have not learned so long as they have lived in the spheares, the just measure of the Horizon without an hexameter. Sufficeth them to bodge vp a blanke verse with ifs and ands, and other while for recreation after their candle stuffe, having starched their beardes most curiouslie, to make a peripateticall path into the inner parts of the Citie, and spend two or three howers in turning ouer French Doudic, where they attract more infection in one minute, than they can do eloquence all dayes of their life, by conversing with anie Authors of like argument.

But least in this declamatorie vaine, I should condemne all and commend none, I will propound to your learned imitation, those men of import, that have laboured with credit in this laudable kinde of Translation; In the forefront of whom, I cannot but place that aged Father Erasmus, that invested most of our Greeke Writers, in the roabes of the auncient Romaines; in whose traces, Philip Melancthon, Sadolet, Plantine, and manie other reverent Germaines insisting, have reedified the ruines of our decayed Libraries, and merueilouslie inriched the Latine tongue with the expence of their toyle.

Not long after, their emulation beeing transported into England, euerie private Scholler, William Turner, and who not, beganne to vaunt their smattering of Latine, in English Impressions. But amongst others in that Age, Sir Thomas Eliots elegance did sever it selfe from all equalls, although

Sir Thomas Moore with his Comicall wit, at that instant was not altogether idle: yet was not Knowledge fullie confirmed in hir Monarchie amongst vs. till that most famous and fortunate Nurse of all learning, Saint Iohns in Cambridge, that at that time was as an Vniuersitie within it selfe; shining so farre aboue all other Houses, Halls, and Hospitalls whatsoeuer, that no Colledge in the Towne, was able to compare with the tythe of her Students; having (as I have hearde graue men of credite report) more candles light in it, euerie Winter Morning before fowre of the clocke, than the fowre of clocke bell gaue stroakes; till Shee (I saie) as a pittying Mother, put too her helping hande, and sent from her fruitefull wombe, sufficient Schollers, both to support her owne weale, as also to supplie all other inferiour foundations defects, and namelie that royall erection of Trinitie Colledge, which the Vniuersitie Orator, in an Epistle to the Duke of Somerset, aptlie tearmed Colona diducta, from the Suburbes of Saint Iohns. In which extraordinarie conception, vno partu in rempublicam prodicre, the Exchequer of eloquence Sir Iohn Checke, a man of men, supernaturally traded in al tongues, Sir John Mason, Doctor Watson, Redman, Aschame, Grindall, Leucr, Pilkington: all which, haue either by their private readings, or publique workes, repurged the errors of Arts, expelde from their puritie, and set before our eyes, a more perfect Methode of Studie.

But howe ill their preceptes have prospered with our idle Age, that leave the fountaines of sciences, to follow the rivers of Knowledge, their over-fraught Studies, with trifling Compendiaries maie testifie: for I knowe not howe it comes to passe, by the doating practise of our Divinitie dunces, that strive to make their Pupills pulpet men, before they are reconciled to *Priscian*: but those yeares, which shoulde bee employed in *Aristotle*, are expired in Epitomes; and well too, they maye have so much Catechisme vacation, to

rake vp a little refuse Philosophie. And heere could I enter into a large fielde of inuectiue, against our abiect abbreuiations of Artes, were it not growen to a newe fashion amongst our Nation, to vaunt the pride of contraction in euerie manuarie action: in so much, that the Pater noster, which was woont to fill a sheete of paper, is written in the compasse of a pennie: whereupon one merelie affirmed, that prouerb to be derived, No pennie, no pater noster; which their nice curtailing, puts me in mind of the custome of the Scythians, who if they be at any time distressed with famin, take in their girdles shorter, and swaddle themselues streighter, to the intent no vacuum beeing left in their intrayles, hunger should not so much tirannize ouer their stomacks; euen so these men opprest with greater penurie of Art, do pound their capacitie in barren Compendiums, and bound their base humors, in the beggerly straites of a hungry Analysis, least longing after that infinitum which the pouertie of their conceit cannot compasse, they sooner yeeld vp their youth to destinie, than their heart to vnderstanding. How is it then, such bungling practitioners in principles, should euer profite the Common wealth by their negligent paines, who have no more cunning in Logique or Dialogue Latine, than appertains to the literall construction of either; neuerthelesse it is daily apparant to our domesticall eyes, that there is none so forward to publish their imperfections, either in the trade of glose or translations, as those that are more vnlearned than ignorance, and lesse conceiuing than infants.

Yet dare I not impute absurditie to all of that societie, though some of them have set their names to their simplicitie. Who ever my private opinion condemneth as faultie, Master Gascoigne is not to bee abridged of his deserved esteeme, who first beate the path to that perfection which our best Poets have aspired too since his departure [Gascoigne died in 1577]; whereto he did ascend by com-

paring the Italian with the English, as Tullie did Græca cum Latinis. Neither was Master Turberuile the worst of his time, although in translating he attributed too much to the necessitie of rime. And in this page of praise, I cannot omit aged Arthur Golding, for his industrious toile in Englishing Ouids Metamorphosis, besides manie other exquisite editions of Divinitie, turned by him out of the French tongue into our own. Master Phaer likewise is not to be forgot in regard of his famous Virgil, whose heavenly verse had it not bin blemisht by his hautie thoghts England might have long insulted in his wit, and corrigat qui potest haue been subscribed to his workes. But fortune the Mistres of change with a pitying compassion, respecting Master Stanihursts praise, would that Phaer shoulde fall that hee might rise, whose heroicall Poetrie infired, I should say inspired, with an hexameter furie, recalled to life, whateuer hissed barbarisme, hath bin buried this hundred yeare; and reuiued by his ragged quill, such carterlie varietie, as no hodge plowman in a countrie, but would have held as the extremitie of clownerie; a patterne whereof, I will propounde to your judgements, as neere as I can, being parte of one of his descriptions of a tempest, which is thus

Then did he make, heavens vault to rebounde, with rounce robble hobble Of ruffe raffe roaring, with thwick thwack thurlery bouncing

Which strange language of the firmament neuer subject before to our common phrase, makes vs that are not vsed to terminate heavens moveings, in the accents of any voice, esteeme of their triobulare interpreter, as of some Thrasonical huffe snuffe, for so terrible was his stile, to all milde eares, as would have affrighted our peaceable Poets, from intermedling hereafter, with that quarrelling kinde of verse; had not sweete Master France by his excellent translation of Master Thomas Watsons sugred Amintas, animated their dulled spirits, to such high witted endeuors.

But I knowe not how their ouertimerous cowardise hath stoode in awe of enuie, that no man since him, durst imitate any of the worste of those Romane wonders in english, which makes me thinke that either the louers of medocritie are verie many, or that the number of good Poets, are very small: and in trueth, (Master Watson except, whom I mentioned before) I knowe not almost any of late dayes that hath shewed himselfe singular in any speciall Latin Poëm, whose Amintas, and translated Antigone may march in equipage of honour, with any of our ancient Poets. I will not say but wee had a Haddon [died 1572] whose pen would have challenged the Lawrell from Homer, together with Carre [died 1568], that came as nere him, as Virgil to Theocritus. But Tho. Newton with his Leyland and Gabriell Harney, with two or three other, is almost all the store, that is left vs at this hower. Epitaphers, and position Poets have wee more than a good many, that swarme like Crowes to a dead carcas, but flie like Swallows in the VVinter, from any continuate subject of witte. The efficient whereof, I imagine to issue, from the vpstart discipline of our reformatorie Churchmen, who account wit vanitie, and poetrie impietie; whose error although the necessitie of Philosophie might confute, which lies couched most closely vnder darke fables profounditie, vet I had rather referre it, as a disputative plea to divines, than set it downe as a determinate position, in my vnexperienst opinion. But how euer their dissentious judgements, should decree in their afternoone sessions of an sit, the privat trueth of my discouered Creede in this controuersie is this, that as that beast, was thought scarce worthie to bee sacrifised to the Ægiptian Epaphus, who had not some or other blacke spotte on his skinne: so I deeme him farre vnworthie of the name of scholler, and so consequentlie, to sacrifice his endeuors to art, that is not a Poet, either in whole or in a parte.

And here, peraduenture, some desperate quipper will canuaze

my proposed comparison plus vltra, reconciling the allusion of the blacke spot, to the blacke pot; which makes our Poets vndermeale Muses so mutinous, as euerie stanzo they pen after dinner, is full poynted with a stabbe. Which their dagger drunkennesse, although it might be excused with Tam Marti quam Mercurio, yet will I couer it as well as I may, with that prouerbial facundi calices, that might wel have been doore keeper to the kanne of Silenus, when nodding on his Asse trapt with juie, hee made his moist nosecloth, the pausing intermedium, twixt euerie nappe. Let frugale scholares, and fine fingerd nouices, take their drinke by the ownce, and their wine by the halpe-[penny] worthes, but it is for a Poet, to examine the pottle pottes, and gage the bottome of whole gallons; qui bene vult ποιείν, debet ante πίνειν. A pot of blew burning ale, with a fierie flaming tost, is as good as Pallas with the nine Muses on Pernassus top: without the which, in vaine may they crie; ô thou my muse inspire mee with some pen, when they want certaine liquid sacrifice, to rouze her foorth her denne.

Pardon me Gentlemen, though somewhat merely I glaunce at their imoderate follie, who affirme that no man can write with conceit, except he takes counsell of the cup: nor would I have you thinke that Theonino dente, I arme my stile against all, since I doo knowe the moderation of many Gentlemen of that studie, to be so farre from infamie, as their verse from equalitie: whose sufficiencie, were it as well seene into, by those of higher place, as it wanders abroade vnrewarded, in the mouthes of vngratefull monsters, no doubte but the remembrance of Maccanas liberalitie extended to Maro, and men of like qualitie, would have lefte no memorie to that prouerb of pouertie. Si nihil attuleris, ibis Homere foras. Tut, saies our English Italians, the finest witts our Climate sends foorth, are but drie braind doltes, in comparison of other countries: whome if you interrupt with redde rationem, they will tell you of Petrache, Tasso, Celiano, with an infinite number of others; to whome if I should oppose Chaucer, Lidgate, Gower, with such like, that lived vnder the tirranie of ignorance, I do think their best louers would be much discontented, with the collation of contraries, if I should write ouer al their heads, Haile fellow well met. One thing I am sure of, that each of these three haue vaunted their meeters, with a much admiration in English as euer the proudest Ariosto did his verse in Italian. What should I come to our court, where the otherwhile vacations of our grauer Nobilitie, are prodigall of more pompous wit, and choyce of words, than euer tragick Tasso could attain too: but as for pastorall Poëmes, I will not make the comparison, least our countrimens credit should bee discountenanst by the contention, who although they cannot fare, with such inferior facilitie, yet I knowe would carrie the bucklers full easilie, from all forreine brauers, if their subjectum circa quod should sauor of any thing haughtie: and should the challenge of deepe conceit, be intruded by an forreiner, to bring our english wits, to the tutchstone of Arte, I would preferre divine Master Spencer, the miracle of wit to bandie line for line for my life, in the honor of England, gainst Spaine, France, Italie, and all the worlde. Neither is he, the only swallow of our summer, (although Apollo, if his Tripos were vp again would pronounce him his Socrates) but he being forborne, there are extant about London, many most able men, to reuiue Poetrie, though it were executed ten thousand times, as in Platos so in Puritanes common wealth; as for example Matthew Roydon, Thomas Atchelow, and George Peele, the first of whome, as hee hath shewed himselfe singular, in the immortall Epitaph of his beloued Astrophel, besides many other most absolute comicke inuentions (made more publique by euerie mans praise, than they can bee by my speache) so the second, hath more than once or twise manifested, his deepe witted schollership in places of credit; and for the last, thogh not the least of them all, I dare commend him to all that know him, as the chiefe supporter of pleasance nowe living, the Atlas of Poetrie, and primus verborum Artifex: whose first encrease, the Arraignement of Paris, might plead to your opinions, his pregnant dexteritie of wit, and manifold varietie of inuention; wherein (me iudice) hee goeth a step beyond all that write. Sundrie other sweete Gentlemen I know, that have vaunted their pens in private devices, and trickt vp a companie of taffata fooles with their feathers, whose beautie if our Poets had not peecte [pecked] with the supply of their periwigs, they might have antickt it vntill this time vp and downe the countrey with the King of Fairies, and ainde [dined' euerie daie at the pease porredge ordinarie with Delphrigus. But Tolossa hath forgot that it was sometime sackt, and beggers that euer they caried their fardles on footback: and in truth no meruaile, when as the deserved reputation of one Roscius, is of force to inrich a rabble of counterfets; yet let subjects for all their insolence, dedicate a De profundis euerie morning to the preservation of their Casar, least their encreasing indignities returne them ere long to their juggling to mediocrity, and they bewaile in weeping blankes the wane of their Monarchie.

As Poetrie hath beene honoured in those her forenamed professours, so it hath not beene any whit disparaged by William Warners absolute Albions. And heere Authoritie hath made a full point: in whose reuerence insisting I cease to expose to your sport the picture of those Pamphleters and Poets, that make a patrimonie of In speech, and more than a younger brothers inheritance of their Abcic.

Reade fauourably, to incourage me in the firstlings of my folly, and perswade your selues, I will persecute those idiots and their heires vnto the third generation, that have made Art bankerout of her ornaments, and sent Poetry a begging

vp and downe the Countrey. It may be, my Anatomie of Absurdities may acquaint you ere long with my skill in surgery, wherein the diseases of Art more merrily discouered may make our maimed Poets put together their blankes vnto the building of an Hospitall.

If you chance to meete it in *Paules*, shaped in a new suite of similitudes, as if, like the eloquent apprentice of *Plutarch* it were propped at seuen yeares end in double apparell, thinke his master hath fulfilled couenants, and onely cancelled the Indentures of dutie. If I please, I will

thinke my ignorance indebted vnto you that applaud it: if not, what rests, but that I be excluded from your curtesie, like Apocrypha from your Bibles?

How ever, yours ever.

Thomas Nash.



In laudem Authoris, Distichon amoris.



Elicious words, the life of wanton wit,

That doo enspire our soules with sweete content;

Why have your father Hermes thought it fit

My eyes should surfet by my hearts consent?

Full twentie Summers have I fading scene,
And twentie Floras in their golden guise:
Yet neuer viewd I such a pleasant Greene
As this, whose garnisht gleades, compare denics.

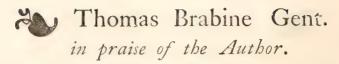
Of all the flowers a Lillie one I lou'd,
Whose labouring beautie brancht it selfe abroade;
But now old age his glorie hath remoud,
And Greener obiects are my eyes aboade.

No countrey to the downes of Arcadie,
Where Aganippes ever springing wells
Doo moyst the meades with bubling melodie;
And makes me muse, what more in Delos dwelles;

There feeds our Menaphons celestiall Muse,
There makes his pipe his pastorall reporte;
Which strained now a note about his vse,
Foretels, he'le nere more chaunt of Choas sporte,

Reade all that list, and reade till you mislike;
Condemne who can, so enuie be no iudge:
No reede can swell more higher, lesse it shrike.
Robin thou hast done well, care not who grudge.

HENRIE VPCHEAR Gentleman.



Ome foorth you witts that vaunt the pompe of speach,

And strine to thunder from a Stage-mans throate:
View Menaphon a note beyond your reach; [doate:
Whose sight will make your drumming descant
Players anant, you know not to delight;
Welcome sweete Shepheard; worth a Schollers sight.

Smirna is drie, and Helicon exhal'd

Caballian founts have left their springing sourse,

Parnassus with his Lawrell stands appal'd;

And yet His Muse keepes on her wonted course:

Wonted said J? I wrong his paines too much,

Since that his pen before brought foorth none such.

One writes of love, and wanders in the aire;
Another stands on tearnes of trees and stones:
When heavens compare yeeldes but the praise of faire,
And christall can describe but flesh and bones:
Yet countrey swaynes, whose thoughts are faith and treth,
Will shape sweete words of wooll and russet cloth.

Mongst whom if I my Tityrus should chuse,
Whose warbling tunes might wanton out my woes;
To none more oftner would my solace vse;
Than to his Pastoralls their mortall foes.
Sweete verse, sweete prose, how have you pleasde my vaine?
Be thou still Greene, whiles others glorie waine.



Arcadia.

The reports of the Shepheards.



Fter that the wrath of mightie *Ioue* had wrapt *Arcadia* with noysome pestilence, in so much that the ayre yeelding preiudiciall sauors, seemd to be peremptory in some fatall resolution. *Democles* soueraigne and King of that famous Continent pitying the sinister accidents of his people, being a man as just in his censures as

royall in his possessions, as carefull for the weale of his countrey, as the continuance of his diadem, thinking that vnpeopled Cities were Corasiues to Princes conscience, that the strength of his subjects was the sinnews of his dominions, and that every crowne must conteyne a care, not onely to winne honour by forrayne conquests, but in mainteining dignitie with civill and domestical insights: Democles grounding his arguments vpon these premisses, coveting to be counted Pater Patriæ, calling a Parliament together, whether all his Nobilitie incited by summons made their repaire, elected two of his chiefe Lordes to passe vnto Delphos, at Apollos Oracle

to heare the fatall sentence, either of their future miserie or

present remedie.

They having their charge, posting from Arcadia to the Tripos where Pithia sate, the sacred Nymph that delivered out Apollos Dylonimas, offering as their manner is their orizons and presents, as wel to intreate by devotion, as to perswade by bountie, they had returned from Apollo this doome.

When Neptune riding on the Southerne seas
shall from the bosome of his Lemman yeeld
Th'arcadian wonder, men and Gods to please:
Plentie in pride shall march amidst the field,
Dead men shall warre, and vnborne babes shall frowne,
And with their fawchens hew their foemen downe.
When Lambes haue Lions for their surest guide,
and Planets rest vpon th'arcadian hills:
When swelling seas haue neither ebbe nor tide,
When equall bankes the Ocean margine fills.
Then looke Arcadians for a happie time,
And sweete content within your troubled Clyme.

No sooner had Pithia delivered this scroll to the Lordes of Arcadie, but they departed and brought it to Democles, who causing the oracle to be read amongst his distressed commons, found the Delphian censure more full of doubts to amaze, than fraught with hope to comfort; thinking rather that the angrie God sent a peremptorie presage of ruine, than a probable ambiguitie to applaud any hope of remedie: yet loath to have his carefull subjects fall into the balefull laborinth of despaire, Democles began to discourse vnto them, that the interpreters of Apollos secretes, were not the conceipts of humane reason, but the successe of long expected events; that Comets did protend at the first blaze, but tooke effect in the dated bosome of the destinies; that oracles were foretold at the Delphian Caue, but were shapte out and finished in the Counsell house.

With such perswasiue arguments Democles appeased the distressed thoughtes of his doubtful countrimen, and com-

manded by proclamation that no man should prie into the quiddities of Apollos answere, least sundrie censures of his diuine secrecie, should trouble Arcadia with some sodaine mutinie. The King thus smoothing the heate of his cares, rested a melancholy man in his Courts; hiding vnder his head the double faced figure of Ianus, as well to cleare the skies of other mens conceiptes with smiles, as to furnish out his owne dumps with thoughts. But as other beasts leuell their lookes at the countenance of the Lion, and birdes make wing as the Eagle flyes: so Regis ad arbitrium totus componitur orbis: the people were measured by the minde of the souereigne, and what stormes soeuer they smoothed in private conceipt, yet they made haye, and cried holiday in outward appearance: insomuch that everie man repaired to his owne home, and fell either vnto pleasures or

labours, as their liuing or content allowed them.

Whiles thus Arcadia rested in a silent quiet, Menaphon the Kings Shepheard, a man of high account among the Swaines of Arcadie, loued of the Nymphes, as the paragon of all their countrey youngsters, walking solitarie downe to the shore, to see if any of his ewes and lambes were straggled downe to the strond to brouse on sea iuie, wherfore they take speciall delight to feede; he found his flockes grazing vpon the Promontorie Mountaines hardlie: whereon resting himselfe on a hill that ouer-peered the great Mediterraneum, noting how Phabus fetched his Laualtos on the purple Plaines of Neptunus, as if he had meant to have courted Thetis in the royaltie of his roabes: the Dolphines (the sweete conceipters of Musicke) fetcht their carréers on the calmed waves, as if Arion had touched the stringes of his siluer sounding instrument: the Mermaides thrusting their heades from the bosome of Amphitrite, sate on the mounting bankes of Neptune, drying their waterie tresses in the Sunne beames: Æolus forbare to throwe abroad his gustes on the slumbering browes of the Sea God, as giving Triton leave to pleasure his Queene with desired melodie, and Proteus libertie to followe his flockes without disquiet.

Menaphon looking ouer the champion of Arcadie to see if the Continent were as full of smiles, as the seas were of fauours, sawe the shrubbes as in a dreame with delightfull harmonie, and the birdes that chaunted on their braunches

not disturbed with the least breath of a fauourable Zephirus. Seeing thus the accord of the Land and Sea, casting a fresh gaze on the water Nimphs, he began to consider how Venus was feigned by the Poets to spring of the froathe of the Seas; which draue him straight into a deepe coniecture of the inconstancie of Loue: that as if Luna were his load-starre, had eueric minute ebbes and tides, sometime ouerflowing the banks of Fortune with a gracious look lightened from the eyes of a fauorable louer, otherwhiles ebbing to the dangerous shelfe of despaire, with the piercing frowne of a froward Mistresse. Menaphon in this browne studie, calling to minde certaine Aphorismes that Auarreon had pend downe as principles of loues follies, being as deepe an enemy to fancie as Narcissus was to affection, began thus to scoffe at Venus Deitie.

Menaphon thy mindes fauours, are greater than thy wealths fortunes, thy thoughtes higher than thy birth, and thy private conceipt better than thy publique esteeme. Thou art a shepheard Menaphon, who in feeding of thy flockes, findest out natures secrecie, and in preuenting thy lambes prejudice conceiptest the Astronomicall motions of the heavens: holding thy sheep-walkes to yeeld as great Philosophie, as the Ancients discourse in their learned Academies. Thou countest labour as the Indians doo their Chrisocolla wherwith they trie euerie mettall, and thou examine euerie action. Content sitteth in thy minde as Neptune in his Sea-throne, who with his trident mace appeaseth euerie storme. When thou seest the heavens frowne thou thinkest on thy faults, and a cleere skie putteth thee in minde of grace; the summers glorie tels thee of youths vanitie, the winters parched leaves of ages declining weaknes. Thus in a myrrour thou measurest thy deedes with equal and considerate motions, and by being a shepheard findest that which Kings want in their royalties. Enuie ouerlooketh thee, renting with the windes the Pine trees of Ida, when the Affrick shrubs wave not a leafe with the tempestes. Thine eyes are vaylde with content that thou canst not gaze so high as ambition: and for loue. And with that, in naming of loue, the shepheard fell into a great laughter. Loue Menaphon, why of all follies that euer Poets fained, or men euer faulted with, this foolish imagination of loue is the greatest: Venus for sooth for her wanton escapes must be a Goddesse, and her bastard a Deitie: Cupide must

be yong and euer a boy to prooue that loue is fond and witlesse, wings to make him inconstant, and arrowes whereby to shew him feareful: blinde (or all were not worth a pinne) to prooue that Cupides levell is both without aime and reason: thus is the God, and such are his Votaries. As soone as our shepheards of Arcadie fettle themselves to fancie, and weare the characters of Venus stampte in their forheads, straight their attire must bee quaint, their lookes full of amours, as their Gods quiner is full of arrowes; their eyes holding smiles and teares, to leape out at their Mistres fauoures or her frownes; sighes must flie as figures of their thoughts, and euerie wrinckle must be tempred with a passion; thus suted in outward proportion, and made excellent in inward constitution, they straight repaire to take viewe of their Mistres beautie. She as one observant vnto Venus principles, first tieth loue in her tresses, and wraps affection in the tramels of her haire; snaring our swains in her locks as Mars in the net, holding in her forhead Fortunes Calender, either to assigne dismal influence, or some fauourable aspect. If a wrinckle appeare in her brow, then our shepheard must put on his working day face, and frame nought but dolefull Madrigalls of sorrowe; if a dimple grace her cheeke, the heavens cannot prooue fatal to our kinde hearted louers; if she seeme coy, then poemes of death mounted vppon deepe drawne sighes, flie from their master to sue for some fauour, alledging how death at the least may date his miserie: to be briefe, as vppon the shoares of Lapanthe the winds continue neuer one day in one quarter, so the thoughtes of a louer neuer continue scarce a minute in one passion; but as Fortunes globe, so is fancies seate variable and inconstant. If louers sorrowes then be like Sisiphus turmoyles, and their fauours like honnie bought with gall; let poore Menaphon then live at labour, and make esteeme of Venus as of Mars his concubine; and as the Cimbrians hold their idols in account but in euerie tempest, so make Cupide a God, but when thou art ouer-pained with passions, and that Menaphon wil neuer loue, for as long as thou temperest thy handes with labours, thou canst not fetter thy thoughts with loues.

And in this Satyricall humor smiling at his owne conceipts, hee tooke his pipe in his hand, and betweene euerie report of

his instrument sung a stanzo to this effect.

MENAPHONS SONG.



Ome say Loue Foolish Loue

Doth rule and gouerne all the Gods,

I say Loue,

Inconstant Loue,

Sets mens senses farre at ods.

Some sweare Loue

Smooth'd face Loue

Is sweetest sweete that men can have:

I say Loue,

Sower Loue

Makes vertue yeeld as beauties slaue.

A bitter sweete, a follie worst of all

That forceth wisedome to be follies thrall.

Loue is sweete.

Wherein sweete?

In fading pleasures that doo paine.

Beautie sweete.

Is that sweete

That yeeldeth sorrow for a gaine?

If Loues sweete

Heerein sweete

That minutes ioyes are monthlie woes.

Tis not sweete.

That is sweete

Nowhere, but where repentance growes. Then love who list if beautie be so sower: Labour for me, Love rest in Princes bower.

Menaphon having ended his roundelay, rising vp, thinking to passe from the mountaine downe to the valley, casting his eye to the sea side, espied certain fragments of a broken ship floating vpon the waves, and sundrie persons driven vpon the shore with a calme, walking all wet and weary vpon the sands. Wondring at this strange sight he stood amazed; yet desirous to see the euent of this accident, he shrowded himself to rest vnespied til he might perceiue what would happen: at last he might descrie it was a woman holding a childe in her armes, and an olde man directing her as it were

her guide. These three (as distressed wrackes) preserued by some further forepovnting fate, coueted to clime the mountaine. the better to vse the fauor of the Sunne to drie their drenched apparaile; at last crawled vp where poore Menaphon lay close, and resting them vnder a bush, the old man did nothing but sende out sighes, and the woman ceased not from streaming foorth rivolets of teares, that hung on her cheekes like the droppes of pearled deaw uppon the riches of Flora. The poore babe was the touch-stone of his mothers passions; for when he smiled and lay laughing in hir lappe, were her heart neuer so deeply ouercharged with her present sorrowes; yet kissing the pretie infant, shee lightened out smiles from those cheekes that were furrowed with continual sources of teares; but if he cried, then sighes as smokes, and sobbes as thundercracks, foreranne those showers, that with redoubled distresse distilled from her eyes: thus with pretie inconstant passions trimming vp her babie, and at last to lull him a sleepe, she warbled out of her wofull breast this dittie.

SEPHESTIAS SONG TO HER CHILDE.



Eepe not my wanton! smile vpon my knee!
When thou art olde, ther's grief inough for thee!

Mothers wagge, pretie boy. Fathers sorrow, fathers ioy. When thy father first did see Such a boy by him and mee, He was glad, I was woe. Fortune changde made him so, When he left his pretie boy, Last his sorowe, first his ioy. Weepe not my wanton! smile vpon my knee! When thou art olde, ther's griefe inough for thee!

Streaming teares*that neuer stint,
Like pearle drops from a flint,
Fell by course from his eyes,
That one anothers place supplies:
Thus he grieud in euerie part,
Teares of bloud fell from his hart,
When he left his pretie boy,
Fathers sorrow, fathers ioy.

Weepe not my wanton! smile vpon my knee! When thou art olde, ther's griefe inough for thee!

The wanton smilde, father wept;
Mother cride, babie lept:
More he crowde, more we cride;
Nature could not sorowe hide.
He must goe, he must kisse
Childe and mother, babie blisse:
For he left his pretie boy,
Fathers sorowe, fathers ioy.

Weepe not my wanton! smile vpon my knee! When thou art olde, ther's grief inough for thee!

With this lullaby the babie fell a sleepe, and Sephestia laying it vpon the greene grasse couered it with a mantle, and then leaning her head on her hand, and her elbow on her lap she fell a fresh to poure foorth abundaunce of plaintes, which Lamedon the old man espying, although in his face appeared the mappe of discontent, and in euerie wrinckle was a catalogue of woes, yet to cheere vp Sephestia, shrowding his inward sorrow with an outward smile, he began to comfort her in his manner.

Schhestia, thou seest no Phisick preuailes against the gaze of the Basilisckes, no charme against the sting of the Tarantula, no preuention to diuert the decree of the Fates, nor no meanes to recall backe the balefull hurt of Fortune: Incurable

sores are without Auicens Aphorismes, and therefore no salue for them but patience. Then my Sephestia sith thy fal his high, and fortune low; thy sorrowes great, and thy hope little: seeing me partaker of thy miseries, set all thy rest vppon this, Solamen miseris, socios habuisse doloris. Chaunce is like Ianus double faced, as well full of smiles to comfort, as of frownes to dismay: the Ocean at his deadest ebbe returns to a full tide: when the Eagle meanes to soare highest, hee raiseth his flight in the lowest dales: so fareth it with fortune who in her highest extreames is most vnconstant: when the tempest of her wrath is most fearfull, then looke for a calme: when she beates thee with nettle, then thinke she will strewe thee with roses; when shee is most familiar with furies, her intent is to be most prodigall Sephestia. Thus are the arrowes of Fortune feathered with the plumes of the bird Halcione, that changeth colours with the Moone, which howsoeuer she shootes them pierce not so deepe but they may bee cured. But Sephestia thou art daughter to a King, exiled by him from the hope of a crowne, banisht from the pleasures of the Court to the painfull fortunes of the countrey, parted for love from him thou canst not but loue, from Maximus, Sephestia, who for thee hath suffered so many disfauors, as either discontent or death can affoord. What of all this, is not hope the daughter of time? Haue not starres their fauourable aspects, as they have froward opposition? Is there not a *Iupiter* as there is a *Saturne*? Cannot the influence of smiling Venus stretch as farre as the frowning constitution of Mars? I tell thee, Sophestia, Iuno foldeth in her brows the volumes of the Destinies; whom melancholie Saturne deposeth from a Crowne, she mildlie advanceth to a Diadem: then feare not, for if the mother liue in miserie, yet hath she a scepter for the sonne: let the vnkindnesse of thy father be buried in the cinders of obedience, and the want of Maximus be supplied with the presence of his pretie babe, who beeing too young for Fortune, lies smiling on thy knee and laughs at Fortune: learne by him Schlestia to vse patience, which is like the balme in the Vale of Iehosaphat, that findeth no wound so deepe, but it cureth: thou seest alreadie Fortune begins to change her hiew, for after the great storme that rent our shippe, we found a calme that brought vs safe to shore; the mercie of Neptune was

more than the enuie of *Eolus*, and the discurtesie of thy father is proportioned with the fauour of the Gods. Thus *Sephestia* being copartner of thy miserie, yet do I seeke to allay thy martyrdome: beeing sicke to my selfe, yet do I play the Phisition to thee, wishing thou maist beare thy sorrowes with as much content, as I brooke my misfortunes with patience.

As hee was readie to goe forwarde with his perswasiue argument, Sephestia fetching a deepe sigh, filling her tender

eyes with teares, made this replie.

Sweete Lamedon, once partner of my royalties, now partaker of my wants, as constant in his extreame distresse, as faithfull in higher fortunes: the Turtle pearketh not on barren trees, Doues delight not in foule cottages, the Lyon frequents not putrified haunts, friends followe not after pouertie, nor hath sinister chance anie drugges from the Phisitians, Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes: and yet Lamedon the misfortune of Sephestia abridgeth not our olde contracted amitie, thou temperest her exyle with thy banishment, and she sayling to Styx, thou ferriest ouer to Phlegeton: then Lamedon, saying as Andromache sayd to Hector, Tu Dominus, tu vir, tu mihi frater eris. Thy aged yeres shalbe the calender of my fortunes, and thy gray haires the Paralells of mine actions. If Lamedon perswade Sephestia to content, Portia shall not exceede Sephestia in patience; if he will her to keepe a low sayle, she will vayle al her sheete; if to forget her loues, shee will quench them with labours; if to accuse Venus as a foe, I will hate Cupide as an enemie: and seeing the Destinies haue driven thee from a crowne, I will rest satisfied with the Countrey, placing all my delights in honouring thee, and nursing vp my pretie wanton. I will imagine a small cotage to [be] a spacious pallaice, and thinke as great quiet in a russet coate, as in royall habilliments: Sephestia, Lamedon, will not scorne with Iuno to turne hir self into the shape of Semeles nurse, but, vnknowne, rest carelesse of my fortunes: the hope of times returne shal be the ende of my thoughts, the smiles of my sonne shall bee the nourishment of my hart, and the course of his youth shall be the comfort of my yeres; euerie laughter that leapes from his lookes, shall be the holiday of my conceiptes; and euerie teare shall furnish out my greeues, and his fathers funerals. I have heard them

say, Lamedon, that the lowest shrubbes feele the least tempests, that in the valleis of Affrica is heard no thunder, that in countrey roomes is greatest rest, and in little wealth the the least disquiet: dignitie treadeth vpon glasse, and honour is like to the hearbe Synara, that when it bloometh most gorgeous, then it blasteth: Aulica vita splendida miseria. Courts haue golden dreames, but cotages sweet slumbres: then, Lamedon, will I disguise my self, with my cloathes I will change my thoughts; for being poorelie attired I will be meanelie minded, and measure my actions by my present estate, not by former fortunes. In saying this the babe awakte and cride, and she fell to teares mixed with a lullabie.

All this while Menaphon sate amongst the shrubs fixing his eves on the glorious object of her face, hee noted her tresses, which hee compared to the coloured Hiacinth of Arcadia, her browes to the mountaine snowes that lie on the hils, her eyes to the gray glister of Titans gorgeous mantle, her alabaster necke to the whitenesse of his flockes, her teates to pearle, her face to borders of Lillies interseamed with Roses: to be briefe our shepheard Menaphon, that heeretofore was an Atheist to loue, and as the Thessalian of Bacchus, so hee a contemner of Venus, was nowe by the wylie shaft of Cupid so intangled in the perfection and beauteous excellence of Sephestia; as now he swore no benigne Planet but Venus, no God but Cupide, nor exquisite deitie but Loue. Being thus fettered with the pliant perswasions of fancie, impatient in his newe affections, as the horse that neuer before felt the spurre, he could not bridle his new conceaued amors, but watching when they shoulde depart, perceiuing by the gestures of the olde man, and the teares of the Gentlewoman that they were distrest, thought to offer anie helpe that laie within the compasse of his abilitie.

As thus he mused in his new passions, Lamedon and Sephestia rose vp, and resolued to take their course which way the winde blew; passing so downe the mountaine to goe seeke out some towne, at last they pacing softlie on, Lamedon, espied Menaphon: desirous therefore to know the course of the countrey, hee saluted him thus.

Shepheard, for so farre thy attire warrants me; courteous, for so much thy countenance imports: if distressed persons whom Fortune hath wronged, and the seas haue fauored, (if

we may count it fauour to liue and want) may without offence craue so farre ayde as to know some place where to rest our wearie and weather-beaten bones, your charges shall be paid, and you have for recompence such thankes as

Fortunes outlawes may yeeld to their fauourers.

Monaphon hearing him speak so grauelie, but not fitting his eare to his eye, stood staring still on Sophestias face, which shee perceiuing, flashed out such a blush from her alabaster cheeks that they lookt like the ruddie gates of the Morning: this sweete bashfulnesse amazing Menaphon, at last hee began thus to answere.

Strangers, your degree I know not, therefore pardon if I giue lesse title than your estates merit: Fortunes frownes are Princes fortunes, and Kings are subject to chance and destinie. Mishap is to be salued with pitie, not scorne: and we that are Fortunes darlings, are bounde to relieue them that are distrest: therefore follow me, and you shal have such succour, as a shepheard may afford.

Lamedon and Schhestia were passing glad, and Menaphon led the way, not content onelie to feed his sight with the beautie of his new Mistres, but thought also to inferre some occasion of parley, to heare whether her voyce were as melodious, as her face beautiful, hee therefore prosecuted his prattle

thus.

Gentlewoman, when first I saw you sitting vpon the Arcadian Promontorie with your babie on your lappe, and this old father by; I thought I had seene Venus with Cupide on her knee courted by Anchises of Troy: the excellence of your looks could discouer no less than Mars his paramour, and the beautie of the childe as much as the dignitie of her wanton: at last perceiuing by your teares and your childs shrikes, that ye were passengers distrest, I lent you sighes to partake your sorrowes, and luke warme drops to signifie how I pitie ouercharged persons, in lieu whereof let mee craue your name, countrey, and parentage.

Sephestia seeing by the shepheards passionate lookes, that the swain was halfe in loue, replyed thus; Curteous shepheard, if my blubbered cheekes did look like Venus at a blush, it was when the woful Goddesse wept for her faire Adonis, my boye is no Cupide but the sonne of care, Fortunes fondling in his youth, to bee I hope her darling in his age:

in that your lookes saw our griefe, and your thoughts pitied our woes, our tongues shal giue thanks (the bountie of sorrowes tenants) and our hearts praye that the Gods may be as friendly to your flockes, as you fauourable to vs. My name is Samela, my countrey Cipres, my parentage meane, the wife of a poore Gentleman nowe deceased: how we arrived heere by shipwrack, gentle shepheard inquire not, least it be tedious for thee to heare it, and a double griefe for mee to rehearse it.

The shepheard not daring to displease his Mistres, as having loues threates hanging on her lippes, he conveighed them home to his house: as soone as they were arrived there, he

began at the dore to entertain them thus.

Faire Mistres the flower of all our Nymphes that liue heere in Arcadia, this is my cotage wherein I liue content, and your lodging, where (please it you) ye may rest quiet. I have not rich cloathes of Ægypt to couer the walls, nor store of plate to discouer anie wealth; for shepheards vse neither to be proud nor couetous: you shall find heere cheese and milke for dainties, and wooll for cloathing; in eueric corner of the house Content sitting smiling, and tempering eueric homelie thing with a welcome: this if ye can brooke and accept of, (as Gods allow the meanest hospitalitie) ye shall have such welcome and fare as Philemon and Baucis gaue to Iupiter.

Sephestia thankt him heartelie, and going into his house found what he promist: after that they had sate a little by the fire and were well warmed, they went to supper, where Sephestia fedde well, as one whom the sea had made hungrie, and Lamedon so plide his teeth, that all supper he spake not one word: after they had taken their repast, Menaphon, seeing they were wearie, and that sleepe chimed on to rest, he let them see their lodging, and so gaue them the good

night.

Lamedon on his flocke bedde, and Scphestia on her countrey couch were so wearie, that they slept well: but Menaphon, poore Menaphon neither asked his swaynes for his sheepe, nor tooke his mole-spade on his necke to see his pastures; but as a man pained with a thousand passions, drenched in distresse, and ouerwhelmed with a multitude of vncouth cares, he sate like the pictures that Perseus tourned with his Gorgons head into stones. His sister Carmela kept his house,

(for so was the Countrey wench called) and shee seeing her brother sit so malcontented, stept to her cupboorde and fetcht a little beaten spice in an olde bladder, she sparde no evening milke, but went amongst the cream bowles, and made him a posset. But alas, Loue had so lockt vp the shepheards stomacke, that none would down with Menaphon: Carmela seeing her brother refuse his spicte drinke, thought all was not well, and therefore sate downe and wept; to be short, she blubbered and he sightht, and his men that came in and sawe their master with a kercher on his head mournde; so that amongst these swaines there was such melodie, that Menaphon tooke his bow and arrowes and went to bedde: where casting himselfe, he thought to haue beguiled his passions with some sweete slumbers. But Loue that smiled at his newe interteined champion, sitting on his beddes head, prickt him forward with new desires: charging Morpheus, Phobetor, and Icolon, the Gods of sleepe, to present vnto his closed eies the singular beautie and rare perfections of Samela: (for so will we now call her) in that the Idea of her excellence, forst him to breath out scalding sighes smothered within the fornace of his thoughts, which grew into this or the like passion.

I had thought, Menaphon, that he which weareth the bay leafe had been free from lightening, and the Eagles penne a preseruative against thunder; that labour had been enemie to loue, and the eschewing of idlenesse an Antidote against fancie: but I see by proofe there is no adamant so harde, but the blood of a Goate will make soft; no fort so wel defenced, but strong batterie will enter; nor anie hart so pliant to restlesse labours, but inchantments of loue will ouercome. Unfortunate Menaphon, that a late thoughtst Venus a strumpet and her sonne a bastard, now must thou offer incense at her shrine, and sweare Cupide no lesse than a God: thou hast reason Menaphon; for hee that lives without love, lives without life; presuming as Narcissus to hate all, and beeing like him at length despised of all. Can there bee a sweeter blisse than beautie, a greater heauen than her heauenly perfections that is mistres of thy thoughts? If the sparkle of her eyes appeare in the night, the starres blush at her brightnesse: if her haire glister in the daye, Phabus puts off his wreath of diamonds, as ouercome with the shine of her tresses;

if she walke in the fields, Flora seeing her face, bids al her glorious flowers close themselues, as being by her beautie disgraced; if her alabaster necke appeare, then Hiems couereth his snowe, as surpassed in whitenesse. To be shorte. Menaphon, if Samela had appeared in Ida, Iuno for maiestie, Pallas for wisedome, and Venus for beautie had let my Samela haue the supremacie: why shouldest thou not then loue, and thinke there is no life to loue, seeing the end of loue is the possession of such a heavenly Paragon? But what of this. Menaphon, hast thou anie hope to enjoy her person, she is a widdow, true, but too high for thy fortunes; she is in distresse, ah, Menaphon, if thou hast anie sparke of comfort, this must set thy hope on fire. Want is the load stone of affection, distresse forceth deeper than Fortunes frownes, and such as are poore will rather loue than want reliefe, fortunes frownes are whetstones to fancie: and as the horse starteth at the spurre, so loue is prickt forward with distresse. Samula is shipwrackt, Menaphon relieues her; she wants, he supplies with wealth; he sues for loue, either must she grant, or buy deniall with perpetuall repentance.

In this hope rested the poore shephearde, and with that Menaphon laide his head downe on the pillow and toke a sound

nappe, sleeping out fancie, with a good slumber.

As soone as the sunne appeared the shepheard got him vp and fed fat with this hope, went merely with his men to the foldes, and there letting foorth his sheepe, after that hee had appointed where they should graze, returned home, and looking when his guests should rise, having supt il the last night went roundly to his breakfast; by that time he had ended his desiune [i.e. dejeuné], Lamedon was gotten vp, and so was Samela. Against their rising, Carmela had showen her cookerie, and Menaphon tired in his russet iacket, his redde sleeues of chamlet, his blew bonnet, and his round slop of countrey cloth, bestirred him, as euerie joynt had been set to a sundrie office. Samela no sooner came out of her chamber, but Menaphon as one that claimed pitie for his passions, bad her good morrow with a firme louers looke: Samela knowing the fowle by the feather, was able to cast his disease without his water, perceived that Cupide had caught the poore shepheard in his net, and vnles he sought quickly to break out of the snare would make him a tame foole: faire lookes she gaue him, and with a smiling sorow discouered how she grieued at his misfortune, and yet fauoured him. Well, to breakfast they went. Lamedon and Samela fed hard, but Menaphon like the Argine in the Date gardens of Arabia, liued with the contemplation of his Mistres beautie: the Salamander liueth not without the fire, the Herring from the water, the Mole from the earth, nor the Cameleon from the aire, nor coulde Menaphon liue from the sight of his Samela; whose breath was perfumed aire, whose eyes were fire wherein he delighted to dallie, whose heart the earthlie Paradice wherein hee desired to ingraffe the essence of his loue and affection: thus did the poore shepheard bathe in a kinde of blisse, whiles his eyes feeding on his mistres face, did surfet with the excellencie of her perfection.

So long he gazde, that at length breakfast was ended, and he desirous to doo her anie seruice, first put her childe to nurse, and then led her forth to see his folds; thinking with the sight of his flockes to inueigle her, whose minde had rather haue chosen anie misfortune, than haue deigned her eyes on the face and feature of so lowe a peasant. Well, abroad they went, *Menaphon* with his sheephooke fringed with cruell, to signifie he was chiefe of the swaynes, *Lamedon* and *Samela* after: plodding thus ouer the greene fields, at last they came to the mountains where *Menaphons* flockes grazed,

and there he discoursed to Samela thus;

I tell thee, faire Nymph, these Plaines that thou seest stretching Southward, are pastures belonging to Menaphon: there growes the cintfoyle, and the hyacinth, the cowsloppe, the primrose, and the violet, which my flockes shall spare for flowers to make thee garlands, the milke of my ewes shall be meate for thy pretie wanton, the wool of the fat weathers that seemes as fine as the fleece that Iason fet from Colchos, shall serue to make Samela webbes withall; the mountaine tops shall be thy mornings walke, and the shadie valleies thy euenings arbour: as much as Menaphon owes [owns] shall be at Samelas command, if she like to liue with Menaphon.

This was spoken with such deepe effects, that Samela could scarce keepe her from smiling, yet she couered her conceipt with a sorrowful countenance, which Menaphon espying, to make her merrie, and rather for his own advantage, seeing Lamedon was a sleepe, tooke her by the hand and sate downe,

and pulling foorth his pipe, began, after some melodie, to carroll out this roundelay.

MENAPHONS ROUNDELAY.



Hen tender ewes brought home with euening Sunne Wend to their foldes,

And to their holdes

The shepheards trudge when light of day is done.

Upon a tree

The Eagle, Ioues faire bird, did pearch,

There resteth hee.

A little flie his harbor then did search,

And did presume (though others laught thereat)

To pearch whereas the princelie Eagle sat.

The Eagle frownd, and shooke her royall wings,
And charged the Flie
From thence to hie:
Afraid in hast the little creature flings,
Yet seekes againe,
Fearfull, to pearke him by the Eagles side.
With moodie vaine
The speedie post of Ganimede replide;

Vassaile auant or with my wings you die, Ist fit an Eagle seate him with a Flie?

The Flie craude pitie, still the Eagle frownde,
The sillie Flie
Readie to die
Disgracte, displacte, fell groueling to the ground.
The Eagle sawe
And with a royall minde, said to the Flie,
Be not in awe,
I scorne by me the meanest creature die;

Then scate thee heere: the ioyfull Flie vp flings, And sate safe shadowed with the Eagles wings.

As soone as *Mcnaphon* had ended this roundelay, turning to *Samela*, after a countrey blush, he began to court her in this homely fashion; What thinke you, *Samela*, of the Eagle for his royall deede? That he falsified the old Prouerbe *Aquila non capit muscas*? But I meane, *Samela*, are you not in opinion, that the Eagle gives instances of a princelie resolution, in preferring the safetie of a Flie before the credit of her royall Maiestie?

I thinke, Menaphon, that high minds are the shelters of pouertie, and Kings seates are couerts for distressed persons; that the Eagle in shrowding the Flie did well, but a little

forgot her honour.

But how thinke you, Samela, is not this proportion to be observed in love?

I gesse no, for the Flie did it not for loue, but for succour.

Hath loue then respect of circumstance?

Els it is not loue, but lust; for where the parties haue no simpathie of Estates, there can no firme loue be fixed; discord is reputed the mother of diuision, and in nature this is an vnrefuted principle, that it falteth which faileth in vniformitie. He that grafteth Iillyflowers vpon the Nettle marreth the smell; who coueteth to tie the Lambe and the Lion in one tedder maketh a brawle; equall fortunes are loues fauourites, and therefore shoulde fancie bee alwayes limitted by Geometricall proportion; least if young matching with olde, fire and frost fall at a combate: and if rich with poore there happe manie daungerous and brauing objections.

Menaphon halfe nipte in the pate with this replie, yet like a tall souldier stoode to his tackling, and made this aunswere; Suppose, gentle Samela, that a man of meane estate, whome disdainefull Fortune had abased, intending to make hir power prodigall in his misfortunes, being feathered with Cupides bolt, were snared in the beautie of a Queene, should he rather die than discouer his amors?

If Queens (quoth she) were of my mind, I had rather die,

than perish in baser fortunes.

Venus loued Vulcan, replied Menaphon:

Truth, quoth Samela, but though he was polt-footed, yet he was a God.

Phaon enioyed Sapho, he a Ferriman that lived by his hands thrift, she a Princesse that sate invested with a diadem.

The more fortunate, quoth Samela, was he in his honours, and she the lesse famous in her honestie.

To leaue these instances, replied Menaphon, (for loue had made him hardie) I, sweete Samela, inferre these presupposed premisses, to discouer the basenesse of my mean birth, and yet the deepnesse of my affection, who euer since I saw the brightnesse of your perfection shining vpon the mountains of Arcadie, like the glister of the Sunne vpon the toplesse Promontorie of Sicilia, was so snared with your beautie, and so inueigled with the excellence of that perfection that exceedeth all excellencie, that loue entring my desire, hath mainteined himselfe by force; that vnlesse sweete Samela grant me fauour of her loue, and play the princelie Eagle, I shall with the poore Flie perish in my Fortunes. He concluded this period with a deepe sigh, and Samela grieuing at this follie of the Shephearde, gaue him mildelie this aunswere.

Menaphon, my distressed haps are the resolutions of the Destinies, and the wrongs of my youth, are the forerunners of my woes in age; my natiue home is my worst nurserie, and my friends denie that which strangers prejudiciallie grant: I arrived in Arcady shipwrackt, and Menaphon favouring my sorrowes hath affoorded me succours, for which Samela rests bound, and will prooue thankfull: as for loue. knowe that Venus standeth on the Tortoys, as shewing that Loue creepeth on by degrees; that affection is like the Snayle, which stealeth to the top of the lance by minutes; the grasse hath his increase, yet neuer anie sees it augment, the Sonne shadowes, but the motion is not seene; loue like those should enter into the eye, and by long gradations passe into the heart; Cupid hath wings to flie, not that loue should be swift, but that he may soare high to auoyd base thoughts. The Topace being throwne into the fire burneth straight, but no sooner out of the flame but it freezeth; strawe is soone kindled, but it is but a blaze; and loue that is caught in a moment, is lost in a minute; give me leave then Menaphon first to sorrow for my fortunes, then to call to minde my husbands late funeralls, then if the Fates have assigned I shall fancie, I will account of thee before anie

shepheard in Arcadie.

This conclusion of Samela draue Menaphon into such an extasie for ioy, that he stood as a man metamorphozed; at last calling his senses together, hee tolde her he rested satisfied with her answere, and therupon lent her a kisse, such as blushing Thetis receaues from her choycest lemman.

At this, Lamedon awakte, otherwise Menaphon no doubt had replied, but breaking off their talk they went to view their pastures, and so passing downe to the place where the sheepe grazed, they searched the shepheards bagges, and so emptied their bottles as Samela meruailed at such an vncouth banquet: at last they returned home, Menaphon glorying in the hope of his successe, interteining Samela still with such courtesie, that shee finding such content in the cotage, began to despise the honors of the Court.

Resting thus in house with the shepheard, to avoide tedious conceipts she framed her selfe so to countrey labours, that she oft times would lead the flocks to the fieldes her selfe, and being drest in homelie attire, she seemd like *Oenone* that was

amorous of Paris.

As she thus often traced alongst the Plaines, she was noted, amongst the shepheardes, of one *Doron*, next neighbour to *Menaphon*, who entered into the consideration of her beautie, and made report of it to all his fellow swaines, so that they chatted nought in the fields but of the new shepheardesse.

One daye amongst the rest, it chaunced that *Doron* sitting in parley with another countrey companion of his, amidst

other tattle, they prattled of the beautie of Samela.

Hast thou seene her, quoth Melicertus (for so was his friend

called).

I, quoth *Doron*, and sighth to see her, nor that I was in loue, but that I greeued shee shuld be in loue with such a one as *Menaphon*.

What manner of woman is shee, quoth Melicertus?

As well as I can, answered *Doron*, I will make description of her.

Dorons description of Samela.



The to Diana in her Summer weede

Girt with a crimson roabe of brightest die,

goes faire Samela.

Whiter than be the flockes that straggling feeds, When washt by Arethusa, faint they lie: is faire Samela.

As faire Aurora in her morning gray Deckt with the ruddie glister of her loue,

is faire Samela.

Like louelie Thetis on a calmèd day, When as her brightnesse Neptunes fancie mouc, shines faire Samela.

Her tresses gold, her eyes like glassie streames, Her teeth are pearle, the breast are yuorie of faire Samela.

Her cheekes like rose and lilly yeeld foorth gleames, Her browes bright arches framde of ebonie: Thus faire Samela

Passeth faire Venus in her brauest hiew, And Iuno in the shew of maiestie, for she's Samela.

Pallas in wit, all three if you will view, For beautic, wit, and matchlesse dignitie yeeld to Samela.

Thou hast, quoth *Melicertus*, made such a description, as if *Priamus* young boy should paint out the perfection of his Greekish Paramour. Me thinkes the *Idea* of her person represents it selfe an object to my fantasie, and that I see in the discouerie of her excellence, the rare beauties of. And with that, he broke off abruptlie with such a deepe sigh, as it seemed his heart should have broken; sitting as the *Lapithes* when they gazed on *Medusa*.

Doron meruailing at this sodayne euent, was halfe afraid, as if loue appoplexic had astonied his senses, so that cheering

vp his friend, he demanded what the cause was of this

sodaine conceipt.

Melicertus no niggarde in discouerie of his fortunes, began thus. I tell thee, Doron, before I kept sheepe in Arcadie, I was a Shepheard else where, so famous for my flockes, as Menaphon for his foldes; beloued of the Nymphes, as hee likte of the Countrey Damzells; coueting in my loues to vse Cupids wings, to soare high in my desires, though my selfe were borne to base fortunes. The Hobbie catcheth no pray, vnlesse she mount beyonde her marke, the Palme tree beareth most bowes where it groweth highest, and Loue is most fortunate where his courage is resolute, and thought beyond his compasse. Grounding therefore on these principles, I fixte mine eyes on a Nymph, whose parentage was great, but her beautie farre more excellent, her birth was by manie degrees greater than mine, and my woorth by manie discents lesse than hers: yet knowing Venus loued Adonis, and Luna, Endymion; that Cupide had boltes feathered with the plumes of a Crowe, as well as with the pennes of an Eagle, I attempted and courted her, I found her lookes lightening disdaine, and her forhead to conteine fauours for others, and frownes for me: when I alledged faith, she crost me with Æneas; when loyaltie, she told me of Iason; when I swore constancie, shee questioned me of Demophoon; when I craued a finall resolution to my fatall passions, shee filde her browes full of wrinckles, and her eyes full of furie, turned her backe, and shooke me off with a Non placet. Thus in loues I lost loues, and for her loue had lost all, had not when I neere despaired the clemencie of some curteous starre, or rather the verie excellence of my Mistres fauours salued my halfe despairing maladie: for shee seeing that I helde a supersticious opinion of loue, in honouring him for a Deitie, not in counting him a vaine conceipt of Poetrie; that I thought it sacriledge to wrong my desires, and the basest fortune to inhance my fortune by falsing my loues to a woman, she left from being so rammage, and gentlie came to the first, and granted me those fauours shee might affoord, or my thoughts desire. With this, he ceast, and fell againe to his sighes.

Which Doron noting, answered thus. If (my good Melicertus) thou didst enjoy thy loues, what is the occasion

thou beginnest with sighes, and endest with passions.

Ah, Doron, there endes my ioyes, for no sooner had I triumpht in my fauours, but the trophees of my fortunes fell like the hearbes in Syria, that flourish in the morne, and fade before night; or like vnto the flie Tyryma, that taketh life and leaueth it all in one day. So, my Doron, did it fare with me, for I had no sooner enioyed my loue, but the heauens enuious a shepheard should have the fruition of such a heauenly Paragon, sent vnreuocable Fates to deprive me of her life, and shee is dead; dead, Doron, to her, to my selfe, to all, but not to my memorie, for so deepe were the characters stamped in my inwarde senses, that oblivion can never race out the forme of her excellence.

And with that, he start vp, seeking to fall out of those dumpes with Musique, (for he plaid on his pipe certaine sonets he had contriued in praise of the countrey wenches) but plaine *Doron*, as plaine as a packstaffe, desired him to sound a roundelay, and he would sing a song, which he carolled to this effect.

Dorons ligge.

Hrough the shrubbes as I can cracke,
For my Lambes little ones,
Mongst many pretie ones,
Nimphes I meane, whose haire was blacke

As the crow: Like the snow

Her face and browes shinde I weene:

I saw a little one,
A bonny prety one,
As bright, buxsome and as sheene

As was shee.
On hir knee

That hulld the God, whose arrowes warmes
Such merry little ones,
Such faire fac'd prety ones,
As dally in Loues chiefest harmes,

Such was mine: Whose gray eyne

Made me loue. I gan to woo This sweete little one. This bonny prettie one.

I wooed hard a day or two,

Till she bad; Be not sad.

Wooe no more I am thine owne. Thy dearest little one, Thy truest pretie one: Thus was faith and firme love showne. As behoues

Shepheards loues.

How like you this Dittie of mine owne deuising, quoth Doron ?

As well as my musique, replied Melicertus; for if Pan and I striue, Midas being Iudge, and should happe to giue me the garland, I doubt not but his Asses eares should be doubled: but Doron so long we dispute of loue, and forget our labours, that both our flockes shall be vnfolded, and to morrow our merrie meeting hindered.

Thats true, quoth Doron, for there will be all the shepheards Daughters and countrey Damzels, and amongst them feare not but Menaphon will bring his faire Shepheardesse, there Melicertus shalt thou see her that will amate all our moodes, and amaze thee, and therefore good Melicertus let vs

be going.

With this prattle away they went to their foldes, where we leave them, and returne to Menaphon, who triumphing in the hope of his new loues, caused Samela to tricke her vp in her countrey attire, and make her selfe braue against the meeting: she that thought, to be coye were to discouer her thoughts, drest her selfe vp in Carmelas russet cassocke, and that so quaintly, as if Venus in a countrey peticoate had thought to wanton it with her louely Adonis.

The morow came, and away they went, but Lamedon was

left behinde to keep the house.

At the houre appointed, Menaphon, Carmela and Samela came, when all the rest were readie making merie. As soone as word was brought, that Menaphon came with his newe Mistres, all the companie began to murmur, and euery man to prepare his eye for so miraculous an object: but Pesana a heardsmans daughter of the same parish, that long had loued Menaphon, and he had filled her browes with frownes, her eyes with furie, and her heart with griefe; yet coueting in so open an assemblie, as well as shee coulde, to hide a pad in the straw, she expected as others did the arrivall of her newe corrivall: who at that instant came with Menaphon into the house.

No sooner was she entred the Parlour, but her eyes gaue such a shine, and her face such a brightnesse, that they stood gazing on this Goddesse; and shee vnacquainted, seeing her selfe among so manie vnknowen swaines, died her cheekes with such a vermillion blush, that the countrey maides themselues fel in loue with this faire Nimph, and could not blame *Menaphon* for being ouer the shooes with such a beautifull creature. *Doron* iogde *Melicertus* on the elbowe, and so awakte him out of a dreame, for he was deeply drownd in the contemplation of her excellencie; sending out vollies of sighs in remembrance of his old loue, as thus hee sate meditating of her fauour, how much she resembled her that death had deprived him off.

Well her welcome was great of all the companie, and for that she was a stranger, they graced her to make her the mistres of the Feast. Menaphon seeing Samela thus honoured, conceiued no smal content in the advancing of his Mistres, being passing ioconde and pleasant with the rest of the companie, insomuch that euerie one perceiued howe the poore swayne fedde vppon the dignities of his Mistres graces. Pesana noting this began to lowre, and Carmela winking vpon her fellowes, answered her frownes with a smile, which doubled her griefe; for womens paines are more pinching if they be girded with a frumpe, than if they be galled with a mischiefe.

Whiles thus there was banding of such lookes, as euerie one imported as much as an *impreso*, Samela, willing to see the fashion of these countrey yong frowes, cast her eyes abroad, and in viewing euerie face, at last her eyes glaunced on the lookes of Melicertus; whose countenance resembled so vnto her dead Lord, that as a woman astonied she stood

staring on his face, but ashamed to gaze vppon a stranger, she made restraint of her looks, and so taking her eye from one particular object, she sent it abroad to make generali

survey of their countrey demeanours.

But amidst all this gazing, he that had seene poore *Mcnaphon*, how, infected with a iealous furie, he stared each man in the face, fearing their eyes should feede or surfet on his Mistres beautie: if they glaunst, he thought straight they would be riualls in his loues: if they flatlie lookt, then they were deepely snared in affection; if they once smiled on her, they had receyued some glance from *Samela* that made them so malepart; if she laught, she likte; and at that he began to frowne: thus sate poore *Menaphon*, all dinner while, pained with a thousande iealous passions, keeping his teeth garders of his stomacke, and his eyes watchmen of his loues, but *Melicertus* halfe impatient of his new conceiued thoughts, determined to trie how the Damzell was brought vp, and whether she was as wise as beautifull, hee therefore began to breake silence thus.

The Orgies which the Bacchanals kept in Thessaly, the Feasts which the melancholy Saturnists founded in Danuby, were neuer so quatted with silence, but on their festival daies they did frolicke amongst themselves with manie pleasaunt parlies: were it not a shame then that we of Arcadie, famous for the beautie of our Nymphes, and the amorous roundelaies of our shepheards, shoulde disgrace Pans holiday with such melancholy dumpes: curteous country Swaines shake off this sobrietie, and seeing we have in our companie Damzels both beautifull and wise, let vs interteine them with prattle, to trie our wittes, and tire our time.

To this they all agreed with a plaudite.

Then, quoth *Melicertus*; by your leave since I was first in motion, I will be first in question, and therefore new come shepheardesse first to you. At this *Samela* blusht, and he

began thus.

Faire Damzel, when Nareus chatted with Iuno, he had pardon, in that his prattle came more to pleasure the Goddesse than to ratifie his owne presumption: if I Mistres be ouerbold, forgiue me; I question not to offend, but to set time free from tediousnesse. Then gentle shepheardesse tell me, if you should be transformed through the anger of the

Gods, into some shape; what creature would you reason to be in forme?

Samela blushing that she was the first that was boorded, yet gathered vp her crums, and desirous to shew her pregnaunt wit (as the wisest women be euer tickled with self loue) made him thus answere.

Gentle shepheard, it fits not strangers to be nice, nor maidens too coy; least the one feele the weight of a scoffe, the other the fall of a frumpe: pithie questions are mindes whetstones, and by discoursing in iest, manie doubts are deciphered in earnest: therefore you have forestalled me in craving pardon, when you have no neede to feele anie grant of pardon. Therefore thus to your question; Daphne I remember was turned to a bay tree, Niobe to a flint, Lampetia and her sisters to flowers, and sundrie Virgins to sundrie shapes according to their merites; but if my wish might serve for a Metamophosis, I would be turned into a sheepe.

A sheepe, and why so Mistres?

I reason thus, quoth Samela, my supposition should be simple, my life quiet, my food the pleasant Plaines of Arcadie and the wealthie riches of Flora, my drinke the coole streames that flowe from the concaue Promontorie of this Continent, my aire should be cleare, my walkes spacious, my thoughts at ease, and can there, shepheard, be any better premisses to conclude my replie than these?

But haue you no other allegations to confirme your resolu-

tion?

Yes sir, quoth she, and farre greater.

Then the law of our first motion, quoth hee, commands

you to repeate them.

Farre be it, answered Samela, that I should not doo of free will anie thing that this pleasant companie commands: therefore thus; Were I a sheepe, I should bee garded from the foldes with iollie Swaines, such as was Lunas Loue on the hills of Latmos; their pipes sounding like the melodie of Mercurie, when he lulld asleepe Argus: but more, when the Damzells tracing along the Plaines, should with their eyes like Sunne bright beames, drawe on lookes to gaze on such sparkling Planets: then wearie with foode, shoulde I lye and looke on their beauties, as on the spotted wealthe of the

richest Firmament; I should listen to their sweete layes, more sweete than the Sea-borne Syrcns: thus feeding on the delicacie of their features, I should like the Tyrian heyfer fall in loue with Agenors darling.

I but, quoth Melicertus, those faire facde Damzells oft draw

foorth the kindest sheepe to the shambles.

And what of that, sir, aunswered Samela, would not a sheepe

so long fed with beautie, die for loue.

If he die (quoth *Pesana*) it is more kindnes in beasts, than constancie in men: for they die for loue, when larkes die with leekes.

If they be so wise, quoth *Menaphon*, they shew but their mother witts; for what sparkes they have of inconstancie, they drawe from their female fosterers, as the Sea dooth ebbes and tides from the Moone.

So be it sir, answered *Pesana*, then no doubt your mother was made of a Weathercocke, that brought foorth such a wauering companion: for you, master *Menaphon*, measure your looks by minutes and your loues are like lightning, which no sooner flash on the eie, but they vanish.

It is then, quoth *Menaphon*, because mine eye is a foolish Iudge, and chooseth too baselie: which when my heart

censures of, it cast away as refuse.

'Twere best then, said *Pesana*, to discharge such vniust Iudges of their seates, and to set your eares hearers of your loue pleas.

If they fault, quoth *Melicertus*, euerie market towne hath a remedie, or els there is neuer a Baker neere by seauen miles.

Stay curteous Shepheards, quoth Samela, these iestes are too broade before, they are cynicall like Diogenes quippes, that had large feathers and sharpe heads, it little fits in this companie to bandie taunts of loue, seeing you are vnwedded and these all maidens addicted to chastitie.

You speake well as a Patronesse of our credite, quoth Pesana, for in deede we be virgins, and addicted to virginitie.

Now, quoth Menaphon, that you have got a virgin in your mouth you wil neuer leave chaunting that word, till you prooue your selfe either a Vestall or a Sybill.

Suppose she were a Vestall, quoth *Melicertus*, I had almost said a virgine (but God forbidde I had made such a doubtfull supposition) shee might carrie water with *Amulia* in a sive:

for amongst all the rest of the virgins we read of none but

her that wrought such a miracle.

Pesana hearing how pleasantly Melicertus plaid with her nose, thought to give him as great a bone to gnaw uppon, which she cast in his teeth thus briefelie. I remember, sir, that Epicurus measured everie mans diet by his owne principles; Abradas the great Macedonian Pirate, thought everie one had a letter of Marte, that bare sayles in the Ocean; none came to knocke at Diogen's tub but was supposed a Cinick; and fancie a late hath so tied you to his vanities, that you will thinke Vesta a flat figured conceipt of Poetrie.

Samela perceiuing these blowes woulde growe to deepe wounds, broke off their talke with this prety digression. Gentlemen, to ende this strife, I praye you let vs heare the opinion of Doron, for all this while neither he nor Carmela have yttered one word, but sate as Censers of our pleas; twere necessarie he tolde vs how his heart came thus on his

halfepenie.

Doron hearing Samela thus pleasaunt, made presentlie this blunt replie; I was, faire Mistres, in a solempne doubt with my selfe, whether in beeing a sheepe, you would be a Ram or an Ewe?

An Ewe no doubt, quoth Samela, for hornes are the

heaviest burden that the head can beare.

As Doron was readie to replie, came in sodainly to this parley foure or fiue olde shepheards, who broke off their prattle, that from chat they fel to drinking: and so after some parley of their flocks, euerie one departed to their own home where they talked of the exquisite perfection of Samela, especially Melicertus, who gotten to his owne cotage, and lyen downe in his couch by himselfe, began to ruminate on Samelas

shape.
Ah Melicertus, what an object of fortune this day brought to thy eyes, presenting a strange Idea to thy sight, as appeared to Achilles of his dead friend Patroclus, tresses of gold like the tramels of Sephestias lockes, a face fairer than Venus, such was Sephestia; her eye paints her out Sephestia, her voyce sounds her out Sephestia, she seemeth none but Sephestia: but seing she is dead, and there liueth not such another Sephestia, sue to her and loue her, for that it is either a selfe same or another Sephestia. In this hope Melicertus fel to his

slumber, but Samela was not so content. For shee began

thus to muse with her selfe;

May this Melicertus be a shepheard? or can a countrie cotage affoord such perfection? doth this coast bring forth such excellence? then happie are the virgins shall have such suters, and the wives such pleasing husbands; but his face is not inchacte [enchased] with anie rusticke proportion, his browes containe the characters of nobilitie, and his lookes in shepheards weeds are Lordlie, his voyce pleasing, his wit full of gentrie: weigh all these equallie, and consider, Samela, is it not thy Maximus? Fond foole, away with these suppositions; could the dreaming of Andromache call Hector from his graue? or can the vision of my husband raise him from the seas? Tush, stoop not to such vanities: hee is dead, and therefore grieue not thy memorie with the imagination of his new reuiue, for there hath been but one Hippolitus found to be Virbius, twise a man, to salue Samela than this suppose; if they court thee with hyacinth, interteine them with roses; if he send thee a lambe, present him an eawe; if he wooe, be wooed; and for no other reason, but hee is like Maximus.

Thus she rested, and thus she slept, all parties being equally content and satisfied with hope, except *Pesana*, who, fettred with the feature of her best beloued *Menaphon*, sate cursing *Cupide* as a parciall Deitie, that would make more daye light in the Firmament than one Sunne, more rainebowes in the heauen than one *Iris*, and more loues in one heart than one settled passion: manie praiers she made to *Venus* for reuenge, manie vowes to *Cupide*, manie orizons to *Hymæneus*, if she might possesse the type of her desires. Well, poore soule, howsoeuer she was paid, she smothered all with patience, and thought to braue loue with seeming not to loue; and thus she daily droue out the time with labour, and looking to her heard, hearing euerie day by *Doron* who was her kinsman,

what successe Menaphon had in his loues.

Thus Fates and Fortune dallying a dolefull Catastrophe, to make a more pleasing Epitazis, it fell out amongst them thus. Melicertus going to the fields, as he was wont to doo with his flockes, droue to graze as neere the swaines of Menaphon as he might, to have a view of his new enterteined Mistres; who, according to his expectation, came thether everie day. Melicertus esteeming her to bee some Farmers daughter at the

most, could not tell how to court her; yet at length calling to remembrance her rare wit discouered in her last discourses, finding opportunitie to giue her both bal and racket, seeing the coast was cleere, and that none but Samela and he were in the field, he left his flocke in the valley, and stept vnto her, and saluted her thus.

Mistres of al eyes that glance but at the excellence of your perfection, soueraigne of all such as Venus hath allowed for louers, Oenencs ouermatch, Arcadies comet, beauties second comfort; all haile: seeing you sit like Iuno when shee first watchte her white heyfer on the Lincen downes, as bright as siluer Phabe mounted on the high top of the ruddie element, I was by a strange attractive force drawne, as the adamant draweth the yron, or the leat the straw, to visite your sweete selfe in the shade, and affoord you such companie as a poore swaine may yeeld without offence; which if you shall vouch to deigne of, I shall be as glad of such accepted service, as Paris first was of his best beloved Paramour.

Samela looking on the shepheardes face, and seeing his vtterance full of broken sighes, thought to bee pleasant with her shepheard thus. Arcadics Apollo, whose brightnesse draws euerie eye to turne as the Heliotropion doth after her load; fairest of the shepheards, the Nimphes sweetest object, womens wrong, in wronging manie with ones due; welcome, and so welcome, as we vouchsafe of your seruice, admitte of your companie, as of him that is the grace of al companies, and if we durst vpon any light pardon, woulde venter to request you shew vs a cast of your cunning.

Samela made this replie, because she heard him so superfine, as if Ephabus had learnd him to refine his mother tongue, wherefore thought he had done it of an inkhorne desire to be eloquent; and Melicertus thinking that Samela had learnd with Lucilla in Athens to anatomize wit, and speake none but Similes, imagined she smoothed her talke to

be thought like Sapho, Phaos Paramour.

Thus deceived either in others suppositions, Samela followed her sute thus; I know that Priamus wanton could not be without flockes of Nymphes to follow him in the Vale of Ida, beautie hath legions to attende her excellence if the shepheard be true; if like Narcissus you wrap not your face in the cloude of disdaine, you cannot but have some

rare Paragon to your Mistres, whome I woulde have you, in some sonnet, describe; *Ioues* last loue, if *Ioue* coulde get from *Iuno*.

My pipe shal presume and I aduenture with my voice to set out my Mistres fauour for your excellence to censure

of, and therefore thus.

Yet Melicertus, for that hee had a farther reach, would not make anie clownish description, chanted it thus cunningly,

MELICERTUS DESCRIPTION OF HIS MISTRES.



Une on my pipe the praises of my Loue,
And midst thy oaten harmonie recount
How faire she is that makes thy musicke mount,
And euerie string of thy hearts harpe to moue.

Shall J compare her forme vnto the spheare
Whence Sun-bright Venus vaunts her siluer shine?
Ah more than that by iust compare is thine,
Whose Christall lookes the cloudie heavens doo cleare.

How oft have I descending Titan seene His burning lockes couch in the Sea-queenes lap, And beauteous Thetis his red bodie wrap In watrie roabes, as he her Lord had been.

When as my Nimph impatient of the night Bad bright Atræus with his traine gine place, Whiles she led foorth the day with her faire face, And lent each starre a more than Delian light.

Not Ioue or Nature should they both agree To make a woman of the Firmament, Of his mixt puritie could not inuent A Skie borne forme so beautifull as she.

When Melicertus had ended this roundelay in praise of his Mistres, Samela, perceived by his description, that either some

better Poet than himselfe had made it, or else that his former phrase was dissembled: wherefore to trie him thoroughly, and to see what snake lay hidden vnder the grasse, she followed the chase in this manner.

Melicertus, might not a stranger craue your Mistres name.

At this, the shepheard blusht, and made no reply.

How now, quoth Samela, what, is she meane that you shame, or so high as you fear to bewray the souereign of your thoughts? Stand not in doubt man, for be she base, I reade that mightie Tamberlaine after his wife Zenocrate (the worlds faire eye) past out of the Theater of this mortall life, he chose stigmaticall trulls to please his humorous fancie. Be she a princesse, honour hangs in high desires, and it is the token of a high minde to venter for a Queene: then

gentle shepheard tell me thy Mistres name.

Melicerius hearing his goddesse speake so fauourably, breathed out this sodaine replie: Too high, Samela, and therefore I feare with the Syrian Wolues to barke against the Moone, or with them of Scyrum to shoot against the starres; in the height of my thoughts soaring too high, to fall with wofull repenting Icarus: no sooner did mine eye glance vpon her beautie, but as if loue and fate had sate to forge my fatall disquiet, they trapte mee within her lookes, and haling her Idaa through the passage of my sight, placde it so deeply in the center of my heart, as maugre al my studious indeauour it still and euer will keepe restlesse possession: noting her vertues, her beauties, her perfections, her excellence, and feare of her too high born parentage, although painfully fettered, yet haue I still feared to dare so haute an attempt to so braue a personage; lest she offensiue at my presumption, I perish in the height of my thoughts.

This conclusion broken with an abrupt passion, could not

so satisfie Samela but she would bee further inquisitiue.

At last after manie questions, he answered thus: Seeing Samela I consume my selfe, and displease you; to hazarde for the salue that maye cure my malady, and satisfie your question, know it is the beauteous Samela.

Be there more of that name in Arcady beside myselfe,

quoth she.

I know not, quoth Melicertus, but were there a million, onely you are Melicertus Samela.

But of a million, quoth she, I cannot be Melicertus Samela,

for loue hath but one arrowe of desire in his quiuer, but one string to his bow, and in choyce but one aime of affection.

Haue ye alreadie, quoth Melicertus, set your rest vpon some

higher personage?

No, quoth Samela, I meane by your selfe, for I haue hearde that your fancie is linked alreadie to a beautiful

shepherdesse of Arcadie.

At this, the pore swaine tainted his cheeks with a vermillion die, yet thinking to carrie out the matter with a iest, he stood to his tackling thus; Whosoeuer Samela descanted of that loue, tolde you a Canterbury tale; some propheticall full mouth that as he were a Coblers eldest sonne, would by the laste tell where anothers shooe wrings, but his sowterly aime was just levell, in thinking everie looke was love, or euerie faire worde a pawne of loyaltie.

Then, quoth Samela, taking him at a rebound, neither may I thinke your glaunces to be fancies, nor your greatest protestion any assurance of deepe affection: therefore ceasing off to court any further at this time, thinke you have prooued your selfe a tall souldier to continue so long at batterie, and that I am a fauourable foe that haue continued so long a parley; but I charge you by the loue you owe your deerest Mistres, not to say any more as touching loue for this time.

If Samela, quoth hee, thou hadst enjoyned me as Iuno did to Hercules, most daungerous labours, I would have discovered my loue by obedience, and my affection by death: yet let me craue this, that as I begunne with a Sonnet, so I may ende

with a Madrigale.

Content Melicertus, quoth she, for none more than I loue

Musique.

Upon this replie, the shepheard proud followed this Dittie.

MELICERTUS MADRIGALE.



Hat are my sheepe without their wonted food? What is my life except I gaine my Loue? My sheepe consume and faint for want of blood. My life is lost vnlesse I grace approue.

No flower that saplesse thrives: No Turtle without pheare

The day without the Sunne dooth lowre for woe,
Then woe mine eyes vnlesse they beautie see:
My Sunne Samelas eyes, by whom I know
Wherein delight consists, where pleasures be.
Nought more the heart reviues
Than to imbrace his deare.

The starres from earthly humors gaine their light.
Our humors by their light possesse their power:
Samelaes eyes fedde by my weeping sight,
Fusues my paine or ioyes, by smile or lower.
So wends the source of loue.
It feeds, it failes, it ends.

Kinde lookes cleare to your ioy behold her eyes,
Admire her heart, desire to taste her kisses;
In them the heaven of ioy and soluce lies,
Without them ev'ry hope his succour misses.
Oh how I love to proove
Wheretoo this solace tends.

Scarce had the shepheard ended this Madrigale, but Samela began to frowne, saying he had broken promise.

Melicertus alledged if he had vttred any passion, twas sung,

not said.

Thus these Louers in a humorous descant of their prattle espied a farre off olde *Lamedon* and *Menaphon* coming towards them; whereupon kissing in conceipt, and parting with interchaunged glaunces, *Melicertus* stole to his sheepe, and *Samela* sate her downe making of nets to catche birds.

At last Lamedon and her Loue came, and after manie gracious lookes, and much good parley, helpte her home with

her sheepe, and put them in the folds.

But leaving these amorous shepheardes busie in their loues, let vs retourne at length to the pretie babie, Samelas childe, whom Menaphon had put to nurse in the countrey.

This infant being by Nature beautifull, and by birth noble, even in his cradle exprest to the eyes of the gazers such glorious presages of his approaching fortunes, as if another Alcides (the arme-strong darling of the doubled night) by wrastling with snakes in his swadling cloutes, should prophecie to the world the approching wonders of his prowesse; so did his fierie looks reflect terror to the weake beholders of his ingrafted nobilitie, as if some God twise born like vnto the Thracian Bacchus, forsaking his heauen borne Deitie, shoulde delude our eyes with the alternate forme of his infancie. Five yeres had full runne their monthly revolution, when as this beauteous boy began to shew himselfe among the shepheards children, with whom he had no sooner contracted familiar acquaintance, but straight he was chosen Lord of the May game, king of their sports, and ringleader of their reuils; insomuch that his tender mother beholding him by chance mounted in his kingly maiestie, and imitating honorable justice in his gamesom exercise of discipline, with teares of ioy took vp these propheticall termes;

Well doo I see, where God and Fate hath vowed felicitie, no aduerse fortune may expel prosperitie. Pleusidippus, thou art young, thy lookes high, and thy thoughtes hautie; soue-reigntie is seated in thy eyes, and honour in thy heart; I feare this fire will have his flame, and then am I vndone in thee my sonne; my countrey life (sweete countrey life) in thy proud soaring hopes, despoyled and disroabed of the disguised aray of his rest, must returne russet weedes to the foldes where I lefte my feares, and hast to the court my hell,

there to inuest me in my wonted cares.

How now Samela, wilt thou be a Sybil of mishap to thy self? the angrie heavens that have eternisht thy exile, have

establisht thy content in Arcadie.

My content in Arcadie, that may not be no longer than my Pleusidippus staies in Arcadie, which I have cause to feare, for the whelps of the Lion are no longer harmlesse than when they are whelpes, and babes no longer to be awed, than while they are babes. I but nature. And therewith she pawsed, being interrupted by a tumult of boies, that by yong Pleusidippus command fell vpon one of their fellowes, and beate him most cruelly for playing false playe at nine holes: which she espying though her lattise window, could

not chose but smile aboue measure. But when she saw him in his childish termes condemne one to death for despising the authoritie bequeathed him by the rest of the boyes, then she bethought her of the Persian *Cyrus* that deposed his Grandfather *Astyages*, whose vse it was at like age to imitate maiestie in like manner.

In this distraction of thoughts she had not long time staid, but Lamedon and Menaphon calde her awaye to accompany them to the foldes, whiles Pleusidippus hasting to the execution of iustice, dismissed his boyish session till their next meeting: where how imperiouslie he behaued himselfe in punishing misorders amongest his equals, in vsing more than iesting iustice towards his vntamed copesmates, I referre it to the Annals of the Arcadians that dilate not a little of

this ingenious argument.

In this sort did *Pleusidippus* draw foorth his infancie, till on a time walking to the shore, where hee with his mother were wrackt, to gather cockles and pebble stones, as children are wont: there arrived on the strond a *Thessalian* Pirate named *Eurilochus*, who after he had forraged in the *Arcadian* confines, driving before him a large bootie of beasts to his ships, espied this pretie infant; when gazing on his face, as wanton *Ioue* gazed on *Phrygian Ganimede* in the fields of *Ida*, hee exhaled into his eyes such deepe impression of his perfection, as that his thought neuer thirsted so much after any pray, as this pretie *Pleusidippus* possession: but determining first to assay him by curtesie before hee assayled him with rigour, he began to trie his wit after this manner.

My little childe, whence art thou, where wert thou borne, whats thy name, and wherefore wandrest thou thus all alone

on the shoare.

I pray ye, what are you, sir, quoth *Pleusidippus*, that deale thus with me by interrogatories, as if I were some runne away.

Wilt thou not tell me then, who was thy father?

Said he, Good sir, if ye will needes knowe, goe aske that of

my mother.

Hath said well, my Lord, quoth Romanio who was one of his especiall associates, for wise are the children in these dayes that know their owne fathers, especially if they be begotten in Dogge daies, when their mothers are franticke with

loue, and yong men furious for lust. Besides, who knows not, that these *Arcadians* are given to take the benefit of euerie Hodge, when they will sacrifice their virginitie to *Venus*, though they have but a bush of nettles for their bedde; and sure this boy is but some shepheards bastard at the most, howsoever his wanton face importeth more than appearance.

Pleusidippus eyes at this speach resolued into fire, and his face into purple, with a more than common courage in children of his yeares and stature, gaue him the lie roundly in this replie: Pesant, the bastard in thy face, for I am a Gentleman; wert thou a man in courage, as thou art a cowe in proportion, thou wouldst neuer haue so much empayred thy honestie, as to derogate from my honor. Look not in my face but level at my heart by this that thou seest. And therewith let drive at him with such pebble stones as hee had in his hat, insomuch that Romanio was driven to his heeles, to shun this sodaine haile shot, and Eurilochus resolued into a laughter, and in tearmes of admiration most highly extolled so exceeding magnanimitie in so little a bodie; which how auaileable it prooued to the confirmation of his fancie, that was before inflamed with his features, let them imagine, that have noted the imbecilitie of that age, and the vnresisted furie of men at armes.

Sufficeth at this instant to vnfolde (all other circumstance of praise laid apart) that *Eurilochus* being farre in loue with his extraordinarie lineaments, awaited no farther parley, but willed his men perforce to hoyse him a shipboord, intending as soone as euer he arrived in *Thessaly*, by sending him to the Courte as a present, to makes his peace with his Lord and Master *Agenor*, who not long before had proclaimed him as a notorious Pirate throughout all his dominions.

Neither swarued hee one whit from his purpose, for no sooner had he cast anker in the Port of *Hadrionopolis*, but he arraied him in choyce silkes and *Tyrian* purple, and so sent him as a prize to the King of that Country, who walking as then in his summer garden with his Queen, the beauteous *Eriphila*, fell to discourse (as one well seene in Philosophie)

of hearbes and flowers, as the sauour or colour did occasion: and having spent some time in disputing their medicinable properties, his Ladie reaching him a Marigold, he began to

moralize of it thus merely.

I meruaile the Poets that were so prodigall in painting the amorous affection of the Sunne to his Hyacinth, did neuer observe the relation of love twixt him and the Marigold: it should either seeme they were loath to incurre the displeasure of women, by propounding it in the way of comparison any servile imitation for head strong wives, that love no precepts lesse than those pertaining vnto duty; or that that flower not so vsual in their gardens as ours, in her vnacquainted name did obscure the honour of her amors to Apollo; to whose motions reducing the methode of her springing, she waketh and sleepeth, openeth and shutteth her golden leaves, as he riseth and setteth.

Well did you forestall my exception, quoth *Eriphila*, in terming it a seruile imitation; for were the condition of a wife so slauish as your similitude would inferre, I had as leaue be your page as your spouse, your dogge as your darling.

Not so, sweete wife, answered Agenor, but the comparison holdeth in this, that as the Marigold resembleth the Sunne both in colour and forme, so each mans wife ought euerie way to be the image of her husband, framing her countenance to smile, when she sees him disposed to mirth; and contrariwise her eyes to teares, he being surcharged with melancholy: and as the Marigold displaieth the orient ornaments of her beautie to the resplendant viewe of none but her louer Hyperion, so ought not a woman of modestie lay open the allurements of her face to anie but her espoused pheere; in whose absence like the Marigold in the absence of the Sunne, she ought to shut vp her dores, and solemnize continuall night, till her husband, her sunne, making a happie return, vnsealeth her silence with the ioy of his sight.

Beleeue me, but if all flowers (quoth *Eriphila*) affoord such influence of eloquence to our aduerse orators, Ile exempt them all from my smell, for feare they be all planted to

poyson.

Ofte haue I heard (replied Agenor) our cunning Phisitions conclude, that one poyson is harmelesse to another; which if it be so, there is no cause why a thistle should feare to be stung of a nettle.

I can tell you, sir, you best were beware, least in wading too farre in comparisons of thistles and nettles, you exchange

not your rose for a nettle.

If I do, quoth Agenor, it is no more, but my gardeners shall plucke it vp by the rootes, and throw it ouer the wal as a weed.

To end this iest that els would issue to a iarre, What purple flower is this in forme like a hyacinth (quoth *Eriphila*) so cunningly dropped with bloud, as if Nature had intermedled with the Heralds arte, to emblazon a bleeding heart.

It is the flower into the which Poets doo faigne Venus dying Adonis to be turned, a faire boy but passing infortu-

nate.

Was it possible, quoth *Eriphila*, that euer Nature should bee so bounteous to a boy, to give him a face in despite of women so faire: faine would I see such an object, and then would I defie beautie, for imparting our excellencie to any inferiour object.

In saying these words (as if Fortune meant to present her fancie with his desired felicitie) Romanio conducted by one of the Lords came with yong Pleusidippus in his hand into the privile garden: where discoursing vnto the king the intent of Eurilochus in presenting him with such an inestimable Iewell, the manner of his taking in the Strond of Arcadie, with other circumstance of vowed alleageance; all which being gratefully accepted of Agenor, he sealed their severall pardons, and so gave them leave to depart.

But when he had throughly observed everie perfection of yong *Pleusidippus*, he burst into these tearmes of passion; Had sea-borne *Pontia* then an appliable eare in our idlenesse, that to testifie hir eternall deitie, she should send vs a second *Adonis* to delude our senses? What ever may deserve the name of faire have I seen before, beautie have I beheld in his brightest orb, but never set eve on immortalitie before this

houre.

Eriphila likewise in no lesse extasie, seeing her eyes to dazle with the reflexe of his beautie, and hir cheekes tainted with a blush of disgrace by too too much gazing on his face, said; that eyther the Sunne had lefte his bower to beguile their eyes with a borrowed shape (which could not keepe in his brightnesse) or Cupide dismounted from his mothers lappe, left his bow and quiuer at random, to outbraue the Thessalian dames in their beautie.

In this contrarietie of thoughts, being all plunged welnigh

in a speachlesse astonishment, the faire childe *Pleusidippus* not vsed to such hyperbolical spectators, broke off the silence by calling for his victualls, as one whose emptie stomack since his comming from sea, was not ouercloyed with delicates, whereat *Agenor* reuiued from his trance, wherein the present wonder had inwrapt him, demanded such questions of his name and parentage as the Pirates ignorance could not vnfold; but he being able to tel no more than this, that his mother was a shepheardesse, and his owne name *Pleusidippus*, cut off all their further interrogatories by calling, after his childish manner, againe for his dinner.

Whereupon Agenor commanding him to be had in, and, vsed in euerie respect as the childe of a Prince, began in his solitarie walke by his countenance to calculate his Natiuitie, and measure his birth by his beautie, contracting him in thought heyre to his kingdome of Thessaly, and husbande to his daughter, before he knewe whence the childe descended.

or who was his father.

But leaving yong Pleusidippus thus spending his youth in the Thessalian Court, protected with tender affection of such a courteous Foster-father as Agenor; returne wee where we lefte, backe vnto Arcadie, and meete his Mother, the faire Samela, returning from the foldes: who having discoursed by the way, as she came home, to Lamedon and Menaphon, what shee late sawe and observed in her sonne, they both conjoyned their judgements to this conclusion, that hee was doubtles borne to some greater fortunes than the sheepcoates could containe, and therefore it behooved her to further his Destinies with some good and liberall education, and not to detaine him any longer in that trade of life, which his fortune withstood: but by the way to rebuke him for tyrannising so Lordlie ouer his boies, least the neighbor shepheards might happely intrude the name of injurie on them being strangers, for his insulting ouer their children.

With this determination came she home, and calling for *Pleusidippus* according to their former counsaile, he would in no wise be found. Thereupon enquirie was made amongest all the shepheards, diligent seach in euerie village, but stil the most carefullest post returned with *Non est inuentus*.

Which Samela hearing, thinking she had vtterly lost him whome Fortune had saued, began in this manner to act her vnrest.

Dissembling heavens, where is your happinesse? vnconstant times, what are your triumphes? haue you therefore hethertoo fed me with honie, that you might at last poyson me with gall? Haue you fatted me so long with Sardenian smiles, that like the wracke of the Syrens, I might perish in your wiles? Curst that I was to affie in your curtesie, curst that I am to taste of your crueltie. Pleusidippus, liuest thou, or art thou dead? No thou art dead, dead to the world, dead to thy kinsfolkes, dead to Cipres, dead to Arcadie, dead to thy mother Samela; and with thee dies the worlds wonder, thy kinsfolkes comfort, Cipres soule, Arcadies hopes, thy mothers honours. this the prophecie of thy souereigntie, to yeeld vp thy life to death so vntimely? wretched was I of al women to bring thee foorth to this infancie. O cruel Themis that didst revolve such vneuitable fate; hard harted death to prosecute me with such hate. Haue wee therefore escapte the furie of the seas, to perish on the land? was it not inough that we were exiled from higher prosperitie, but we must all of vs thus sodainly be ouerwhelmed with the ouerflowe of a second aduersitie? my husband and thy father to be swalowed in the furie of the surge, and now thou to bee. And therewith her eyes distilled such abundance of teares, as stopt the passage of her plaints; and made her seeme a more than second Niobe, bewailing her seauen fold sorrow vnder the forme of a weeping Flint.

Menaphon who had ouer heard her all this while, as one that sought opportunitie to plead his vnrest, perceiuing her in that extremitie of agonie for hir sons supposed losse, stept to hir presently, and cheerde hir vp in these tearmes; Faire shepheardesse, might the teares of contrition raise the dead from destruction, then were it wisdome to bewaile what weeping might recall; but since such anguish is fruitelesse, and these plainings bootlesse; comfort your self with the hope of the liuing, and omit the teares for the dead.

Why, quoth Samela, how is it possible a woman should loose him without griefe, whom she hath conceiued with sorrow: he was, sweete Menaphon, the divided halfe of my

essence, soule to my ioyes, and life to my delights; as beauteous in his birth, as in our bright bow-bearing God, that played the shepheard awhile for loue, amiddest our

pleasant Arcadian Downes.

What ere he was in beautie, quoth *Menaphon*, proceeded from your bountie; who may by marriage make his like when you please: therefore there is no cause you should so much grieue to see your first worke defacte, that of a newe molde can forme a farre better than ever he was.

Ah, Menaphon, nere more may his like proceede from my loynes; I tell thee he made the chamber bright with his beautie when he was born, and chacte [chased] the night with the golden rayes that gleamed from his lookes: nere more may I bee the mother of such a sonne.

Yes, Samela, (quoth the frolicke shephearde) thinke not but if thou wilt list to my loues, I will enrich thee with as faire

increase as euer he was.

Alas, pore swaine, said she, thou hopest in vaine, since another must reape what thou hast sowne, and gather into his barnes what thou hast scattered in the furrowe.

Another reape what I haue sowen. Therewith he scracht his head where it icht not, and setting his cap he could not tell which way, in a hot fustian fume, he vtterd these words of furie; Strumpet of *Greece*, repaiest thou my loue with this lauish ingratitude? haue I therefore with my plentie supplied thy wants, that thou with thy pride shouldst procure my wo? did I relieue thee in distresse, to wound me in thy welfare with disdaine? deceitful woman (and therewith hee swore a holiday oath, by Pan the God of the shepheards) either returne loue for loue, or I will turne thee forth of doores to scrape vp thy crummes where thou canst; and make thee pitied for thy pouertie, that earst while wert honoured in euery mans eye through the supportance of thy beautie.

Belike then, quoth Samela, when you intertained me into your house, you did it not in regarde of the lawes of hospitalitie, but only with this policie to quench the flames of your fancie; then sir, haue I mistooke your honestie, and am

lesse indebted to your courtesie.

Nay I thought no lesse. saide Menaphon, when your straggling eye at our last meeting would bee gadding throughout euerie corner of our companie, that you would proue such a kinde

kistrell; but if you will needes be starting, Ile serue yee thereafter, I warrant you: then see which of our beardlesse yongsters will take ye in, when I haue cast you foorth.

Those, quoth she, that outcountenance Menaphon and his pelfe, and are better able than your selfe: but howsoeuer I finde their fauour, I henceforth defie you and your fellow-

ship.

And therewith, in great rage, she flung away into the next chamber, where her uncle *Lamedon* laye a sleepe; to whome complaining of *Menaphons* discurtesies, he straight inuented this remedie:

There was a shepheard called *Moron* (brother to *Doron*) that not long before died of a surfet, whose house and flocke beeing set to sale after his decease, he bought them both foorthwith for *Samela*, with certaine remainder of money he had, and therein enfeaft [enfeoffed] her, maugre the furie of *Menaphon*; who when hee saw she was able to support her state without his purse, became sicke for anger, and spent whole

Eclogues in anguish.

Sometime lying comfortlesse on his bedde, he would complaine him to the windes of his woes, in these or such like words: Forlorne and forsooke, since Phisicke doth loathe thee; despayre be thy death, Loue is a God and despiseth thee a man; Fortune blinde, and can not beholde thy desertes; die, die, fonde *Menaphon*, that vngratefully hast abandoned thy Mistresse. And therewith stretching himselfe vpon his bed, as thinking to haue slept, hee was restrained by cares that exiled all rest from his eyes: whereuppon taking his pipe in his hande, twixte playing and singing hee playned him thus.

MENAPHONS SONG IN HIS BEDDE.



Ou restlesse cares, companions of the night,
That wrap my ioyes in folds of endlesse woes:
Tyre on my heart, and wound it with your spight,
Since Loue and Fortune proues my equall foes.

Farewell my hopes, farewell my happy daies: Welcome sweet griefe, the subject of my laies.

Mourne heavens, mourne earth, your shepheard is forlorne;
Mourne times, and houres, since bale inuades my howre:
Curse euerie tongue, the place where I was borne,
Curse euerie thought, the life which makes me lowre.
Farewell my hopes, farewell my happy daies,
Welcome sweet griefe, the subject of my laies.

Was I not free? was I not fancies aime? Framde not desire my face to front disdaine? F was; she did: but now one silly maime Makes me to droope as he whom love hath slaine.

Farewell my hopes, farewell my happy daies, Welcome sweet griefe, the subject of my layes.

Yet drooping, and yet living to this death,

J sigh, I sue for pitie at her shrine,

Whose fierie eyes exhale my vitall breath,

And make my flockes with parching heate to pine.

Farewell my hopes, farewell my happie daies,

Welcome sweet griefe, the subject of my layes.

Fade they, die I, long may she liue to blisse, That feedes a wanton fire with fuell of her forme, And makes perpetuall summer where shee is; Whiles I doo crie oretooke with enuies storme,

Farewell my hopes, farewell my happie daies: Welcome sweete griefe, the subject of my laies.

No sooner had Menaphon ended this dittie, but Pesana hearing that he was lately falne sicke, and that Samela and hee were at mortall iarres; thinking to make hay while the Sunne shined, and take opportunitie by his forelockes, comming into his chamber, vnder pretence to visit him, fell into these termes; Why how now, Menaphon, hath your newe change driuen you to a night cap? Beleeue me, this is the strangest effect of loue that euer I saw, to freeze so quicklye the heart it set on fire so lately.

Why maye it not bee a burning feuer as well, quoth Mena-

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phon blushing?

Nay that can not be, said Pesana, since you shake for colde, not sweat for heat.

Why if it be so, it is long of cold interteinment.

Why, quoth *Pesana*, hath your hot intertainment cooled your courage?

No, but her vndeserued hate quite hindered my conquest. You knowe, said *Pesana*, where you might haue been let in, long ere this, without either assault or anie such battery.

With this the Shepheard was mute, and *Pesana* ashamed: but at length regathering his spirits, to bewray his martyrdome, and make his olde Mistris some new musicke, he strained foorth this dittie.



Aire fields, proud Floras vaunt, why is't you smile when as J lauguish?

You golden meads, why striue you to beguile my weeping anguish?

I line to sorrow, you to pleasure spring:

why doo you spring thus?

What will not Boreas, tempests wrathfull king, take some pitie on vs?

And send foorth Winter in hir rustie weede,
to waite my bemonings;

Whiles I distrest doo tune my countrey reede vnto my gronings.

But heaven, and earth, time, place, and every power, have with her conspired

To turne my blissefull sweetes to balefull sower, since fond I desired

The heaven whereto my thoughts may not aspire: ay me vnhappie.

It was my fault t'imbrace my bane the fire, that forceth me to die.

Mine be the paine, but hirs the cruell cause

of this strange torment:

Wherefore no time my banning prayers shall pause, till proud she repent. Well I perceiue, quoth *Pesana*, for all she hath let you flie like a Hawke that hath lost hir tyre; yet you meane to follow sute and seruice, though you get but a handfull of smoake to the bargaine.

Not so, said Menaphon, but perhaps I seek to returne an

ill bargaine as deare as I bought it.

If you doo so, you are wiser than this kercher dooth shew

you, quoth Pesana.

Much idle prattle to this purpose had Menaphon with Pesana in his sicknesse; and long it was not, but that with good diet and warme broths, (and especially by her carefull attendance) hee began to gather vp his crummes, and listen by litle and litle to the loue he late scorned.

Leaue we them to their equall desires, as surfetting either of others societie; and let vs looke back to Thessaly, where Samelaes stripling (now growne vp to the age of sixteene veres) flourisht in honour, and feates of armes aboue all the Knights of the Court, insomuch that the eccho of his Fame, was the onely news talkt on throughout euerie towne in Greece: but Olympia the Mistresse of his prowesse (for so was the Kings daughter named) was she that most of all exalted in the farre renowmed reports of his martiall perfections, to whose praise hee did consecrate al his indeauours, to whose exquisite forme hee did dedicate al his aduentures. But hellborne Fame, the eldest daughter of Erinnis, enuying the felicitie of these two famous Louers, dismounted eftsoones from hir brasse sounding buildings, and vnburdened hir selfe of hir secrets in the presence of yong Pleusidippus, among whose catalogue she had not forgot to discouer the incomparable beauty of the Arcadian shepheardesse: whereof the young Prince no sooner had received an inckling, but he stood vpon thornes til he had satisfied his desire with her sight.

Therefore on a time sitting with his Mistresse at supper, when for table talke it was debated amongst them, what Country bredde the most accomplisht Dames for all things? After straungers and others had deliuered vp their opinions without parcialitie, one amongst them all, who had been in Arcadie,

gaue vp his verdit thus freely;

R. Greene. Aug. 1580.

Gentle women (quoth hee) bee it no disgrace for the Moone to stoope to the Sunne, for the starres to give place when Titan appeares; then I hope neither the Thessalians will be moued, nor the Grecians agrieued, if I make Apollos Arcadie beauties Meridian. Neither wil I proceede heerein as our Philosophicall Poets are wont, that muster every moover in the Zodiacke, euerie fixed starre in the firmament, euerie elementall worde of arte in an Almanacke, to prooue that Countrey for beautie most Canonicall where their Mistresse abideth; when as, God wot, had they but learned of Apelles, Ne sutor vltra crepidam, they would not have aspired aboue their birth, or talkt beyond their sowterly bringing vp. Our Arcadian Nimphs are faire and beautifull, though not begotten of the Suns bright rayes, whose eyes va[u]nt loues armorie to the viewe, whose angelical faces are to the obscure earth in steed of a Firmament: viewe but this counterfeite (and therwithall hee shewed the picture of Samela) and see if it be not of force to draw the Sunne from his spheare, or the Moone from hir circle to gaze as the one did on the beautie of Daphne, or al night contemplate as the other on the forme of Endymion.

Pleusidippus who al this while heard his tale with attentiue patience, no sooner beheld the radiant glory of this resplendant face, but as a man alreadie installed in eternitie, he exclaimed thus abruptly. O Arcadie, Arcadie, storehouse

of Nimphs, and nurserie of beautie.

At which words Olympia starting vp suddenly, as if she, a second Iuno, had taken hir Ioue in bed with Alcmena: and ouercasting the chamber with a frown that was able to mantle the world with an eternall night, she made passage to her choller in these termes of contempt; Beardlesse vpstart of I know not whence, have the fauors of my bounty (not thy desert) entred thee so deeply in ouerweening presumption, that thou shouldst be the formost in derogation of our dignitie, and blaspheming of my beautie? Itell thee, recreant, I scorne thy clownish Arcady with his inferior comparisons, as one that prizeth her perfection aboue anie created constitution.

Pleusidippus, vppon this speech stood plunged in a great perplexitie, whether he should excuse himselfe mildly, or take her vp roundly; but the latter being more leuel to his humor than the former, he began thus to rowze vp his furie. Disdainful dame, that vpbraidest me with my birth as it were base, and my youth as it were boyish, know that although my parents and progenie are enuied by obscuritie, yet the sparkes of renowm that make my Eagle minded thoughts to mount, the heavenly fire imprisoned in the pannicles of my crest, inciting me to more deeds of honor, than stout *Perseus* effected with his fauchon in the fields of *Hesperia*, assertaineth my soule I was the sonne of no coward, but a Gentleman: but since my inequalitie of parentage is such an eye sore to thy enuy, holde, take thy fauors, (and therewith he threw her her glove) and immortalize whom thou wilt with thy toyes; for I will to *Arcadie* in despite of thee and thy affinitie, there either to seeke out mischance, or a new Mistres.

With this, in a great rage, he rose from the boord, and would have mounted himselfe to depart in that mood, had not the Lords and gentlemen there present disswaded him from such an vnaduised enterprise. Neither was this vn-kindnesse kept so secret, but it came to the Kings eare as he was new risen from dinner; who for the loue he bare to Pleusidippus whome hee had honoured with Knighthood not long before, and for the toward hopes he saw in him, took paines to goe to the chamber where they were; and finding his daughter in strange manner perplexed with the thoughts of Pleusidippus departure, her eyes red, and her cheekes all to be blubbered with her iealous teares, he took her vp in this manner.

Daughter, I thought I had chose such a one to be the object of your eie, as you might have everie way loved and honoured as the Lord of your life, and not have controlled as the slave of your luste. Did I therefore grace him with my countenance, that you should distaine him with your taunts; peeuish girle; I advise thee on my displeasure, either reconcile thy selfe betimes, and reforme thy vnreuerent tearmes, or I will disclaime the love of a Father, and deale by thee no more as a daughter.

Olympia, who alreadie had sufficiently bitten on the bridle, took these words more vnkindly than all her former bitternesse, which she digested but sowerly; neuerthelesse making necessitie the present times best pollicie, shee humbled her selfe as shee might with modestie, and desired the best interpretation of what was past: Pleusidippus whose courteous

inclination coulde not withstand this submission, in sign of reconcilement, gaue her a stoccado des labies: yet was he not so reconciled, but he kept on his purpose of going to Arcadie, whereat Olympia (although she grudged inwardly, yet being loath to offend) helde her peace, and determined to bestowe vppon him a remembrance, whereby he might bee brought to thinke vppon her in his absence; which was the deuise of a bleeding heart floting in the sea waves, curiouslie stampt in golde, with this Motto about it, Portum aut mortem; alluding as it seemed, to the deuise in his shield, wherein (because he was taken vp by Eurilochus on the shore) was cunningly drawne in a field argent, the sea waves with Venus sitting on the top, in token that his affection was alreadie fettred.

Here holde this, said she, my sweet *Pleusidippus*, and hang it about thy neck, that when thou art in *Arcadie*, it may be euer in thine eye; so shall these droppes of ruth that paint out a painfull trueth, withdraw thy fancie from attracting strange beautie. Which said, the teares gusht from her eyes, and *Agenors* likewise, who gaue him nothing so much in charge,

as to make hast of his returne.

Pleusidippus, although he could have bin content to have done the like for companie, yet he had such a minde on his iourney, that he broke off such ceremonies, and hasted a shipboord; and in a Barke bounde for Arcadie, having the winde fauourable, made a short cut, so as in a daye and nights sayling, he arrived on the shore adioyning to the Promontorie wher he, his mother, and his uncle Lamedon were first wrackt.

Leaue we him wandring with some few of his traine that came with him alongst the sea side, to seeke out some town or village where to refresh themselues; and let vs awhile to the Court of Democles, where our Historie began: who having committed his daughter with her tender babe, her husbande Maximus, and Lamedon, his vncle, without oare or mariner to the furie of the merciles waves, determined to leave the succession of his kingdome to vncertaine chance; for his Queene with Sephestiaes losse (whom she deemed to be dead) tooke such thought, that within short time after she died. Democles, as carelesse of all weathers, spent his time Epicure-like in all kinde of pleasures that either art or expence might affoord,

so that for his dissolute life he seemed another *Heliogabalus*, deriuing his securitie from that grounded tranquilitie, which made it prouerbiall to the world, *No heaven but Arcadie*.

Hauing spent manie yeares in this varietie of vanitie, Fame determining to applye her selfe to his fancie, sounded in his eares the singular beauty of his daughter Samela; he, although he were an olde colt, yet had not cast all his wanton teeth. which made him vnder the brute of beeing sicke of a grieuous appoplexie, steale from his Court secretly in the disguise of a shepheard, to come and seek out Samela; who not a little proud of hir new flocke, liude more contented then if she had been Queene of Arcadie, and Melicertus ioving not a little that shee was parted from Menaphon, vsed euerie day to visite her without dread, and courte her in such shepheards termes as he had; which howe they pleased her I leave to you to imagine, when as not long after shee vowed marriage to him solemnly in presence of all the shepheards, but not to be solemnized til the Prophecie was fulfilled, mentioned in the beginning of this Historie. Although this penance exceeded the limits of his patience; yet hoping that the Oracle was not vttered in vaine, and might as well (albeit he knew not which way) bee accomplished in him as in any other, was contented to mak a vertue of necessitie, and await the vtmost of his destinie.

But Pleusidippus, who by this time had perfected his pollicies, exchaunging his garments with one of the heardgroomes of Menaphon, tracing ouer the Plaines in the habit of a Shepheard, chanced to meete with Democles as he was new come into those quarters; whom mistaking for an olde shepheard, he began many impertinent questions belonging to the Sheepecoates, at last he askt him if he knew Samelaes sheepfold; who answering doubtfully vnto all alike, made him halfe angrie; and had not Samela passed by at that instant to fill her bottle at a spring neere the foote of the Promontorie, he should like inough haue had first handsell of our new Shepheards sheepehooke. But the wonder of her beautie so wrought with his wounded fancie, that he thought report a partiall spreader of her praises, and fame too base to talke of such formes. Samela espying this faire sheepheard so farre ouer-gone in his gazing, stept to him, and askt him if he knew

her that hee so ouerlookt her.

Pardon me, faire shepheardesse, (quoth *Fleusidippus*) if it be a fault, for I cannot chuse, being Eagle sighted, but gaze on the Sunne the first time I see it.

And truely I cannot chuse but compare you to one of Æsops Apes, that finding a Glowworme in the night, tooke it for a fire; and you seeing a face full of deformities, mistake it for the Sunne.

Indeede it maye be, mine eyes made opposite to such an object may faile in their office, having their lights rebated by such brightenesse.

Nay not vnlike, quoth Samela, for els out of doubt you

would see your way better.

Why, quoth Pleusidippus, I cannot go out of the way,

when I meete such glistering Goddesses in my way.

How now, sir *Paris*, are you out of your Arithmeticke, I thinke you haue lost your witts with your eyes, that mistake

Arcadie for Ida, and a Shepheardesse for a Goddes.

How euer it please you (quoth *Pleusidippus*) to derogate from my prowesse by the title of *Paris*, know that I am not so farre out of my Arithmetick, but that by Multiplication I can make two of one, in an houres warning, or bee as good as a cypher to fill vp a place at the worst hand; for my wit sufficeth be it neuer so simple to proue both re and voce, that there can be no vacuum in rerum natura; and mine eyes, (or else they deceiue me) will enter so farre in arte, as niger est contrarius albo, and teach mèe how to discerne twixt blacke and white.

Much other circumstance of prattle passed betweene them, which the Arcadian Records doo not shew, nor I remember; sufficeth he pleaded loue, and was repulst: which droue him into such a choler, that meeting his supposed shepheard (who lying vnder a bush, had all this while ouer heard them) hè entred into such termes of indignation, as Ioue shaking his earthquaking haire, when he sat in consultation of Licaon.

Wherefore Democles perceiuing Pleusidippus repulst, who was euery way gracde with the ornaments of Nature, began to cast ouer his bad peniworths, in whose face age had furrowed her wrinckles; except hee should lay his crowne downe at her feete, and tell her he was king of Arcadia: which in Common wealths respectes, seeming not commodious, he thought to turne a new leafe, and make this yong shepheard

the meanes to perfect his purpose. Hee had not farre from that place a strong Castle, which was inhabited as then by none but tilsmen and heardgroomes: thither did he perswade Pleusidippus to carrie her perforce, and effect that by constraint, that he could not atchieue by intreatie; who listning not a little to this counsaile, that was neuer plotted for his aduantage, presently put in practise what he of late gaue in precepts, and waiting till the euening that Samela should fold hir sheepe, having given his men the watch word, maugre al the shepheards adjoining, he mounted her behind him; and being by Democles directed to the Castle, he made such havocke among the stubborne heardsmen, that will they, nill they, he was Lord of the Castle.

Yet might not this prevaile with Samela, who constant to her olde shephearde, would not interteine anie new loue; which made Pleusidippus thinke all this harvest lost in the reaping, and blemisht all his delights with a mournful drooping.

But Democles that lookt for a mountaine of gold in a Mole hill, finding her all alone, began to discourse his loue in more ample manner than euer Pleusidippus, telling her how he was a King, what his reuenewes were, what power he had to aduance her, with many other proude vaunts of his wealth,

and prodigal terms of his treasure.

Samela hearing the name of a King, and perceiuing him to be hir Father, stoode amazed like Medusaes Metamorphosis, and blushing oft with intermingled sighes, began to thinke how iniurious fortune was to her showen in such an incestuous father. But he, hot spurred in his purpose, gaue hir no time to deliberate, but required either a quicke consent, or a present deniall. She tolde him, that the Shepheard Melicertus was alreadie intitled in the interest of hir beautie, wherefore it was in vain what hee or anie other could plead in the way of perswasion.

He thereupon entring into a large field of the basenesse of Shepheards, and royalties of Kings, with many other assembled arguments of delight, that would have fetcht *Venus* from her sphere to disport: but *Samela*, whose mouth could digest no other meate saue only hir sweet *Melicertus*, ashamed so long to hold parley with her father about such a matter, flung away to her withdrawing chamber in a dissembled rage, and there, after her wonted manner, bewailed her misfortunes.

Democles plunged thus in a Laborinth of restles passions, seeing Melicertus figure was so deepely printed in the center of her thoughts, as neither the resolution of his fancie, his Metamorphosis from a King to a traueler, Crownes, Kingdomes, preferments, (batteries that soone ouerthrowe the fortresse of womens fantasies) when Democles, I say, saw that none of these could remooue Samela; hearing that the Arcadian shepheards were in an vprore for the losse of their beautifull shepheardesse, his hot loue changing to a bird of coy disdaine; he intended by some reuenge, eyther to obtaine his loue, or satisfie his hate: wherevppon throughly resolued, he stole away secretly in his shepheards apparaile, and got him down to the Plaines, where he found all the swaines in a mutinie about the recouerie of their beautifull Paragon.

Democles stepping amongst the route, demaunded the cause

of their controuersie.

Marie, sir, quoth Doron bluntly, the flower of all our garland is gone.

How meane you that, sir, quoth he?

Wee had, answered *Doron*, an Eaw amongst our Rams, whose fleece was as white as the haires that grow on father *Borcas* chinne, or as the dangling deawlap of the siluer Bull, her front curled like to the *Erimanthian* Boare, and spangled like to the woosted stockings of *Saturne*, her face like *Mars* treading vpon the milke white cloudes; belieue me Shepheard, her eyes were like the fierie torches tilting against the Moone. This Paragon, this none such, this Eaw, this Mistres of our flockes, was by a wily Foxe stolne from our foldes; for which these shepheards assemble themselues, to recouer so wealthie a prize.

What is he, quoth *Menaphon*, that *Doron* is in such debate with? Fellow, canst thou tell vs anie newes of the faire shepheardesse, that the Knight of *Thessaly* hath carried away

from her fellow Nymphes?

Democles thinking to take opportunitie by the forhead: and seeing Time had feathred his bolte, willing to assaye, as

hee might, to hit the marke, began thus.

Shepheardes, you see my profession is your trade; and although my wandring fortunes be not like your home borne favours, yet were I in the groues of *Thessalian Tempe* as I am in the plaines of *Arcadie*, the swaines would give mee as

manie due honors, as they present you here with submisse reuerence. Beautie that drew Apollo from heauen to playe the shepheard, that fetcht *Ioue* from heaven to beare the shape of a Bull for Agenors daughter, the excellence of such a Metaphysicall vertue, I meane (shepheards) the fame of your faire Samela, houering in the eares of euerie man as a miracle of nature, brought me from Thessaly to feede mine eves with Arcadies wonder: stepping alongst the shoare to come to some sheepecoate where my wearie limmes might haue rest, Loue that for my labors thought to lead me to fancies pauillion, was my conduct to a castle, where a Thessalian knight lyes in holde, the Portcullis was let downe, the bridge drawen, the Courte of garde kept, thether I went; and for by my tongue I was known to be a Thessalian, I was enterteined and lodged: the Knight whose yeeres are yong, and valure matchlesse, holding in his armes a Lady more beautifull than Loues Queene, all blubbered with teares, asked me manie questions, which, as I might, I replide vnto: but while he talkt, mine eye surfetting with such excellence, was detained vpon the glorious shew of such a wonderfull object; I demanded what she was, of the standers by, and they said she was the faire shepheardesse whom the Knight had taken from the swaines of Arcadie, and woulde carrie with the first wind that served into Thessaly: This, shepheards, I know, and grieue that thus your loues should be ouermatcht with Fortune, and your affections pulde back by contrarietie of Destinie.

Melicertus hearing this, the fire sparkling out of his eyes, began thus, I tell thee shephearde, if Fates with their fore-pointing pencels did pen down, or Fortune with her deepest varietie resolue, or Loue with his greatest power determine to depriue Arcadie of the beautifull Samela, we would with our blood signe downe such spels on the Plaines, that either our Gods should summon her to Elizium, or shee rest with vs quiet and fortunate; thou seest the shepheardes are vp in armes to reuenge, onely it rests who shall have the honour and principalitie of the field.

What needs that question, quoth Menaphon, am not I the Kings shepheard, and chiefe of all the bordering swaines of

Arcadia?

I grant, quoth Melicertus, but am not I a Gentleman,

though tirde in a shepheardes skincote; superiour to thee in

birth, though equall now in profession.

Well from words, they had falne to blowes, had not the shepheards parted them; and for the auoyding of further troubles, it was agreed that they should in two Eglog[ue]s make description of their loue; and Democles, for he was a stranger, to sit Censor, and who best could decipher his Mistres perfection, should be made Generall of the rest.

Menaphon and Melicertus condescended to this motion, and Democles sitting as a Judge, the rest of the shepheards stand-

ing as witnesses of this combat, Menaphon began thus.

MENAPHONS EGLOQUE.



That meanes to marke the power and worth of lone;

Not one that lines (except he hap to proue)

Can tell the sweete, or tell the secret paine.

Yet I that have been prentice to the griefe, Like to the cunning sea-man, from a farre, By gesse will talke the beautie of that starre, Whose influence must yeeld me chiefe reliefe.

You Censors of the glorie of my deare, With reverence and lowlie bent of knee; Attend and marke what her perfections be: For in my words my fancies shall appeare.

Hir lockes are pleighted like the fleece of wooll That Iason with his Gretian mates atchinde, As pure as golde, yet not from golde deriude; As full of sweetes, as sweete of sweetes is full.

Her browes are pretie tables of conceate, Where Loue his records of delight doth quoate, On them her dallying lockes doo daily floate As Loue full oft doth feede vpon the baite. Her eyes, faire eyes, like to the purest lights That animate the Sunne, or cheere the day, In whom the shining Sun-beames brightly play Whiles fancie dooth on them divine delights.

Hir cheekes like ripened lillies steept in wine, Or faire pomegranade kernels washt in milke, Or snow white threds in nets of crimson silke, Or gorgeous cloudes upon the Sunnes decline.

Her lips like roses our washt with dew, Or like the purple of Narcissus flower: No frost their faire, no wind doth wast their power, But by her breath her beauties doo renew.

Hir christall chin like to the purest molde, Enchac'de with daintie daysies soft and white, Where fancies faire paulion once is pight, Whereas imbrac'de his beauties he doth holde.

Hir necke like to an yuorie shining tower Where through with azure veynes sweete Nectar runnes, Or like the downe of Swannes where Senesse wonnes, Or like delight that doth it selfe devoure.

Hir pappes are like faire apples in the prime, As round as orient pearles, as soft as downe: They never vaile their faire through winters frowne, But from their sweetes Loue sucht his summer time.

Hir bodie beauties best esteemed bowre,
Delicious, comely, daintie, without staine:
The thought whereof (not touch) hath wrought my paine,
Whose faire, all faire and beauties doth deuoure.

Hir maiden mount, the dwelling house of pleasure; Not like, for why no like surpasseth wonder: O blest is he may bring such beauties under, Or search by sute the secrets of that treasure.

Denourd in thought, how wanders my denice? What rests behind I must divine vpon. Who talkes the best, can say but fairer none: Few words well coucht doo most content the wise.

All you that heare; let not my sillie stile, Condemne my zeale: for what my tongue should say Serues to inforce my thoughts to seeke the way Whereby my woes and cares I doo beguile.

Selde speaketh Loue, but sighs his secret paines; Teares are his truce-men, words doo make him tremble. How sweete is loue to them that can dissemble In thoughts and lookes, till they have reapt the gaines.

Alonely I am plaine, and what J say J thinke, yet what I thinke, tongue cannot tell: Sweete Censors take my silly worst for well: My faith is firme, though homely be my laye.

After the haples Menaphon had in this homely discourse shadowed his heauenly delight; the shepheard Melicertus, after some pause, began in this sort.

Melicertus Ecloque.



Hat neede compare where sweete exceedes compare?
Who drawes his thoughts of love from senselesse things
Their pompe and greatest glories doth impaire,
And mounts Loues heaven with over leaden wings.

Stones, hearbes and flowers, the foolish spoyles of carth, Flouds, mettalls, colours, dalliance of the eye:
These shew conceipt is staind with too much dearth:
Such abstract fond compares making cunning die.

But he that hath the feeling taste of Loue Deriues his essence from no earthlie toy;

1 weake conceipt his power cannot approue,
For earthly thoughts are subject to annoy.

Be whist, be still, be silent Censors now; My fellow swaine has tolde a pretie tale Which moderne Poets may perhaps allow, Yet I condemne the termes; for they are stale.

Apollo, when my Mistres first was borne, Cut off his lockes, and left them on her head, And said; I plant these wires in Natures scorne, Wnose beauties shall appeare when Time is dead.

From foorth the Christall heaven when she was made. The puritie thereof did taint hir brow:

On which the glistering Sunne that sought the shade Gan set, and there his glories doth avow.

Those eyes, faire eyes, too faire to be describde, Were those that earst the Chaos did reforme:
To whom the heavens their beauties have ascribde, That fashion life in man, in beast, in worme.

When first hir faire delicious cheekes were wrought, Aurora brought hir blush, the Moone hir white: Both so combinde as passed Natures thought, Compilde those pretie orbes of sweete delight. When Loue and Nature once were proud with play, From both their lips hir lips the Corrall drew:
On them doth fancy sleepe, and euerie day
Doth swallow ioy such sweete delights to view.

Whilome, while Venus Sonne did seeke a bowre, To sport with Psiches his desired deare, He chose her chinne; and from that happy stowre He neuer stints in glorie to appeare.

Desires and Ioyes that long had served Love, Besought a Holde where pretie eyes might woo them: Love make her necke, and for their best behove Hath shut them there, whence no man can vndoo them

Once Venus dreamt vpon two prettie things, Hir thoughts they were affections chiefest neasts: She suckt and sightht, and bathde hir in the springs, And when she wakt, they were my Mistres breasts.

Once Cupid sought a holde to couch his kisses, And found the bodie of my best beloude, Wherein he closde the beautie of his blisses, And from that bower can neuer be remoude.

The Graces earst, when Alcidelian springs
Were waxen drie, perhaps did finde hir fountaine
Within the vale of blisse, where Cupides wings
Doo shield the Nectar fleeting from the mountaine.

No more fond man: things infinite, I see, Brooke no dimension: Hell a foolish speech; For endles things may neuer talked be. Then let me liue to honor and beseech. Sweete Natures pompe, if my deficient phraze
Hath staind thy glories by too little skill,
Yeeld pardon though mine eye that long did gaze,
Hath left no better patterne to my quill.

I will no more, no more will I detaine Your listning eares with dallyance of my tongue: I speake my ioyes, but yet conceale my paine; My paine too olde, although my yeeres be yong.

As soone as *Melicertus* had ended this Eclogue, they expected the doome of *Democles*, who hearing the sweete description, wherein *Melicertus* described his Mistres, wondered that such rare conceipts could bee harboured vnder a shepheards gray clothing, at last he made this answere.

Arcadian Swaines, whose wealth is content, whose labours are tempered with sweete loues, whose mindes aspyre not, whose thoughts brooke no enuie; onely as riualls in affection, you are friendly emulators in honest fancie: sith fortune (as enemie to your quiet) hath reft you of your fayre shepheardesse, (the worlds wonder, and Arcadies miracle) and one of you as champion must lead the rest to reuenge, both desirous to shew your valour as your forwardnesse in affections, and yet (as I said) one to be sole chieftaine of the traine, I award to Melicertus that honour (as to him that hath most curiously portrayed out his Mistres excellence) to beare sole rule, and supremacie.

At this, Menaphon grudged, and Melicertus was in an extasie of ioy, so that gathering all his forces together of stout headstrong clownes, amounting to the number of some two hundred, he apparailed himselfe in armour, colour sables, as mourning for his Mistres, in his shield he had figured the waues of the sea, Venus sitting on them in the height of all her pride. Thus marched Melicertus forward with olde Democles, the supposed shepheard, till they came to the castle, where Pleusidippus and his faire Samela were

resident.

As soone as they came there, Melicertus begirt the Castle with such a siege, as so manie sheepish Caualiers could furnish: which when he had done, summoning them in the

Castle to parley, the young Knight stept vpon the walls, and seeing such crue of base companions, with Iackets and rustie bills on their backs, fell into a great laughter, and began to taunt them thus. Why, what strange Metamorphosis is this? Are the Plaines of Arcadie, whilome filled with labourers, now ouerlaide with launces? Are sheepe transformed into men, swaines into souldiers, and a wandring companie of poore shepheards, into a worthie troope of resolute champions? No doubt, either Pan meanes to playe God of warre, or else these be but such men as rose of the teeth of Cadmus. Nowe I see the beginning of your warres, and the pretended ende of your stratagems; the shepheardes having a madding humour like the Greekes to seek for the recouerie of Helena, so you for the regaining of your faire Samela. Heere shee is, Shepheards, and I a Priam to defende hir with resistance of a ten yeares siege: yet for I were loath to have my Castle sackte like Troy, I pray you tell me, which is Agamemnon?

Melicertus hearing the youth speake thus proudly, hauing the sparkes of honor fresh vnder the cinders of pouertie, incited with loue and valor (two things to animate the most dastard Thersites to enter combate against Hercules) answered Vnknowne yongster of Thessalie, if the feare of thy hardie deedes were like the Diapason of thy threates, wee would thinke the Castle of longer siege, than either our ages would permit, or our valour aduenture: but where the shelfe is most shallowe, there the water breakes most high; emptie vessells haue the highest sounds, hollowe rockes the loudest ecchoes, and pratling gloriosers, the smallest performaunce of courage; for proofe whereof, seeing thou hast made a rape of faire Samela, one of her vowed Shepheards is come for the safetie of her sweete selfe to challenge thee to single combate; if thou ouercome me, thou shalt freelie passe with the shepheardesse to Thessaly; if I vanquish thee, thou shalt feele the burden of thy rashnesse, and Samela the

sweetnesse of her libertie.

Pleusidippus meruailed at the resolution of the shepheard; but when Democles heard how if he wonne, she should be transported into Thessaly, a world of sorowes tombled in his discontented braine, that he hammered in his head many meanes to stay the faire Samela.

For when Pleusidippus, in a great choller, was readie to throwe downe his gantlet, and to accept of the combat, Democles stept vp, and spake thus. Worthy mirrors of resolued magnanimitie, whose thoughts are aboue your fortunes, and whose valour more than your reuenewes, know that Bitches that puppie in hast bring forth blind whelpes; that there is no herbe sooner sprung vp than the Spattarmia nor sooner fadeth; the fruits too soone ripe are quickly rotten; that deedes done in hast are repented at leisure: then braue men in so weightie a cause, and for the conquest of so excellent a Paragon, let not one minute begin and end the quarrell, but like Fabius of Rome vse delay in such dangerous exploytes, when honor sits on wreaths of Lawrels to give the victor his garland: deferre it some three daies, and then in solemne manner end the combat.

To this good motion not onely *Pleusidippus* and *Melicertus* agreed, but all the companie were consenting, and vpon

pledges of truce being given, they rested.

But Democles seeing in couerte he could not conquer, and that in despairing loues secrecie was no salue, he despatched letters to the Nobilitie of his Court, with strait charge that they should bee in that place within three dayes with tenne

thousand strong.

This newes no sooner came to the Generall of his Forces, but leaving so many approoued souldiers, he marched secretly by night to the place *Democles* in his letters had prescribed; and there ioyfully intertained by the King, they were placed in ambush, readie when the signall should be given to issue out of the place, and performe their Souereignes command.

Well, the third day being come, no sooner did *Titan* arise from the watrie Couche of his Lemman, but these two champions were readie in the lists, accompanied with the route of all the *Arcadian* shepheards, and olde *Democles* whom they had

appoynted for one of the Iudges.

Pleusidippus seeing Melicertus advance on his shield the waves of the sea with a Venus sitting vpon them, meruailed what the shepheard should be that gave his armes, and Melicertus was as much amazed to see a strange Thessalian Knight vant his armes without difference; yet being so fraught with direfull revenge, as they scorned to salute ech other so much as with threates, they fell toughly to blowes.

Samela standing on top of the turret, and viewing the combate; the poore Ladie grieuing that for her cause such a stratageme should arise in Arcadic, her countenance ful of sorrow, and flouds of teares falling from her eyes, she began to breathe

out this passion.

Unfortunate Samela, born to mishaps, and forepointed to sinister fortunes, whose bloomes were ripened by mischance, and whose fruite is like to wither with despaire; in thy youth sate discontent pruning her selfe in thy forhead, now in thine age sorow hides her selfe amongst the wrinckles of thy face: thus art thou infortunate in thy Prime, and crossed with contrarie accidents in thy Autumne, as haplesse as Helena, to have the burden of warres laid on the wings of thy beautie. And who must be the champion? whose sword must pearce the helme of thine enemie? whose bloud must purchase the freedome of Samela, but Melicertus? If he conquer, then Samela triumphs, as if she had been chiefe victor in the Olympiades; if he loose, euerie drop falling from his wounds into the center of my thoughts, as his death to him, so shall it be to me, the end of my loues, my life, and my libertie.

As still shee was about to goe forwarde in hir passion, the trumpet sounded, and they fell to fight in such furious sorte, as the Arcadians and Democles himselfe wondered to see the courage of the Shepheard, that tied the Knight to such a sore taske. Pleusidippus likewise feeling an extraordinarie kinde of force, and seeing with what courage the Knight of the shepheards fought, beganne to coniecture diversly of the waves, and to feare the event of the combate. On the contrarie parte, Melicertus halfe wearied with the heavie blowes of Pleusidippus, stood in a maze howe so yong a wagge should be so

expert in his weapon.

Thus debating diversly in their several thoughts, at length being both wearie, they stepte backe, and leaning on their

swordes, tooke breath, gazing each upon other.

At last Pleusidippus burst into these speeches. Shepheard in life, though now a Gentleman in armour, if thy degree be better I glory, I am not disgracde with the combate: tel me, how darest thou so farre wrong mee, as to weare mine Armes on thy shield?

Princockes (quoth Melicertus) thou liest, they be mine owne, and thou contrarie to the Law of Armes bearest my Crest

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without difference, in which quarrell, seeing it concerns my honour, I will reuenge it as farre as my loues. that, he gaue such a charging blow at Pleusidippus helme, that hee had almost overturned him: Pleusidippus lefte not the blowe vnrequited, but doubled his force: insomuch that the hazard of the battle was doubtfull, and both of them were faine to take breath againe.

Democles seeing his time, that both of them were so weakned, gaue the watchword, and the ambush leapt out, slaughtered manie of the shepheards, put the rest to flight, tooke the two champions prisoners, and sacking the Castle, carried them and the faire Samela to his Court: letting the Shepheardesse haue her libertie, but putting Melicertus and

Pleusidippus into a deepe and darke dungeon.

Where leaving these passionate Louers in this Catastrophe: againe to Doron, the homely blunt Shephearde; who having been long enamoured of Carmela, much good wooing past betwixte them, and yet little speeding; at last, both of them met hard by the Promontorie of Arcadie, shee leading foorth her Sheepe, and hee going to see his newe yeard Lambes. As soone as they met, breaking a few quarter blowes with such countrey glances as they coulde, they geerde one at

another louingly.

At last Doron manfully began thus. Carmela, by my troth, Good morrow, tis as daintie to see you abroad, as to eate a messe of sweete milke in Iuly: you are proude such a house doue of late, or rather so good a Huswife, that no man may see you vnder a couple of Capons, the Church-yeard may stand long inough ere you will come to looke on it, and the Piper may begge for euerie pennie he gets out of your pursse: but it is no matter, you are in loue with some stout Ruffler, and yet poore folkes, such as I am, must be content with porredge. And with that, turning his backe, he smiled in his sleeue to see howe kindely hee had given her the bobbe:

Which Carmela seeing, she thought to be euen with him thus. Indeede Doron you saye well, it is long since wee met, and our house is a Grange house with you: but we have tyed vp the great Dogge, and when you come you shall have greene rushes, you are such a straunger: but tis no matter; soone hote soone colde, hee that mingles himselfe with draffe, the hogges will eat him: and she that lays her loue on an vnkinde man, shall finde sorrowe inough to eate hir soppes withall. And with that *Carmela* was so full stomackt that she wept.

Doron to shewe himselfe a naturall yong man, gaue her a few kinde kisses to comfort her, and sware that she was the woman he loued best in the whole worlde, and for proofe,

quoth he, thou shalt heare what I will praise.

And you, quoth she, what I will performe.

And so taking hand in hand, they kindly sate them downe, and began to discourse their loues in these Eclogues.

Dorons Ecloque 10 Y NED WITH CARMELAS.



It downe Carmela, here are cubbs for kings,
Slowes blacke as ieat, or like my Christmas shooes,
Sweet Sidar which my leathren bottle brings:
Sit downe Carmela, let me kisse thy toes.

CARMELA.

Ah Doron, ah my heart, thou art as white, As is my mothers Calfe, or brinded Cow, Thine eyes are like the slowwormes in the night, Thine haires resemble thickest of the snow,

The lines within thy face are deepe and cleere Like to the furrowes of my fathers waine: Thy sweate vpon thy face dooth oft appeare, Like to my mothers fat and Kitchin gaine.

Ah leaue my toe, and kisse my lippes, my loue, My lips are thine, for I have given them thee: Within thy cap tis thou shalt weare my gloue, At foote ball sport, thou shalt my champion be.

DORON.

Carmela deare, even as the golden ball That Venus got, such are thy goodly eyes: When cherries ivice is imbled therewithall, Thy breath is like the steeme of apple pies.

Thy lippes resemble two Cowcumbers faire, Thy teeth like to the tuskes of fattest swine, Thy speach is like the thunder in the aire: Would God thy toes, thy lips, and all were mine.

CARMELA.

Doron, what thing doth moone this wishing griefe?

DORON.

Tis Loue, Carmela, ah tis cruell Loue. That like a slaue, and caitiffe villaine thicfe, Hath cut my throate of ioy for my behoue.

CARMELA.

Where was he borne?

DORON.

In faith I know not where.

But I have heard much talking of his dart.

Ay me poore man, with many a trampling teare,

I feele him wound the forehearse of my heart.

What, doo I loue? O no, I doo but talke.
What, shall I die for loue? O no, not so.
What, am J dead? O no, my tongue doth walke.
Come kisse, Carmela, and confound my wee.

CARMELA.

Euen with this kisse, as once my father did, I seale the sweete indentures of delight:
Before I breake my vowe the Gods forbid,
No not by day, nor yet by darkesome night.

DORON.

Euen with this garland made of Holy-hocks, I crosse thy browes from euerie shepheards kisse. Heigh hoe, how glad am J to touch thy lockes, My frolicke heart euen now a free man is.

CARMELA.

I thanke you Doron, and will thinke on you, I love you Doron, and will winke on you. I seale your charter patent with my thummes, Come kisse and part, for feare my mother comes.

Thus ended this merrie Eclogue betwixte Doron and Carmela: which, Gentlemen, if it be stufft with prettie Similies and farre fetcht Metaphores; thinke the poore Countrey Louers knewe no further comparisons then came within compasse of their Countrey Logicke. Well, twas a good world when such simplicitie was vsed, sayes the old women of our time, when a ring of a rush woulde tye as much Loue together as a Gimmon of golde: but Gentlemen, since we have talkte of Loue so long, you shall give me leave to shewe my opinion of that foolish fancie thus.

Sonetto.



Hat thing is Loue? It is a power divine
That raines in vs: or else a wreakefull law
That doomes our mindes, to beautie to encline:
It is a starre, whose influence dooth draw
Our heart to Loue dissembling of his might,
Till he be master of our hearts and sight.

Loue is a discord, and a strange divorce Betwixt our sense and reason, by whose power, As madde with reason, we admit that force, Which wit or labour neuer may denoure.

It is a will that brooketh no consent: It would refuse, yet neuer may repent.

Loue's a desire, which for to waite a time, Dooth loose an age of yeeres, and so doth passe, As dooth the shadow seuerd from his prime, Seeming as though it were, yet neuer was.

Leauing behinde nought but repentant thoughts Of daies ill spent, for that which profits noughts.

Its now a peace, and then a sodaine warre,
A hope consumde before it is conceiude,
At hand it feares, and menaceth afarre,
And he that gaines, is most of all deceiude:
It is a secret hidden and not knowne,
Which one may better feele than write vpon.

Thus Gentlemen haue you heard my verdite in this Sonetto, now will I returne to Doron and Carmela, who not seeing her mother come, fell againe to a few homely kisses, and thus it was, after they had thus amorously ended their Eclogues, they plighted faith and troth, and Carmela verie brisklye wiping her mouth with a white apron, sealed it with a kisse, which Doron taking marueilous kindly, after a little playing loath to depart, they both went about their businesse.

Leauing them therefore to their businesse, againe to Democles; who seeing no intreaties would serue to perswade Samela to loue, neither the hope of the Arcadian crowne, nor the title of a Queene, lastly assayed with frownes and threates, but all in vaine: for Samela, first restrained by nature in that he was her Father, and secondly by loue, in that Melicertus lay imprisoned onely for her sake, stoode still so stiffe to her tackling, that Democles chaunging loue into hate, resolued to reuenge that with death, which no meanes els might satisfie: so

that to colour his frauds withall, he gaue Samela free license to visite Melicertus: which shee had not long done, but that by the instigation of the old King, the gailor confederate to his trecherie, accuseth her of adulterie: whereupon without further witnesse they both were condemned to dye.

These two louers knowing themselues guiltlesse in this surmised faction, were ioyfull to ende their loues with their liues, and so to conclude all in a fatall and finall content of mindes and passions. But *Democles* set free *Pleusidippus*, as afraide the King of *Thessalie* would reuenge the wrong of his Knight, intertaining him with such sumptuous banquets, as

befitted so braue and woorthie a Gentleman.

The day prefixed came, wherein these parties should die, Samela was so desirous to end her life with her frieed, that shee would not reueale either vnto Democles or Melicertus what she was; and Melicertus rather chose to die with his Samela, then once to name himselfe Maximius. Both thus resolued, were brought to the place of execution; Pleusidippus sitting on a scaffolde with Democles, seeing Samela come forth like the blush in the morning, felt an vncouth passion in his mind, and nature began to enter combat with his thoughts: not loue, but reuerence, not fancie, but feare began to assaile him, that he turnd to the King, and sayd: Is it not pitie, Democles, such divine beauty should be wrapt in cinders?

No, quoth Democles, where the anger of a King must be

satisfied.

At this answere *Pleusidippus* wrapt his face in his cloke and wept, and all the assistants grieued to see so faire a

creature subject to the violent rage of fortune.

Well, Democles commanded the deathsman to doo his deuoyre; who kneeling downe and crauing pardon, readie to giue Melicertus the fatall stroake, there stept out an olde woman attired like a Prophetesse, who cryed out; Villaine holde thy hand, thou wrongest the daughter of a King.

Democles hearing the outcrie, and seeing that at that word the people began to mutinie and murmur, demanded of the old

woman what she meant.

Now, quoth she, Democles, is the Delphian oracle performed; Neptune hath yeelded up the worlds wonder, and that is young Pleusidippus nephew to thee, and sonne to fair Scphestia, who heere standeth under the name of Samela, cast

vpon the Promontory of Arcadie with her yong sonne, where she, as a shepheardesse, hath liude in labours tempred with loues; her son playing on the shore, was conueyed by certain Pirates into Thessaly, where (when as he was supposed euerie way to be dead) doing deedes of chiualrie, he fulfilled the prophecie: your highnesse giuing the Lion, were guide vnto the lambs in dissembling your selfe as a shepheard: planets resting vpon the hils, was the picture of Venus vpon their crests; and the seas that had neither ebbe nor tide, was the combat twixte the father and the sonne, that gaue the waues of the seas in their shields, not able to vanquish one another, but parting with equall victorie. For know Democles this Melicertus is Maximius, twice betrothed to Sephestia, and Father to yong Pleusidippus; now therefore the Oracle fulfilled, is the happie time wherein Arcadie shall rest in peace.

At this, the people gaue a great shout, and the olde woman

vanisht.

Democles as a man rauisht with an extasie of sodaine ioy,

sate still, and stared on the face of Sephestia.

Pleusidippus in all dutie leapt from his seate, and went and couered his mother with his roabe, crauing pardon for the fondnesse of his incestuous affection: and kneeling at his fathers feete submisse, in that he had drawen his sword, and sought his life that first in this world gaue him life.

Maximius first lookt on his wife, and seeing by the lineaments of her face, that it was Sephestia, fell about her necke, and both of them weeping in the bosome of their sonne, shed

teares for ioy to see him so braue a Gentleman.

Democles all this while sitting in a trance, at last calling his senses together, seeing his daughter reuiued, whom so cruelly for the loue of Maximius he had banisht out of his confines, Maximius in safety, and the childe a matchlesse paragon of approued chiualrie, he leapt from his seate, and imbraced them all with teares, crauing pardon of Maximius and Sephestia: and to shew that the outward object of his watrie eies had a sympathie with the inward passion of his hart, he impald the head of his yong neuew Pleusidippus with the crowne and diadem of Arcadie: and for that his brother Lamedon had in all distresse not left his daughter Sephestia, he toke the matter so kindly, that he reconciled himselfe vnto him, and made him Duke in Arcady.

The successe of this forerehearsed Catastrophe growing so comicall, they all concluded after the Festivall solemnizing of the Coronation (which was made famous with the excellent deedes of many worthy Caualiers) to passe into *Thessaly*, to contract the mariage twixt *Pleusidippus*, and the daughter of of the *Thessalian King*.

Which newes spred through Arcadie as a wonder, that at last it came to Menaphons ears, who hearing the high parentage of his supposed Samela, seeing his passions were too aspiring, and that with the Syrian Wolues, he barkt against the Moone, he left such lettice as were too fine for his lips, and courted his old loue Pesana, to whom shortly after he was married.

And lest there should be left any thing vnperfect in this pastorall accident, *Doron* smudgde himselfe vp, and iumpde a marriage with his old friend *Carmela*.

FINIS.



The English Scholar's Library.

No. 13.

An Apology to W. TINDALE.



The English Scholar's Library.

GEORGE JOY.

An Apology made by GEORGE For,

to satisfy, if it may be,

W. Tindale.

1535.

Edited by EDWARD ARBER,

HON. FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON; F.S.A.,

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE,

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1, MONTAGUE ROAD, BIRMINGHAM.
15 August, 1882.

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INTRODUCTION.

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His Apology (here first reprinted from the only copy at present known, now in Cambridge University Library) passed immediately on to the list of the Forbidden Books of its time. It is, for us, one of the most important contributions to the earliest bibliography of the printed English New Testament: and as it carries that deeply interesting Story onward from the first editions of 1526, it may be regarded as a continuation of the documents embodied in the Preface to our photo-litho-

graphic reprint of the fragment of the first Quarto of that year, republished

by us on 15 Feb., 1871.

Mr. HENRY BRADSHAW, better known for his profound bibliographical knowledge of the First Century of printed literature, than even he is as Librarian to the University of Cambridge, has pointed out to us while preparing the present reprint, that the great "Apostle of England" always printed his name WILLYAM TINDALE: which, taken in conjunction with his only autograph extant, being, in Latin, W. TINDALUS, would seem to show that we should now spell his name WILLIAM TINDALE.

If the Reader would be on a level with the latest researches as to the first printed English Scriptures, confessedly one of the most difficult topics in the whole range of our Literature, he should consult, with this

Apology, the following:

HENRY STEVENS, F.S.A. The Bibles in the Caxton Exhibition. 1877. FRANCIS FRY, F.S.A. Bibliographical Description of the Editions of the New Testament, Tyndale's version, in English. 1878.

HENRY BRADSHAW, M.A. Article on GODFRIED VAN DER HAGHEN (G. H.), the publisher of TINDALE's own last edition of the New Testament in 1534-5; in The Bibliographer. No. 1. Dec., 1881.

Although there is, undoubtedly, much more knowledge yet to be recovered in reference to this matter; the five works above indicated will

furnish materials for a true acquaintance (so far as it can extend at present) of this most deeply interesting subject.

II.



UR knowledge of the first Forbidden printed English Literature must chiefly come from three sources. The Texts themselves, which were printed on the Continent; what is said of them from the Outside, by prohibitions, confiscations, trials, &c.; and what is said of them from the Inside, by those who either had a hand in their production, or were

acquainted with those who had.

Naturally, the contributions from the Inside are the most rare: as the Exiles would not show their hands in print, unless provoked to it by some quarrel. Thus we know of ROY and BARLOW's printing at Strasburg, through ROY's quarrel with TINDALE, as appears in the latter's Parable of the Wicked Mammon: and so now, but for this conflict over the word Resurrectio, we never should have got the glimpse behind the scenes which Joy here gives us.

He had been admitted, apparently for some three or four years, into the small inner circle of English exiles at Antwerp, whose lives were consecrated to the Reformation of their mother country. He calls

TINDALE, at p. 50,

My nowne felowe/my companion in lyke perel and persecucion/my familiare/so well knowne/vnto whom I committed solouingly my secretis/with whom gladly I went into the house of god.

Yet TINDALE does not appear to have put much confidence in him, or

to have acquainted him with his own plans.

If one might compare the English with the German Reformers, TINDALE was our LUTHER. JOY, who accuses him of "chyding and brawling," at p. 32; says at p. 17, "He after his wont[ed] disdaynful maner agenst me fylipt them forth betwene his fynger and his thombe/ and what disdaynfull and obprobious wordis he gaue me," &c. Also, "Warned of me/but a fole and vnlearned as he bothe reputeth me and telleth yt me to my face/" p. 43. FRITH was our MELANCTHON, "ientle and quyet and wel lerned," as Joy testifies at p. 33. And Joy was almost our Carlstadt.

It should be remembered that this text is as bitterly angry a retort as any Christian man could write. We may believe Joy in what he says about himself; but not so much in what he says about TINDALE: whom, notwithstanding all, he unconsciously admires and thoroughly respects; though he is vexed at having been injured, as he thought, by so powerful

Our motive for this reprint, however, is not the quarrel, interesting as that is; but the bibliographical information.

III.



HIS Apology teems with points of interest; the due elucidation of which would require a commentary three times its length. We shall best serve the reader by adding to it, in the very little space at our disposal, a few external facts that run together with information given us by Jov: whose life is already done to our hand, in COOPER's Athen. Cant.vb.,

i. 114. Ed. 1858.

JOHN FOX, in the second edition of his Actes and Monumentes, printed under the title of the Ecclesiastical History, in 1570, prints the following as A table of certain persons, abjured within the discess of London, as from the Register of that Bishop.

John Raimund, a Dutchman, 1528.

For causing fifteen hundred of TINDALE's New Testaments to be printed at Antwerp, and for bringing five hundred into England.

John Row, Bookbinder, a Frenchman, 1531.

This man, for binding, buying, and dispersing of books inhibited, was enjoined, besides other penaunce, to go to Smithfield with his books tied about him, and to cast them into the fire, and there to abide till they were all burned to ashes.

Christopher, a Dutchman of Antwerp, 1531.

This man, for selling certain New Testaments in English, to JOHN Row aforesaid, was put in prison at Westminster, and there died.

EDWARD HALLE, in his Chronicle, tells us the following stories:

Here is to be remembred, that at this present tyme, Willyam Tyndale had newly translated and imprinted the Newe Testament in Englishe, and [CUTHERRY TUNSTALL] the Bishop of London, not pleased with the translacion thereof, debated with hymself, how he might compasse and deuise, to destroye that false and erronious translacion (as he saied).

And so it happened that one Augustine Packyngton, a Mercer and Merchant of London, and of a greate honestie, the same time was in Andwarp, where the Bishope then was [? Autumn of 1529], and this Packyngton was a man that highly fauored William Tindale, but to the bishop vtterly shewed hymself to the

contrary.

The bishop desirous to have his purpose brought to passe, commoned of the

Nerve Testamentes, and how gladly he would bye them.

Packyngton then hearyng that he wished for, saied vnto the bishop, my Lorde, if it bee your pleasure, I can in this matter dooe more I dare saie, then moste of the Merchauntes of Englande that are here, for I knowe the Dutche men and straungiers, that haue bought theim of Tyndale, and haue them here to sell, so that if it be your lordshippes pleasure to paye for them, for otherwise I cannot come by them, but I must disburse money for theim, I will then assure you, to haue every boke of them, that is imprinted and is here vnsolde.

The Bishop thinkyng that he had God by the toe, when in deede he had (as after he thought) the Deuell by the fiste, saied, gentle Master Packyngton, do your diligence and get them, and with all my harte I will paie for them, whatsoever

thei cost you, for the bokes are erronious and naughtes and I entende surely to

destroy theim all, and to burne them at Paules Crosse.

Augustine Packyngton came to Willyam Tyndale and saied, Willyam I knowe than arte a poore man, and hast a hepe of new Testamentes, and bokes by thee, for the whiche thou hast bothe indaungered thy frendes, and beggered thy self, and I haue now gotten thee a Merchaunt, whiche with ready money shall dispatche thee of all that thou hast, if you thynke it so proffitable for your self.

Who is the Merchant, said Tindale?

The bishoppe of London, saied Packyngton.

O that is because he will burne them, saied Tyndale.

Ye Mar[r]y, quod Packynton.

I am the gladder, said Tindale, for these two benefites shall come thereof: I shall get money of hym for these bokes, to bryng my self out of debt (and the whole worlde shall crie out vpon the burning of Goddes worde). And the ouerplus of the money, that shall remain to me, shall make me more studious, to correct the said Neww Testament, and so newly to Imprint the same once again, and I trust the second will muche better like you, than euer did the first.

And so forward went the bargain, the bishop had the bokes, Packyngton had

the thankes, and Tyndale had the money.

Afterward when mo newe Testamentes [the second of the two Dutch editions of 5,000 copies in all, referred to at p. 20] were Imprinted, thei came thicke and threfold into Englande, the bishop of London hearyng that still there were so many Newe Testamentes abroad [in circulation], sent for Augustyne Packyngton and saied vnto him: Sir how commeth this, that there are so many Newe Testamentes abroade, and you promised and assured me, that you had bought al?

Then said Packyngton, I promes you I bought all that then was to bee had: but I perceive thei have made more sence, and it will never bee better, as long as they have the letters [type] and stampes [matrices]: therefore it wer best for your lorde-

shippe to bye the stampes to, and then are you sure.

The bishop smiled at hym, and saied, Well Packyngton well: and so ended this

Shortly after, it fortuned one George Constantine, to be apprehended by sir Thomas More, whiche was then lorde Chauncellor of England, of suspicion of certain heresies. And this Constantine beyng with More, after diuerse examinations of diuerse thynges, emong other Master More saied in this wise to Constantine.

Constantine I would have thee plain with me, in one thyng that I will aske of thee, and I promes thee I will shewe thee fauor, in all the other thynges, whereof thou art accused to me. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many mo of you. I knowe thei cannot liue without helpe, some sendeth them money and succoureth theim, and thy self beyng one of them, haddest parte thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I praie thee who be thei that thus helpe them?

My lorde, quod Constantine, will you that I shall tell you the truthe?

Yea I praie thee quod my Lorde.

Mar[r]y I will quod Constantyne, truly, quod he, it is the Bishoppe of London that hath holpen vs, for he hath bestowed emong vs, a greate deale of money in Novo Testamentes to burne theim, and that hath and yet is our onely succoure and comfort.

Now by my trothe, quod More, I thynke euen the same, and I said so muche to the bishop, when he went about to bye them. [GEORGE CONSTANTINE escaped from this imprisonment, and landed at Antwerp on 6 Dec. 1531. See Cott. MS. Galba B. x. fol. 21.] [21 Hen. VII. fcl. 186. Ed. 1548.



Millyam Tindale/yet once more to the christen reader.



Hou shalt vnderstonde moost dere reader/ when I had taken in hande to looke ouer the new testament agayne and to compare it with ye greke/and to mende whatsoeuer I coulde fynde amysse and had almost fynesshed ye laboure: George Joye secretly toke in hand to correct it also by what occasyon his conscyence knoweth: and pre-

vented [anticipated] me/in so moche/yat his correcyon was

prynted in great nombre/yer myne beganne.

When it was spyed and worde brought me; though it semed to dyuers other yat George Joye had not vsed ye offyce of an honest man/seinge he knew yat I was in correctynge it my selfe: nether dyd walke after ye rules of yat love and softenes which christ/and his disciples teache vs/how yat we shuld do nothynge of stryfe to moue debate/or of vayne glorie or of couetousnes. Yet I toke ye thinge in worth as I have done dyuers other in tyme past/as one that haue moare experyence of ye nature and dysposicion of yat mannes complexion/and supposed that a lytle spyse of couetousnes and vayne glorie (two blynde gydes) had bene ye onlye cause yat moued him so to do/aboute whiche thynges I stryue with no man: and so followed after and corrected forth and caused this to be prynted/without surmyse or lokynge on his correction.

But when the pryntynge of myne was almost fynesshed/ one brought me a copie and shewed me so many places/ insoche wyse altered that I was astonyed and wondered not a lytle what furye had dryuen him to make soche chaunge and to call it a diligent correction. For thorow out Mat. Mark and Luke perpetually: and ofte in the actees / and sometyme in John and also in the hebrues / where he fyndeth this worde Resurreccion / he chaungeth it into ye lyfe after this lyfe or verie lyfe and soche lyke as one that abhorred the name of the resurreccion.

If that chaunge / to turne resurrection into lyfe after this lyfe / be a dylygent correccion / then must my translacion be fautie in those places / and saynt Jeromes [the Vulgate] / and all ve translatours that euer I heard of in what tonge so euer it be/ from ye apostles vnto this his dylygent correccyon (as he calleth it) which whither it be so or no / I permyt it to other

mennes iudgementes.

But of this I chalenge George Joye/that he dyd not put his awne name thereto and call it rather his awne translacion: and that he playeth boo pepe/and in some of his bookes putteth in his name and tytle and in some kepeth it out It is lawfull for who will to translate and shew his mynde/ although a thousand had translated before him. But it is not lawfull (thynketh me) ner yet expedyent for the edifienge of the vnitie of the fayth of christ/that whosoeuer will/shall by his awne auctoritie / take another mannes translacion and put oute and in and chaunge at pleasure / and call it a correction.

Moreover / ye shall vnderstonde that George Joye hath had of a longe tyme marvelouse ymaginacions about this worde resurreccion / yat it shuld be taken for the state of the soules after their departinge from their bodies / and hath also (though he hath been reasoned with ther of and desyred to cease) yet sowen his doctryne by secret lettres on that syde the see [i.e., in England | and caused great division amonge ye brethren. In so muche that John Fryth beynge in preson in the towre of London / a lytle before his death / wrote yat we shuld warne him and desyer him to cease / and would have then wrytten against him / had I not withstonde him. Therto I have been sence informed yat no small nomber thorow his curiositie/ vtterly denye the resurreccion of ye flesshe and bodye affirminge yat the soule when she is departed / is the spirituall bodye of the resurreccion / and other resurreccion shall there none be. And I have talked with some of them my selfe/so doted in that folye / that it were as good perswade a post / as to plucke that madnes oute of their braynes. And of this all

is George Joyes vnquyet curiosite ye whole occasion / whether he be of the sayde faccion also / or not / to that let him answer him selfe.

If George Joye wyll saye (as I wot well he will) that his chaunge is the sence and meaninge of those scriptures. I answer it is soner savde then proved: howbeit let other men iudge. But though it were ye verie meaninge of the scripture: vet if it were lawfull after his ensample to every man to playe boo pepe with the translacions that are before him/and to put oute ye wordes of ye text at his pleasure and to put in every where his meaninge: or what he thought the meaninge were / that were the next waye to stablyshe all heresyes and to destroye the grounde wherewith we shuld improve them. As for an ensample / when Christ sayth Jo. v. The tyme shall come in ve which all that are in the graves shall heare his voyce and shall come forth: they that have done good unto resurreccion of lyfe / or with the resurreccion of lyfe / and they that have done evell/vnto ye [resur] reccion or with the resurrection of damnacion. George Joyes correccion is/they that have done good shall come forth into the verie lyfe / and they that have done evell into the life of damnacion / thrustinge cleane out this worde resurreccion. Now by ye same auctorite / and with as good reason shall another come and save of the rest of ye text / they yat are in ye sepulchres / shall here his voyce / that ye sence is / the soules of them that are in the sepulchres shall heare his voyce / and so put in his diligent correccion and mocke oute ye text / that it shall not make for ye resurreccion of the flesshe / which thinge also George Joyes correccion doth manyfestlye affirme. If the text be left vncorrupt/ it will pourge hir selfe of all manner false gloses / how sotle soever they be fayned / as a sethinge pot casteth vp hir scome. But yf the false glose be made the text/diligentlye ouersene and correct/wherwith then shall we correcte false doctrine and defende Christes flocke from false opinions / and from ye wycked heresyes of raveninge of wolves? In my mynde therfore a little vnfayned loue after the rules of Christ/is worth moche hie learninge/and single and sleyght vnder stondinge that edifieth in vnitie/is moche better then sotle curiosite/and mekenes better then bolde arrogancye and stondinge over muche in a mannes awne consayte.

Wherfore / concernynge the resurreccion / I protest before

god and oure savioure Jesus Christ / and before the vniversall congregacion that beleveth in him / that I beleve accordynge to the open and manyfest scriptures and catholyck fayth/ that Christ is rysen agayne in ye flesshe which he receaved of his mother ye blessed virgin marie / and bodye wherin he dyed. And yat we shall all both good and bad ryse bothe fleshe and bodye / and apere together before the iudgement seat of christ / to receave every man accordynge to his dedes. And that the bodyes of all that beleve and contynew in the true fayth of christ / shalbe endewed with lyke immortalyte

and glorie as is ye bodye of christ.

And I protest before God and oure savioure Christ and all that believe in him/that I holde of ye soulest hat are departed as moche as maye be proved by manifest and open scripture and thinke the soules departed in the fayth of Christ and loue of the lawe of God/to be in no worse case than yee soul of Christ was from the tyme vat he delivered his sprite vnto the handes of his father / vntyll the resurreccion of his bodye in glorie and immortalite. Neverthelater/ I confesse openly/yat I am not persuaded yat they be all readie in the full glorie that Christ is in / or the elect angels of god are in. Neither is it anye article of my fayth: for if it so were / I se not but then the preachinge of the resurreccion of the fleshe were a thinge in vayne. Not withstondinge yet I am readie to believe it / if it maye be proved with open scripture. And I have desyred George Joye to take open textes that seme to make for yat purpose / as this is.

To daye thou shalt be with me in Paradise/to make therof what he coulde/and to let his dreames aboute this worde resurrection goo. For I receave not in ye scripture ye pryvat interpretacion of any mannes brayne/without open

testimony of eny scriptures agreinge thereto.

Moreover I take God (which alone seeth ye heart) to recorde to my conscience/besechinge him yat my parte be not in ye bloude of Christ/if I wrote of all yat I have wrytten thorow oute all my boke/ought of an evell purpose/of envie or malice to anye man/or to stere vp any false doctrine or opinion in the churche of Christ/or to be autor of anye secte/or to drawe disciples after me/or that I wolde be estemed or had in pryce above the least chylde yat is borne/save onlye of pitie and compassion I had and yet have on the blindnes of

my brethren and to bringe them vnto the knowledge of Christ/ and to make every one of them/if it were possible as perfect as an angell of heaven/and to wede oute all yat is not planted of our hevenly father/and to bring doune all that lyfteth vp it selfe agaynst the knowledge of the salvacion that is in ye bloude of Christ. Also/my parte be not in Christ/if myne heart be not to folowe and lyve accordinge as I teache/and also if myne heart wepe not night and daye for myne awne synne and other mennes indifferently/besechinge God to convert vs all/and to take his wrath from vs/ and to be mercifull as well to all other men/as to myne owne soule/caringe for the welth of the realme I was borne in/for the kinge and all that are therof/as a tender hearted mother wolde for hir only sonne.

As concerning all I have translated or other wise written/ I beseche all men to reade it for that purpose I wrote it: even to bringe them to the knowledge of the scripture. And as farre as the scripture approveth it/so farre to alowe it/ and if in any place the worde of god dysalow it/there to refuse it/as I do before oure savyour Christ and his congregacion. And where they fynde fautes/let them shew it me/ if they be nye/or wryte to me/if they be farre of: or wryte openly agaynst it and improve it/and I promyse them/if I shall perceave that there reasons conclude I will confesse

myne ignoraunce openly.

Wherfore I beseche George Joye/ye and all other to/for to translate ye scripture for them selves / whether oute of the Greke / Latyn or Hebrue. Or (if they wyll nedes) as the fox in the grayes [badger's] hole challengeth it for his awne / so let them take my translacions and laboures / and chaunge and alter/ and correcte and corrupte at their pleasures / and call it their awne translacions / and put to their awne names and not to playe boo pepe after George Joyes maner. Which whethe he have done faythfully and truly/with soch reverence and feare as becommeth the worde of God/and with suche love and mekenes and affeccion to vnite and circumspexcion that the vngodlye have none occasion to rayle on the verite/as becometh ye servauntes of Christ/I referre it to the judgement of them that knowe and love the trouth. For this I protest / that I provoke not Joye ner any other man (but am prouoked / and that after the spytfullest maner of provokynge)

XIV [THE OCCASION OF JOY'S APOLOGY. W. Tindale. Nov. 1534.

to do sore agaynst my will and with sorow of harte that I now do. But I neyther can nor will soffre of any man/that he shall goo take my translacion and correct it without name/and make soche chaungynge as I my selfe durst not do/as I hope to have my parte in Christ/though the hole world shulde be geven me for my laboure.

Finally that new Testament thus dyligently corrected/besyde this so ofte puttinge out this word resurreccion/and I wot not what other chaunge/for I have not yet reede it over hath in the ende before the Table of the Epistles and

Gospelles this tytle:

(Here endeth the new Testament dyly gentlye ouersene and correct and printed now agayne at Andwarp/by me wydow of Christophell of Endhouen. In the yere of oure Lord.

A. M. D. xxxiiii. in August.)

Which tytle (reader) I have here
put in because by this thou
shalt knowe the booke
the better.

Vale.







[The exact colophon of Jov's edition as in the copy No. 12,180 in the Grenville Collection is—

Testament diligently of uersene and corrected/and prynted now agayn at Antwerpe/by me wysdowe of Christoffel of Endouen Jn the yesre of oure Lorde.

M. C C C C C.
and. xxxiiij. in
August.:]

I An Apologye made by George Jore to satisfye (if it mave be) w. Tindale: to pourge and defende himself ageinst so many sclaunderouse ipes fapned vpon him in Tindals vncharitable and unsober Pystle so well worthye to be prefixed for the Reader to induce him into the understanding of hys new Testament diligently corrected and printed in the yeare of oure lors de. A. CCCCC. and rrriiij. in Pouember.

I I knowe and beleve that the bodyes of every dead man/shall ryse agayne at domes daye.

T Psalme err.

Lorde/delyuer me from lyinge lyppes/and from a deceatfull tongue. Amen...

I 5 3 5





how we were once agreed.



Fter that w. Tyndale had put forth in prynt and thrusted his vncharitable pystle into many mennis handis/his frendis and myne vnderstanding that I had prepared my defence to pourge and clere my name whyche he had defamed and defiled/called vs togither to moue vs to a concorde and peace/where I shewed them my grete greif and

sorowe for that he shulde so falsely belye and sclaunder me of syche crymes which I neuer thought / spake / nor wrote / and of siche which I knowe wel his owne conscience doth testifye the contrarie / euen that I denied the Resurreccion of the bodie / but beleue it is constantly as himself: and this with other havnous crymes whiche he impingeth vnto me in his pistle / nether he nor no man els shall neuer proue: wherfore except Tin dale. (sayd I) wil reuoke the sclaunders fayned vpon me hym self/ I wyl (as I am bounde) defende my fame and name/whiche there is nothing to me more dere and leif And to be shorte aftir many wordis: It was thus thorowe the mocion of our frendis concluded for our agreemnt and peace: That The condy-I shulde for my parte (a reason and rekenyng firste agreemnt. geuen why I translated this worde Resurrectio into the lyfe after this) permyt and leaue my translacion vnto the iugement of the lerned in christis chirche. And Tindalel. on his parte shuld cal agein his pistle into his hand/so to redresse it / reforme it / and correcke it from sichesclaunderous lyes as I was therwith offended and he coude not justifye them / that I shulde be therwith wel contented / Tindale. addyng with hys own mouthe that we shulde with one accorde in his next testament then in printing in the stede of this vncharitable pistle wherwith I was offended / salute the reders

with one comon salutacion to testifye our concorde; of these condicions we departed louyngly. Then after. v. or. vj. dayes I came to Tin dale, to se the correccion and reformacion of hys pistle and he sayd he neuer thought of it sence / I pravd him to make yt redy shortely (for I longed sore to se it) and came agene to him after. v. or vi. dayes. Then he sayd it was so wryten that I coude not rede it: and I sayd I was wel aquainted with his hande and shulde rede it wel Tradal first ynough: but he wolde not let me se it. I came agene the thirde tyme desvring him to so it that then had he bethought him of this cauyllacion contrary to the condicions of our agreement / that he wolde firste se my reasons and wryte agenst them ere I shulde se this his reformacion and reuocacion. Then thought I/syth my parte and reasons be put into the jugement of the lerned / T[indale]. ought not to write agenst them tyl their iugement be done/ no nor yet then nether/syth he is content before these men to stonde to their iugement / and not to contende any more of thys mater withe me. yet I came agene the fourthe tyme/ and to be shorte: he persisted in his laste purpose and wolde fyrste se my reasons and wryte agenst them and then leaue the mater to the jugement of Doctour Barnes and of his felowe called Hijpinus pastour of. s. nicholas parisshe in Hambourg / adding that he wolde reuoke that euer he wrote that I shulde denye the resurreccion. Then I tolde one of the men that was present at the condicions of our agrement all this mater: and wrote ynto the other these answers that I had: so ofte seking vpon T indale to be at peace and to stande to hys promyse/desyering them al to moue him and aduyse him to holde his promyse/or els/if he wolde not/them not to blame me thoughe I defende my selfe and clere my fame whiche he hath thus falsely and vncharitably denigrated/ deformed and hurte. But in conclusion I perceyued that T indalel, was half ashamed to reuoke according to his promyse al that he coude not justifye by me and with whiche I was so offended. wherfore sythe he wolde not kepe promyse/ I am compelled to answere here now for my selfe: which I desier euery indifferent reder to iuge indifferently.

And now first of all/because theu shalt se more clerely

(good reder) what moued T[indale]. thus to belye me: to rage and rayle vpon me/and what is T[indale's]. opinion and doctrine as concerning the state of the soulis departed/and also that he affirmed it constantly and defended the same vnto my face when I resoned agenst him more then once or twyse and proued him the contrary by the scriptures: mouyng him to reuoke his errour (which doctryne to confute and put it oute of some mennis headis/my conscience compelled of the truthe of goddis worde caused me to englysshe thys worde Resurrectio the lyfe aftir this) haue here his own wordis in his answere to. m. Moris seconde boke.

More. And when M. More proueth that the saintis be in heuen in glory with christe alredy sayng. If god be their laxii, leif the God | they be in heuen: for he is not the God of the seconde syde.

deade.

Tindal Here saith Tin[dale]. that Morestealeth awaye christis argument where with he proueth the Resurreccion | that Abraham and all sayntis shuld ryse again and not that their soulis were in heuen: which doctrine was not yet in the worlde | and with that doctryne he taketh awaye the resurreccion quyte and maketh Christis argument of none effecte. For when christe allegeth the scripture that god is the God of Abraham | and addeth to that god is not the god of the dead | but of the lyuing: and so proueth that Abraham muste ryse agayne | I denye christis argument et cetera.

Joye. Here is it manifest that Tindale, vnderstondeth not this place of scripture/nether knoweth whither cristis argument tendeth/nor yet the Saduceis opinion: The confutationand therfore no meruel though he geueth not this confutational therefore no meruel though he geueth not this opinion. worde Resurrectio ther his proper significacion/of which ignorance this his errour springeth God so suffring vs to fal standing to miche in our own consaightis/thynking our self so highly lerned/and to translate and write al thingis so exquisitely and perfaitly that no man is able ether to do it better or to correck our workis: whose argument is this.

If the soulis of the faithful were in heuen/there shulde be no resurreccion of their bodies/whiche argument. inconuenience to avoide/he laith them down to slepe out of heuen as do the Anabaptists tyl domes daye/but The Incomplete I meruell that Tin[dale]. is so sclenderly lerned opinion off the in the forme of arguyng that he se not howe his soulis departed antecedence may be true and consequence false: seyng that

the contrary of his consequence is necessary / that is to weit / r corinthio, 15 there shalbe the resurreccion of the flesshe: Paule thus prouing it. If Christ be preached to have rysen/how Tyndals argu-happeneth that some of you saie thee is no resurment is proued reccion? As who shuld thus argew/Christe our head is rysen: wherfore yt must nedes followe that his bodye which is his chirche shall ryse ageyn. For wherfore shuld the beyng in heuen of the soulis of Peter and Paule and of all saintis/let the resurreccion of their bodies more then the being in heuen of Christis soule those iii. dayes did let his resurreccion? Tin[dale]. wil saye: They be al redy in ioye/ and therfore there nedeth no resurreccion. And I save/so was christis spirit and yet he rose agayn. And I denye Tin[dale's]. argument / For were they in neuer so greate iove / vet must their bodies ryse agayn or els he wil make christe a lyer and his doctryne false. Heuen and erthe shal soner passe away then one iote of goddis worde shal passe vnfulfilled. The verite hath sayd it and wryten it / concluding that our bodies shal ryse agein: wherfore ther can no condicionall antecedence of T[indale], nor yet of any angel in heuen make this conclusion false.

But let vs examen the text/and se the Saduceis opinion/ vnto the whyche Christe answereth so directly and so The Saduceis confuteth yt vtterly. The Saduceis/as wryteth that aunciaunt historiograph Josephus beinge opinion. himself a iew/in his. xviij. boke the. ij. ca. sayd that the soule of man was mortal and dyed with the acto 23 soule of man was mortal and a soule their clareth the sa-duceis opinion opinion / addeth that their said there were nether spirit / spirits nor angels: so that to saye there is nether spirit/ (spirit properly is the soule departed) nor aungel/is as miche to save as the soule is mortall/and no lyfe to be aftir this: and the Saduceis in denying the lyfe aftir this/ denied by the same denye but onely those two: that is/bothe spirit and angell: for if they had denyed by that worde Resurrectio the generall Resurrection to in that place/ so had thei denied thre distincte thingis: but Paule addyng/ Pharisci autem vtraque confitentur / but the pharises graunt them bothe two/declareth manifestly that thei denyed but onely two thingis that is to saye bothe spirit and angell: for aftir this present life tyl domes daye there is no lyfe of eny creature but of these two creatures spirits and aungels. And if by this worde Resurrectio Paule had vnderstonden as T[indale's]. doth the resurrection of the flesshe / he wolde not haue sayd/the pharyses graunt them bothe/but all thre. For this worde viraque as euery latyne man knoweth / is spoken but of two thingis only: but as for this my mynde I leaue it vnto the jugement of the lerned. And nowe shall I proue vt by christis owne answer/that the Saduceis in those places of Math. Mark. and Luke / denied that there mat. 22 is any lyfe aftir this: and so nether to be spirit nor luc. 20. angel/whiche is as miche to save as towching the soule/it to be mortall. For yf it shuld lyue aftir the departing / thei thought to have had taken christe in this trappe with their question of those. vij. brethren/that thei now being all a lyue aftir their dethe / shuld have al seven togither that one wyfe at once; for thei sayd that al these. vij. had hir here. But christe answerde them directly according to their opinion: and not aftir Tin[dale's]. opinion of this worde resurrectio/ telling them that thei erred being ignorant of the scriptures and also of the power of god / whiche pow[e]r christe Io. 5, 12 declareth to consist in the preserving the dead a rioan. 5 lyue for because out of god the father and christe the sone being that vere lyfe/all lyfe floweth/ye and that into the dead: whiche power to confirme into the confutacion of their opinion and their own confusion: he alleged these scriptures exodi. iii. But first he tolde them of the present state of the soulis departed / saynge that in the tother lyfe aftir this they nether marye/nor ar maried/but thei ar as the aungels of god in heuen.

Tindal And yet saith Tindal this doctryne was not then in the worlde and what is done with the soulis departed In his exposition of S. Ihon the scripture make no mencion but it is a secrete (saith Pystle.

he) layd vp in gods tresury.

Joye. It is verely a depe secrete to him that is ignorant [of so many playne scriptures whiche I shall here aftir brynge in prougng their state in heuen. Here is also to be noted that christe in describing their present state/saith in the present tence. Their mary not nor ar maryed/but ar lyke aungels/ye egall vnto aungels/and the sonnes of god saith Luke cap. xx. But yet yf Tindal wyll saye that the present tence is here taken for the future/and playe boo

pepe withe the tencis as he englissheth resuscitantur shal mar. 12.

ryse agen/and not are reuiued or resuscited/yet must I aske hym whether that the children of that lyfe luc. 20.

and worthy that worlde (as Luke calleth them) be not now more lyke aungels then they shalbe affir the resurreccion of their bodies? me thinketh that in thys poynt/that they nether marye nor are maryed: aungels and the spirits be now bothe a lyke: and the chyldren of the lyfe or the worlde where now the blessed lyue with Christe/are now more lyke aungels then they shalbe aftir the resurrection of their bodyes/for now they ar substances incorporal/immortall/and intellectuall/and so be aungels: but then they shalbe bodely substances hauyng very flesshe and bones which the aungels neuer had nor neuer shall haue.

But nowe let vs heare the scryptures wherwith christe The text is her[elexpended that the saduceis denyed. Crist considering what thing their denied leaved to the surprise that the saduceis denyed. Crist considering what thing their denied leaved to the surprise that the saduceis denyed. thing thei denied / sayd vnto them. De resurrectione vero mortuorum | non legistis quod vobis dictum est a deo | qui ait. Ego sum deus Abraham. & That is to saye. As concernyng the lyfe of them that be dead have ye not red what is tolde you of god saying: I am the God of Abraham / the god of Isaac / and the god of Jacob: God is not the God of the deade/but of the lyuinge. By this argument: god is the god of the lyuing and not of the dead: God is the god of Abraham Isaac and Jacob ergo Abraham Isaac and Jacob are a lyue: christe concludeth planely / nothing els but that there is a lyfe aftir this whereyn the soulis departed lyue / whiche conclusion sith it is directly made ageynst the Saduces opinion/it must nedis folow that thei denyed in this place that thinge whiche christe proued/for christe was not so vncircumspecte to proue one thing/they denying another/or els they myght haue well objected saying: Syr what is this answere to our question? we aske the whose wyfe shall she be at the general resurreccion of their bodyes? and thou answerest vs nothyng els nor prouest vs any thing els with this scripture but that there is a lyf after this wheren the soulis departed nowe lyue: and so to be both spirits and angels for that thei be lyke aungels: If the Saduces here had denyed cheifely and principally / by that worde Resurrectio the general resurreccion / criste wolde haue proued it then by scriptures / as well as he here proued them the lyfe of spirits separated from their

bodyes/and christe rendering the cause of his argument to confirme the same and to declare the powr of god in so preseruing the dead a lyue saith Omnes enim illi viuunt / all men lyue in him/or by hym. Also it is to be noted luc. 20. diligently how that saynt Marke for the inducyng mar. 12. of that autorite of Moses/setteth before the thing that yt proueth in these wordis saying. Ceterum de mortuis quod resuscitantur non legistis in libro Mosi. &c. that is to saye. But as touching the dead / that thei ar resuscited or they ar all redy alyue (he saith not that they shalbe alyue or shall ryse agayne as [Tindale], in hys diligent last correccion turneth the present [t]ence into the future: and the verbe passive into a neuter to stablissh his errour thus corrupting the text. And lyke wyse he plaith with the verbe in Luke and in Marke he englissheth the verbe of the preter tence resurrexerint / for the future. So fayne wolde he wrest the wordis from their natvue sence to serue for hys errour) have ye not red in exodo what Moses saith &c? so that he induceth the autorite to proue that they ar a lyue and nothing lesse then to proue the resurreccion of the flesshe. I wounder wherfore Tindale! flittith from the text in these places. Here maye every man se/that this worde Resurrectio in this place/as in dyuerse other places of scripture is taken for the lyfe aftir Resurrection this whereyn the soules now lyue tyl the resurreccion significations of their bodies as testifyeth Joan: And Tin[dale]. not apo. 20. knowing this signification or not willing to se it is gretely to blame to write and so belye and sclaunder me saying: That for because I thus geuing the worde in his place his very significacion / I do denye the resurreccion of the flesshe: which I neuer doubted of but beleue it as constantly as he/I haue preached and taught it / and so interpreted it where it so signifyeth and confesse it openly as euery man maye se that read my workis/and as Tindals own conscience testifyeth the same. For thoughe this place proueth not directly the resurreccion of the bodies yet are there many places moo that proue it clerely: as doth all the. xv. chapter of the first Pystle to the Corin. where I englisshe it Resurreccion/and in the article of our Credo: but in John/and in the. xi. cap. to the Hebrwes where the worde signifyeth the lyfe of the spirits departed/there I englissh it as the very worde signifyeth to put the reder out of doubt and to make it clere lest he be

seduced and erre with Tind[ale]. beleuvng that the soulis slepe out of heuen: when sleape in scripture is properly and onely vnderstanden of the bodye which shal be awaked and

ryse ageyne.

For I did translate thys worde Resurrectio in to the lyfe aftir For two causes thys / in certayne placis / for these two causes principally. First because the latvn worde / besidis Resumentia that it signifieth in other places the Resurreccion of so translated. the bodye / yet in these it signifieth the lyfe of the spirits or soulis departed as christis answere vntothe Saduceis/ mat. 22 and John declare. Secondaryly / because that agenst the Anabaptistis false opinion / and agenst their errour whom Erasmus reproueth in hys exposicion of the Credo which save the resurreccion of the soules to be this: that is to weet/ when thei shalbe called out of their preuey lurking places/ in whiche they had ben hyd from the tyme of their departing vnto the resurreccion of their bodies / because (I saye) that agenste these erroneouse opinions/these places thus truely translated make so myche and so planely that at thys worde Resurrectio the lyfe of the spiritis aftir this / their false opinion falleth and is vtterly condempned.

And if Tin[dale]. wolde loke beter vpon his booke and Here it is come follow not so miche his owne witte / he shulde fynde to the grunde that the hebrew worde which comonly is translated Supplied to ryse, into this verbe Surgo the same some tyme saynt Jerome translated into Maneo / as in Isaye. Verbum domini manet in eternum / The worde of the Lorde endureth for euer/some tyme into theise verbis sto or consto/ as Isaye xlvj. And some tyme into theis verbis Pono | constituo | excito | facio stare in vita | vel servo in vita as in exo. cap. ix. of Pharao. Et perfecto ideo posui te | vel excitaui te | seruaui te in vita | vel feci et stare | superstitem te volui esse plagis meis: vt ostendam in te fortitudinem meam &c. that is to saye: Doutlesse or verely for this cause yet haue I set and constitute the or stered the vp/preserved the alvue to receive my plages to declare my strength vpon the and to shewe that my name myght be knowne thorowte all the worlde: of the which verbe there cometh Surrectio and so Resurrectio hath more sig-micrations then whose rote and original sith it hath these so many dyuerse significacions/it must nedis folow that the nowne diriuyed oute therof haue as many and so to signifye

that permanent and verye lyfe or the preseruing of them styll a lyue / which signification agreeth in all these placis of these thre euangelistis/for thei all tel one and the same storye. If T indale], will englisshe thys verbe Resurgo enery where to ryse agavne in bodye / so shal he translate it falsely / corruppe the text and bringe the reder in to no small errour/ as once did one preacher in a sermon / expowning this verse of the first psalm. Ideo non resurgent impij in iudicio &c. englysshing yt thus: wherfore the vngodly shal not ryse agavn in the iugement. wherat many were offended and astonied and some beleued that the vngodly shulde not ryse agen at the generall jugement, which worde in that place Philip melanchton/Martyne Bucere/Conradus Pellicanus/ zwinglius / Campensis / (men of greter knowleg / higher lerning / and more excellent jugement in holy scripture / in the hebrew/greke and latyne then Tindal is or euer lykely to be) translate it into these verbis: consistunt | constant | perstant | durant / viuunt: rendering the versethus. Ideo non constant non consistunt non durant or non vinunt impii in indicio &c. that is to saye the vngodlye abyde not / nor endure / nor lyue in the company of the just at the jugement: whether it be in the generall or particfullare jugement of every soule departed / as Rabbi Kimhy cyted of Bucere vpon that same verse taketh Judicium in that place: Also Bartholomeus Vesthemerus gathering out of the lerned mennis workis/in hys boke entitled Collectanea communium troporum / the dyuerse significacions of wordis/and the comon phrasis in the scripture: declareth in the. iij. c. leif/in how many places this worde Resurrectio is taken for the ferme permanent lyfe of the soulis now departed: And Henrichus Bullyngerus/a man of grete lerning and greter iugement both in the scriptures and the tongues consenteth with me in the significacion of this worde Resurrectio in these placis. Many wordis in dyuerse places of the scripture haue diuerse/ye some contrari significacions: which thyng if it be not diligently observed of the translatour translatinge one for a nother/he may sone erre and corrupt the text into the grete perel of the reder. I am sure that T indale]. wil not every where englisshe this worde Benedico a lyke / as to blesse: for in some placis it signifieth to curse / nor yet englesshe pectum synne / for in some placis it signifieth the cowe or calfe offred vp for synne / and so the selfe sacrifice

offred vp for the synne/and the expiacion and clensing or purgacion from synne/as is christe hym selfe so called. But here wil Tin[dale]. let grete scorne that I being so vnlerned in the hebrewe and other tongues (as I am in very dede) shuld take vpon me to poynt him to this marke whyche ether of ignorance he sawe not/or els of a selfe wyll and froward

mynde wolde not se yt.

Furthermore he findeth himself sore aggreued for that I haue so englysshed this worde Resurrectio in the, xi, chap, to the hebrews in thys place. Some men were racked / and yet refused they to be redemed or delyuered / to the entent they might have potionem resurrectionem / saith the text : which T[indale]. englissheth a beter resurrection: where it is playn that he englissheth it falsely for sith he taketh here Resurreccion for the resurreccion of the flesshe; and this comparison is here betwene two resurreccions only / it must nedis follow that aftir T[indale], there shuld be two resurreccions of our bodyes / of the which one is beter than the t[he]other: and these men so stretched and racked having experience of the worse resurreccion despysed the delyuerance to obtayne the beter. Here may ye se in what absurdytes and errours Tin[dale]. wrappeth himself for falsely translating thys worde Resurrectio in this place: wherfore according to his owne desier in the ende of hys first new testament desvering all that be able to mende that at was amysse in it and to geue the wordis (where he did it not himself) their right significacions: for he confesseth euen there that hys first translacion was a thinge borne before the tyme / rude and imperfit / rather begun then fynisshed/not yet hauing her right shape. This I saye hys owne desyer and confession and my conscience so compelled me and caused me where I sawe siche notable fautes to mende them/lest so many false bokis thruste into mennis handis might ether staye the reader or els seduce him into any errour. Therefore (I saye) I englisshe it thus / that thei mought receyue rather the beter lyfe: for the comparison consisteth betwene this lyfe/of whiche thei were werie/and the tother beter lyfe aftir this which thei so feruently desiered that they refused to be delyuered from their paynes. euen in the next lyne before T[indale]. himself/magry his tethe: was compelled so to englysshe the same worde callyng yt lyfe and not the resurreccion, wherby thou mayst se

(good reader) of what stomake and mynde he wryteth agenst me. Let euery man loke in his first translacion: and there shal he read this text. Mulicres acceperant ex resurrectione mortuos suos thus englysshed of himself. The wemen recevued their dead to lyfe ageyne. Lo here resurrection aftir Tindale. signifyeth lyfe/and not the generall resurreccion: ergo T indale]. aborreth this worde resurreccion and denyeth the resurreccion of the flesshe/these be his arguments ageinst me / wherwith (if he thinketh them so stronge) I do here snare and hold him faste/tyl he be able to loose him selfe. But vet I neuer red that /ex/shulde signifye / ad / as to translate ex resurrectione to lyfe/but rather from that lyfe. Also in this we differ here: for he calleth resurreccion the present lyfe of this worlde/which is no lyfe in comparison to the tother and I cal it the lyf of the tother worlde wherin the blessed soulis lyue with criste tyl domes daye: and ther aftir euer more with their bodies to. But yet in his last newe testament so diligently corrected and compared wyth the greke / because he wolde varie and swarue fro my englysshing (ve from the trueth of the worde) he govth aboute per ambages with a longe circumlocution / saying raysed from dethe to lyfe agen: lo here ex resurrectione signifieth raysed vnto this lyfe agen/he had leuer thus play bo peep with. ij. wordis/ turning ex into ad/and the nowne into a participle/and the very lyfe of the spirits separated into the dedly shadow of this worlde / then to say the trueth wyth me. Here maye ye se what shiftis this man maketh to discorde from me: ye rather from the trueth.

But let vs returne to Tin[dale]. his answere to M. More in the sayd place and se with what faithfulnes and Tindal is conreuerence he allegeth Paule. There he saith that futed. Paulis argument is this / If there he no resurreccion / we be of all wretches the most miserablest Here may ye se how recombine to the most miserablest Here may ye se how recombined. Tindale, runneth ryot of his own wit falsely belying Paule hauing no respecte vnto his book / nor yet dew reuerence vnto holy scriptures alleging them / It wolde haue wel Tindal belieth becomen as grete a clerke as he is / first to haue paules turned to Paulis argument and loked more diligently whyther Paule had so knytte it togither / and not to haue coupled paulis consequence with an antecedence of his own ymagina-

cion / For this is Paulis argument. If we have but in thys lyfe

onely oure hope fastened in christe/so were we miserablest of al men. He saith not If ther were no resurreccion/for so myght his antecedence be true and his consequence false: for admitted that as T[indale]. allegeth him/there were no resurreccion/yet foloweth it not that the electe nowe departed beinge (as now at laste he is compelled to graunt) in no worse case then christis spirit was from his deth tyl he rose agen/be most miserable of al men: for they that be yet a lyue/and they that be dead and not receyued into Abrahams bosom but in hel in tormentis be miche more miserable. But what saith T[indale], to his own argument: for Paul made it not/verely euen thus.

Tindal Nay Paule thou art unlerned | Go to m. More and lerne a new waye. We be not most miserable thoughe we ryse not

agene | for oure soulis go to heuen as sone as we be dead.

Joye. This saith Tin dale yroniously in a mok as though it were false that oure soulis as sone as we be dead shulde go to heuen.

Tindal And ar there in as grete ioye as Christ that is rysen

agayne.

Joye. In heuen dare I saye that thei be: ye and that in ioye/if they dye in the lorde/but whether in as grete ioye as christ himselfe/let More and T₁indale]. dispute it.

Tindal And I meruel saith T[indale]. that Paule had not counforted the Thessalonians wyth that doctryne | if he had wist it | that the soulis of their dead had bene in ioye as he dyd wyth the

resurreccion that their dead should ryse agen.

Joye. Neuer meruel at it Tindale/for Paule thought this present consolacion sufficient and could have counforted them then with many mo/as with this of Christ. Joan. v. that who so here my worde and beleue in hym that hath sent me/hath lyfe euerlastinge and shall not come into condempnacion/but is passed ouer from dethe to lyfe. whiche consolacion because in that place and at that tyme Paule spake it not: is it a good argument that ther was non[e] siche? ye must beware (syr) how ye argew a negatiuis/for siche kynde of arguments be the worste and feblest that ye can make. It is a naughty argument/Paule dyd not comfort them with that doctrine/but with another as good/ergo that doctrine was false or was not in the world? ye may not iuge Paule as ignoraunt as you be in it/because he did not then

and there expresse it for in other places he declareth and

techeth that doctrine plenteously ynoughe.

Now reade Tindale. wordis in hys answere to M. Moris fourth boke/and loke whether he graunteth not Cxij. lief the playnly that the sculis sleap tvll domes dave / and seconde syde. whether he calleth not the doctryne that they shulde lyue euer: heythen and fleshly doctryne of the Philosophers ioyned with the popis doctrine. And again in the .cxviii. leif where vnto he remitted the reader in his table Cxviii. leif. withe thys sentence/Soulis sleap/belying Christe and hys Apostles sayinge that they taughte non[e] other / And yet bothe there in his answers and in his exposition vpon Johns Pystle apon this text. And now lytle chyldren abyde in him/that when he shall apeare. &c. He sayth yt is a depe secrete layd vp in gods tresury And yet a lytle before vpon thys text. And he is the satisfaccion &c. He bryngeth in Tindals wordes Pauletellynge a longetale in hys sleap (yf Tin dale's]. them selfe. doctryne be trew) and maketh Paule at laste to confesse that he himself with other sayntis be in heuen/contrary to hys own saynge/read the. xvj. lyne the fyrste syde of the. xij. cif of the exposicyon of that text. And he is the satisfaccion &c. And ther shalt thou se how Tindals wordis fight agenst them selfe. Finally yf yt be so depe a secrete/no scripture to make mencion of their state / I wounder what made Tindale so bolde to saye and to wryte yt to / that thei sleap / and that thei be not in heuen: and now at last to thinke thei be in no worse case then was cristis spirit aftir his dethe until his resurreccion. Aftir I had sene theise places and known Tindals erroneouse opinion I resoned with hym as we walked togither in the feeld more then once or twyse: bryngyng ageynst him siche textis as me thought/proued playnely agenst hym/as when christe answerde the theif hanging by his crosse saying. This daye thou shalt be with Luc. 23 me in paradyse, where I sayd It is manifest that if christe had that daye commended hys spirit into hys fathers handis in heuen (as he dyd indeed) and promysed that the spirit of the their shuld be with his spirit (for their bodies were not togither) it must nedys folow that hys spirit was with paradyse is cristis spirit in heuen. And to expresse the place taken for heuen more playnly christe added saying/In paradyse/ 2 cor. 12. which is not elsthen in heuen, whych one autorite albe it/it had

bene sufficient for any mane that wolde haue admytted and receyued the sengle and playn veryte of cristis worde/yet I brought forthe christes wordis agayn describing the state of the faithful and vnfaithful aftir this lyfe/saving. Math. viii. I tell you verely that many shal come from the east and west and shal sit down to eat with Abraham Isaac and Jacob in the kyngdom of heuen / that is to saye / shalbe associated vnto Abraham and Isaac to be parte takers of their ioye and fruicyon in heuen/but the chyldren of the kyngdom of the deuvl shalbe cast forth into extreme derknesses where shalbe wepinge and gnasshing of tethe. This sitting downe at table with Abraham / is not els but Abrahams bosome into which all that resembled Abraham in faith / aftir their departinge were receyued/as ye maye se of Lazarus. Luke. xvj. where the state of the electe and of the reprobated immediatly after their deth is described / th[e]electe to be borne of aungels into Abrahams bosome as was Lazarus/ and the reprobated to be caste into hell into tormentis wyth 2. cor. 5 Erthy the ryche gloton. Then alleged I Paule saving: For tabernacle we knowe that yf oure erthye tabernacle where in oure corrup-tible bodye. we dwell were destroyed/yet haue we a perpetual Heuenly tabermansion not made with handis/in heuen: of these nacle is that in mansion not made with handis / in heuen: of these mansions all redy prepared of christe yt is wryten. of God. Joan. xiiij. And at last Paule affirmeth that to be absent from the bodye / is to be present with god / saying. we haue confydence and aproue thys to be beter / that is to weit / to be absent from the bodye and to be present wyth god/ which saying is spoken of the state of soulis now beyng with sleap is onely god/absent from theyr bodyes yet a sleape in the the bodyes. erthe tyll thei be awaked and raised yp at the general iugement. Unto this pertayneth his sayingis also vnto the Philippians/affirming that dethe is to himself more aduauntage then here to lyue: and therfore he desired to be losed from his bodye that he might be with criste his life: and this state to be miche beter then the lyfe of this worlde. Then I alleged John in the Apocalipse describing the states bothe of the dampned and also of the blessed that dye in the lorde hence forthe: which sith they be blessed from their dethe forth/it must nedis folow that thei be in blysse in heuen. And John repetyng the same state describyng it almost withe the same wordis saith

those soulis were alyue and raigned with crist. M. yere &c. and calleth that lyfe of the soulis / primam resurrectionem / the first resurreccion: and hym blessed and lyfothe soulis holy which hath his parte in the fyrste resurreccion: here is it playn that this worde Resurrectio is not every where taken a lyke as T indale. saith / and John describeth the state of the seconde resurreccion immediatly in the same cap. and calleth the state of the dampned the seconde dethe by whiche correlatious calling it the first resurreccion in respecte of the seconde / and those antithesis and puttyng one contrary agenst another every reader maye gather whiche is the first lyf / and the firste dethe / whiche is the seconde dethe and seconde resurreccion.

But these playn testimonyes of the scripture wolde take no place with Tindal/for he wrested and writeth them contrary to his own doctryne out of their proper and pure sence with fayned gloses to shift and seke holes/he aftir his wont[ed] disdaynful maner agenst me fylipt them forth betwene hys fynger and his thombe/and what disdaynfull and obprobrious wordis he gaue me for so resoning agenst hym I wyll not now reherce/lest I shuld minysshe the good opinion that

some men haue in him.

Also ther is a playne descripcion of the state where vnto the soulis departed in crist he ar receyued Hebr. xij. ye ar not come vnto the hill Sinai which none might touche: but ye are come vnto the mounte zion the cite of the lyuing god / the heuenly Jerusalem/and vnto the innumerable company of aungels vnto the congregacion of our former first begoten fathers writen togither in heuen/and to god the iuge of al men and vnto the spiritis of the pure juste and vnto Jesus criste the mediatour of the newe couenant euen vnto the bespreigned bloude. Here is yt playne / that in this heuenly Jerusalem ar now the congregacion of our former fathers and the spirites of the iuste men/for aftir the generall resurreccion/this congregacion shalbe no spiritis/but the company of very men hauvng flesshe and bone/whiche the spiritis haue not: crist saying to his disciples fele and touche me/ for a spyrit hath nether flesshe nor bones.

But at laste I remember that I made hym thys reason / saynge. Syr ye knowe that christe is our head / 1. cor. 15 and we his members / and altogither hys bodye / ye knowe also

that christe is the firste frutis/and fore leader of them that sleap/Then I argewed thus/The bodye must nedis ioan 14 and 17 folow the head / and whother the head went thither must the bodye folow (for crist optayned of his father that wheresoeuer he shuld be there shulde his faithful be with him to se his glorie) but christis spirit departed slept not oute of heuen/but wente into the fathers handis in heuen/ wherfore euen so shall ours aftir our dethe/if we dye his membres and in the lorde:

This reason did so byght Tindal/and stoke so faste vpon hym that he coude not shake it of/but is now at laste (thanked be god) constrayned to save with me in hys goodly godly pistle agenst me / that I thynke (he dare not yet constantly affyrme it) the soulis departed in the faith of crist to be in no worse case then the soule of criste was from the tyme he delynered his spirit into the handis of his father untyll the

resurreccion of hys bodye.

Jove. Here mave every reader se / that though he thinketh now other wyse then he hathe wryten in so many placis/ and now thynketh the very same that I euer affirmed and obiected agenste him/yet had he leuer ageinst his owne conscience thus enuyously withe so many spightfull lyes and sclaunders vnto my perpetuall infamy/hauyng no respecte vnto the sclaunders and hurte mynistred vnto the congregacion of Christe/nor yet to the gaudye and reioyse of our aduersaries / to haue wryten agenst me then to refrayned his penne and aknowleged hys errour. So prowd and arrogant are they that stonde so hyghly in their own consayght and false opinion / pertinatly to defende it though thei se it right false/rather then thei wolde seme conuicted especially of any simple and one that apereth not so wel lerned as thei be them selues.



ut let vs now here Tindals vncharitable pistle set before hys newe Testament thus tytled.

Tindal Vylliam Tindal/yet once more to the Christen Reader. [2.ix.]

Joye. Tindale shulde haue goten hym more honesty/and lesse shame/yf he had

writen once lesse to the reader.

Tindal Thou shalt understonde (most dere reader) when I had taken in hande to loke over the newe testament agayn and to compare it with the greke and to mende what so ever I could fynde anysse and had almost fynesshed the laboure.

Joye. It was but loked ouer in deed nothinge performing his so large promyses added in the later ende of his first translacion to the reader/and I wounder how he could compare yt with greke sith himselfe is not so exquysitely sene thereyn.

Tindal George Joye secretly toke in hand to correct it also! by what occasion his consequence knoweth: and preuented me in so moch that his correccion was printed in greate noumbre yer myne beganne. When it was spyed and worde brought me / though it semed to dyners other that George Joye had not used the office off an honest man | seynge he knewe that I was in correctlynge it my selfe: nether dyd walke aftir the rules of the loue and softenes which Christe and hys disciples teache vs | howe that we shalde do nothynge of stryfe to move debate or of vayne glorie for of constousnes, yet I toke the thinge in worth as I have done dyners other in tymes past as one that have more experience off the nature and disposicion off that mannes complexyon and supposed that a lytle spyse off conctournes and vayne glorye [(two bixnde goydes) had bene the only ecause that moved him so to do aboute which thinges I strive with no man: and so followed after and corrected forth and caused this to be printed without surmyse or lokynge on hys correctyon.

Joye. Lo good Reder/here mayst thou se of what nature

and complexion T indalel. is so sodenly fyercely and boldely Notice that to choppe in to any mannis conscience and so to indicate to vsurpe and preuent the office of god in iugment which is onely the enseer and sercher of herte and mynde. Thys godly man/iugeth and noteth me vayngloriouse curiouse and couetouse/and al for correcking a false copie of the testament that thei mought be the trwelyer printed agen/and so not so many false bokis solde into the realme [England] to the hurt and deceyt of the byers and reders of them. I correcked but the false copye wherby and aftir whyche the printer dyd sette his boke and correcked the same himself in the presse.

But I shall now playnly and sengly (for the trowth knoweth no fucated polesshed and paynted oracion) declare vnto euery man/wherof/howe/and by whom I was moued and desyered to correcke this false copie that shulde els haue brought forth mo then two thousand falser boke more then euer

englond had before.

First/thou shalt knowe that Tindal aboute. viij. or. ix. yere a goo translated and printed the new testament in a mean great volume/but yet wyth oute Kalender/concordances in the margent/and table in th[e]ende. And a non aftir the d[e]wche men gote a copye and printed it agen in a small volume adding the kalendare in the begynning/concordances in the margent/and the table in th[e]ende. But yet/for that they had no englisshe man to correcke the setting/thei themselue hauyng not the knowlege of our tongue/were compelled to make many mo fautes then were in the copye/and so corrupted the boke that the simple reder might ofte tymes be taryed and steek.

Aftir this thei printed it agein also without a correctour in a greatter letter and volume with the figures in th[e]apocalipse

whiche were therfore miche falser then their firste.

when these two pryntes (there were of them bothe aboute v. thousand bokis printed) were al soulde more then a twelue moneth agoo [i.e., before February, 1534]/ Tind ale. was pricked forthe to take the testament in hande/ to print it and correcke it as he professeth and promyseth to do in the later ende of his first translacion. But T indale prolonged and differred so necessary a thing and so just desyers of many men. In so miche that in the mean ceason/the dewch men prynted it agen the thyrde

tyme [in the Summer of 1534] in a small volume lyke their firste prynt/but miche more false then euer it was before. And yet was Tindale, here called vpon agen/seyng there were so many false printed bokis stil put forth and bought vp so fast (for now was ther geuen thanked be god a lytel space to breath and reste vnto christis chirche aftir so longe and greuouse persecucion for reading the bokes) But yet before this thyrd tyme of printing the boke / the printer desiered me to correcke it. And I sayd It were wel done (if ye printed them agene) to make them truer and not to deceive our nacion with any mo false bokis/neuertheles I suppose that T[indale]. himself wil put it forth more perfait and newly corrected/ which if he do / yours shalbe naught set by nor neuer solde. This not withstanding yet thei printed them [in the Summer of 1534 and that most false and aboute. ij. M. bokis / and had shortly solde them all.

Al this longe while T[indale]. slept / for nothing came from

him as farre as I coude perceiue.

Then the dewche began to printe them [in August, 1534] the fowrth tyme because thei sawe no man els goyng aboute them/and aftir thei had printed the first leif which copye another englissh man had correcked to them/thei came to me and desiered me to correcke them their copie/whom I answered as before/that if T indale], amende it with so gret diligence as he promysethe/yours wilbe neuer solde, yisse quod thei/for if he prynte. ij. m. and we as many/what is so litle a noumber for all englond? and we wil sel ours beter cheape/and therfore we doubt not of the sale: so that I perceyued well and was suer/that whether I had correcked theyr copye or not/thei had gone forth with their worke and had genen vs. ij. m. mo bokis falselyer printed then euer we had before.

Then I thus considered with myself: englond hath ynowe and to many false testaments and is now likely to haue many more: ye and that whether T[indale]. correck his or no/yet shal these now in hand go forth vncorrecked to/except somebody correck them: And what T[indale]. dothe I wote not/he maketh me nothing of his counsel/I se nothyng come from him all this longe whyle, wherin with the helpe that he hathe/that is to saye one bothe to wryte yt and to correcke it in the presse/he myght haue done it thryse sence he was first moued to do it. For T[indale]. I know wel was

not able to do yt with out siche an helper which he hathe euer had hitherto.

Aftir this (I saye) consydered / the printer came to me agen and offred me, ii. stuuers and an halfe for the correcking of euery sheet of the copye / which folden contayneth. xvj. leaues/ and for thre stuuers which is. iiij. pense halpeny starling / I promised to do it / so that in al I had for my labour but. xiiij. shylvngis flemesshe [this amount fixes the number of pages in the tiny volume of this Fourth surreptitious edition, of 2000 copies; a copy of which is in the Grenville Collection, British Museum, 14 Flemish=12 English shillings sterling at od. for two sheets of 16 leaves = 32 sheets or 512 leaves | which labour / had not the goodnes of the deede and comon profyte and helpe to the readers compelled me more then the money / I wolde not have done yt for. v. tymes so miche / the copie was so corrupt and especially the table: and yet saith T[indale]. I did it of couetousnes: If this be couetousnes / then was Tindal moche more couetouse for he (as I her say) toke. x. ponde for his/ correccion. I dyd it also/sayth he/of curiositie and vaynglory/ye and that secretly: and did not put to my name whiche / I saye / be two euydent tokens that I sought no vaynglory / for he that doth a thing secretly and putteth out hys name/how seketh he vaynglory? and yet is not the man ashamed to wryte that vaynglory and couetousnes where my two blynde goides / but I tell Tin[dale]. agen / that if malyce and enuy (for all his holy protestacions) had not bene his two blynde goidis/he wold neuer haue thus falsely/vncharitably / and so spightfully belyed and sclaundred me with so perpetual an infamie. Tin [dale]. saith I walked not aftir the rules of loue and softenes/but let men read how maliciously he belyeth and sclaundereth me for wel doing: and iuge what rule of loue and softnes he obseruethe. It is greate shame to the teacher when his owne deedis and wordis reproue and condempne himself. He hath grete experience of my natural disposicion and complexion saith he. But I wyll not be his Phisicion and decerne his water at this tyme. And as for his two disciplis that gaped so longe for their masters morsel that thei might have the advauntage of the sale of his bokis of which one sayd vnto me. It were almose he were hanged that correcketh the testament for the dewch/and the tother harped on his masters vntwned string/saying that because

I englissh Resurreccion the lyfe aftir this/men gatherd that I denied the general resurreccion: which errour (by their own sayng) was gathred longe before this boke was printed/ vnto which ether of theis disciples I semed no honest man for correcking the copye/I wil not now name them/nor yet shew how one of them/neuer I dare say seyng. s. Jerome de optimo genere interpretandi / yet toke vpon him to teche me how I shuld translat the scripturis/where I shuld geue worde for worde and when I shulde make scholias / notis / and gloses in the mergent as himself and hys master doith. But in good faithe as for me I had as lief put the trwthe in the text as in the margent and excepte the glose expowne the text (as many of theirs do not) or where the text is playn ynough: I had as lief leue siche fryuole gloses clene out. I wolde the scripture were so puerly and plyanly translated that it neded nether note / glose nor scholia / so that the reder might once swimme without a corke. But this testament was printed or T [indale's], was begun / and that not by my preuencion [anticipation] / but by the printers quicke expedicion and Tindale's own longe sleaping for as for me I had nothing to do with the printing therof/but correcked their copie only/as where I founde a worde falsely printed / I mended it: and when I came to some derke sentencis that no reason coude be gathered of them whether it was by the ignorance of the first translatour or of the prynter/I had the latyne text by me and made yt playn: and where any sentence was vnperfite or clene left oute I restored it agene: and gaue many wordis their pure and natiue significacion in their places which thei had not before. For my conscience so compelled me to do/and not willingly and wetingly to slip ouer siche fautes into the hurte of the text or hinderance of the reder

But to certifye the (good indifferent reder) wyth what conscience and discrecion Tin[dale], wrote this vnsober pistle agenst me/thou shalt here after se/that of some greuouse crimes he accuseth and condempneth me of an hearsaye or

of the informacion by other men.

Tindal That my curiosite shuld have drawne no small noumber vetterly to denye the Resurreccion of the bodye | affirming that the soule departed is the spiritual bodie of the resurreccion | and other resurreccion shall there none be.

[*p.x.]

Joye. This informacion T[indale]. bringeth in/in the

seconde leif of his pistle to confirme the same sclaunderouse lye ymagened of hys owne brayne/adding with a constant affirmacion these wordis.

Tindal And of al this is George Joyes unquiet curiosite the hole occasion.

[A. xi.]

Joye. This shameles lye and sclaunderouse affirmacion T[indale]. is not ashamed to prynte/onely because I saye that there is a lyf aftir this wherein the blessed spirits departed lyue in heuen with criste (for this is his wyse argument/he that putteth the soulis in heuen before domes daye stealeth away the resurreccion of their bodyes / Ge. Joye sayth they be in heuen/ergo he denyed the resurreccion) but also because he is so enformed. Besydis thys condempnacion of me by hearsaye or enformacion of hys faccyon: he is not ashamed of hys owne brayne to affirme and to wryte it/saying in the same fowrthe peise [paragraph] of his pistle thus.

Tindal Moreouer/ye shal vnderstonde that George Joye hath had of a longe tyme meruelouse ymaginacions about this worde Resurrection that it shulde be taken for the state of the soulis departed &c.

Joye. which same meruelouse ymaginacion/John apo. xx. hath: calling that state or lyfe the first resurreccion: Lo. Nowe yf T[indale]. nor yet his wyse enformers cannot proue nor iustifye these sclaunderouse lyes vpon me/as I know well they neuer shall as euery man maye se me in my bokis constantly wrytinge and affirming the Resurreccion of our bodyes at domes daye which (I thanke god) I neuer douted of: may ye not se then the maliciouse entent / shrewed purpose and corrupt conscience of this man for all his holy protestacions/thus temerariously and abominably to write to defame and sclaunder me? Ar not these the venomouse tethe of vepers that thus gnawe a nother mannis name? ar thei not spearis and dartis and their tongues as sharpe as swerdis as the prophet paynteth them? whette their not their tongues lyke serpents? nourysshe their not adders venome with their lippes? yisse verely. For the trowth is not in their mouthes sayth Dauid: They are corrupted within / their throte is an open stynkyng graue / wyth their tongues they flater and deceyue. Here may ye smel out of what stynkyng breste and poysoned virulent throte thys peivisshe Pystle spyrethe and breathed forthe.

But yet here first of all / T[indale]. (as ye maye se) accuseth and dampneth me / of conjecture and temerariouse jugement / to be vnhonest/not walking aftir christis rules of loue and softnes/but rather to be a sediciouse persone mouing stryfe and debate / to be vayngloriouse / curiouse / and couetouse and I cannot tell you what. But ere Tindale, had thus by open writing and prynting it to / accused and dampned me/vt had become him (yf he had wylled to be taken for a cristen man) firste to haue knowne these vices pryuately correcked betwene me and them whom I had with these synnes offended and eft aftir for my incorrigible and vntractable hardnes not hearing the chirche / to have also offended vt openly casting me out of yt/as crist techeth vs: and not thus fyercely and sodenly of a lyght and false conjecture and temerariouse jugement (I wil say no worse) to preuent [anticipate] bothe the iugement of god and man and to vsurpe the offyce of god before he come to juge vs bothe / nothing ferryng his terrible thretening / saing Juge noman lest ye be juged / condempne not lest ye be condempned your selues. Tindale]. condemneth mat. 7. Luc. 6. me of curiosite / but iuge (indifferent reder) whither this be not an vnquiet vayn curyouse touche to crepe into a nother mannis conscience curiously to serche accuse and condempne/ when he shuld have descended rather into his own / examining himselfe of what affeccion and minde he wolde write so many lyes and sclaunders of his brother of so light coniecture and heresaves. If I had bene gilty [of] althese fautes / it had bene Tin[dale's]. parte to haue had compassion rather vpon me/to warne/to exhorte me/then so sodenly and spyghtfully to have had accused me so openly and that with so perpetual and haynouse a sclaunder of my name that himselfe (though he wolde) yet can he not reuoke it and restore it me agene. He shuld have consydered that god commaundeth vs to be eche others seruants/and not so cruell iuges and condempners / namely of siche light coniectures. What Ro. 14 hath T indale]. to do to iuge a nother mannis seruant? what folehardines is it to crepe out of our own consciences curiously to serche other mennis hertis? ye and that to iuge and condempne them by open and perpetuall bokis? I have god my iuge / and therefore nede I not Tindals temerariouse iugement: ether I stande or fall vnto my nown lorde/yea he is redye/ yf I fall/merciably to lifte me vp agayn/and to sustayn me that I fall not.

But Tindale, and his goodly enformers thought/it was no honest mannis touche to correcke a false copye of the testament/which yf yt had not be done at that tyme/ ther had bene printed and solde two. M. mo falser bokis then euer before: thys semed no honest touche to them that had bought Tindals copy corrected for ten ponde as I herde saye / and shuld have the auauntage of the first sale / for it semed to them / that the mo trwer testaments / the lesse to be their auauntage: but had these that I correcked/gone forth falser then env wother before and had I refused the correccion of them / and so all the byers and reders to haue ben vtterly decevued with them / then had I plaid the honest man: then wold not one of them (as he did) have wisshed me hanged for my labour. But nowe to have correct that false copy that the testaments myght be the trwlyer prynted for the edifying of the reders / is aftyr T[indale's]. charite / a dede of stryfe and debate and of one that walketh not aftir the rules of loue and softnes whych Tindale/Christe I shulde save / and hys disciples teach vs. To correck the false copye that the holy testament myght be the perfytlyer red and vnderstonden/that the reders be not taried nor seduced is now aftir Tindale], and his enformers a touche of vaynglory/ curiosite and couetousnes blynde gydis &c. For yf I had chaunged neuer a worde in the boke/but onely correcked those wordis whyche were falsely printed before in the copye/ yet had T indale. in this first peise of his pistle thus accused iuged and condempned me gilty of al these sayd vices as hys own wordis testifye and as every man maye perceyue his mynde that wil expende and consydere his processe: iovninge this peise vnto that at followeth.

Tindal But when the pryntynge of myne was almost fynesshed one brought me a copie and shewed me so manye places in soche wyse altered that I was astonyed and wondered not a lytle what furye had dryuen him to make soche chaunge and to call yt a diligent correction. For thorow oute Mat. Mark and Luke perpetually: and ofte in the actees and sometyme in John and also in the hebrues where he fyndeth this worde Resurreccion he chaungeth yt into the lyfe after this lyfe or verie lyfe and soche lyk as one that abhorred the name of the resurreccion.

Joye. Se how this man exaggereth and heapeth togyther so many placis so altered making himself to be astonned and

to woundre of what furye I was caryed to gene this one worde Resurreccion hys very ryght significacion: and yet of so many places he can shew but one sely worde altered into his right significacion as I have sufficiently proued/whiche worde in all the thre euangelists telling al the same thing/ haue but one and euer the same significacion in those thre placis and in John the. v. cap. and in the hebrewes ca. xj. also a lyke. But and yf Tin[dale]. dirst haue shewed of so many places any one mo so chaunged/men shuld haue plainly sene/my diligent correccion to haue mended his negligent (I wil not saye his false) translacion. And yet he woundreth of what furie I was drouen thus to do. Softe and pacient/good wordis Tindale: and no furiouse fumes/ remember your rules of loue and softenes aftir the which a litel before your self pretende to walke and me to haue broken them and take not your selfe no more by the nose/ prease not so furiously vpon me as to saye I abhorre the name of the Resurreccion for geuing it in his place his right significacion/which I did of no furie but of good zele vnto the trueth/lest the reader myght be seduced with you beleuing there is no lyfe of soulis departed: but to lye a sleape without heuen tyl domes daye / For in so englysshing the worde I do no more abhorre the name of the resurreccion then do your selfe in the. xj. cap. to the hebrews where youre selfe call yt lyfe also: and haue graunted it me that yt so signifyeth. If I denye the resurreccion for so englysshing yt/so do you denye hell for englisshing Infernus a graue.

Tindal If that chaunce to turne resurreccion into lyfe after this lyfe be a dyligent correccion then must my translacion be fautie in those places and saynt feromes and all the translatours that ever I heard of in what tonge so ever it be from the apostles onto this hys dyligent correccion (as he calleth it) which whither it be so or no I permit it to other mennes judgementes.

Joye. whether my correccion in this place be a diligent correccion/and Tin[dale's]. translacion fautye or no/let better lerned then we bothe be iuges. Nether followeth yt/that for be cause ether myne be diligent/or T[indale]. be fautye/saynt Jerom[e]s (whyche neuer that I red translated it into englisshe) shulde be fautye in latyne/for he translated but oute of greke into latyn (yf he dyd translate it) vnderstanding (I dare saye) by thys worde Resurrectio in those places the

lyfe of soulis departed or the first resurreccion as John apo. 20 calleth yt/and not the generall resurreccion as Tin dale dremeth. S. Jerome knewe ful wel that the worde in hebrew had mo significacions then the resurreccion of the flesshe/and did not euery where translate the hebrew verbe into Surgo / as I have shewed before alleged in Isaye.

Tindal But of thys I chalenge George Joye | that he did not put his owne name therto and call yt rather his owne tra[n] slacion: and that he playeth boo pepe | and in some of hys bookes putteth in

his name and title | and in some kepeth it oute.

Joye. If George Joye playth bo peep for not putting to his name / then doth Tin [dale]. play bo peep with the testament first translated wher he did not put to his name to avoyd vaynglory: And. S. Paule (by this wyse reason) playd bo peep wythe hys pistle to the hebrews. Also here T[indale]. chalengeth me be cause I called yt not rather my nowne translacion / oh good lorde what occasions this man honteth for agenst me? Truth yt is that Solomon sayth prouer. xviij. he that delighteth in dissension / taketh of euery thing an occasyon to chyde. Shuld I have called yt my translacion for correcking the fawty and corrupt copye or for englishing resurreccion the very lyfe aftir this? If I had so done verely T[indale]. had had a juste cause to haue writen agenst me for lying and stealing awaye the glorie of his name for first translating the testament/But it was happie that the printer in making the title called yt a diligent correccion and not a translacion Tindale]. here addeth to my name/my title to. I cannot tell what he meaneth by my title: except yt be/ that in some of my bokis I write that I was some tyme fellow of Peter College in Camebridge for the more difference betwene a nother man that perchaunce might have the same name that I haue/And yf thys be the tytle that offendeth T indale]. I will hence forthe leaue yt oute.

Tindal It is lawfull for who will to translate and shew his mynde | though a thousand had translated before him.

[Joye.] why then is T[indale]. thus angrie with me for shewing my mynde (no not my minde but the mynde of crist)

vpon thys worde resurrectio?

Tindal But yt is not lawfull (thynketh me) ner yet expedient for the edificinge of the vnitie of the fayth of christ | that whosoeuer wil | shal by hys awne auctoryte | take another mannes translacion and put oute and in and chaunge at pleasure | and cal it a correction.

Joye. God forbyd that Tindale! shulde so thinke of hymselfe that he hathe so exquysitly (ye and that at firste) translated the testament that vt cannot be mended for he aknowlegeth and proueth the contrary himself/and desverth other men to mende yt: wherefore verely me thought it bothe lawfull and expedyent so to do: ye and that by as good autorite as he did first translate it vnperfaytly. Is yt not lawful to correck that at is amysse lest the readers be ether tarved or seduced? Aftir orygine/Jerome translated and ofte correcked the psalter and was desyered of Damasus then bishop of Rome to correck the the new testamet/which (I am suer) thought it lawfull and expedient to / as we se dayly/ other lerned men other wyse redyng and translating the scriptures then dyd Jerome. Dyd all the olde doctours translate / allege / and rede the scriptures a lyke? Did they stonde so highly in their own consaight that any one dysdayned to be correcked of a nother? And shall we then permytte vnto onely Tind[ale]. but a man/farre inferior vnto them both in lerning / jugement / and vertew / to translate and wryte what he lysteth noman so hardy to amende his fautis? what profit and goodnes cometh of the diuersite of translacions / rede S. Austen in his seconde boke de doctrina christiana cap. xij. In the chirch of god as there be many and dyuerse membres / so haue they many and sondry giftes / and one may se in a nother mannis workis that he saw not himselfe. And I doute not but there be and shal come aftir vs/that canne and shall correcke our workes and translacions in many places and make them miche more perfayt and better for the reader to vnderstande/and shulde we therfore brawll and wryte agenst them as T indale]. dothe agenst me? god forbyde/ but rather thanke them and geue place as Paule teacheth. i. Corinth .xiiij.

Tindal Moreover | ye shall viderstonde that George Joye hath had of a longe tyme marvelouse ymaginacions aboute this worde resurrection | that it shuld be taken for the state of the soules aftir their departinge from their bodyes | and hath also (though he hath been reasoned with theref and desyred to cease) yet sowen his doctrine by secret letters on that syde the see i.e., in England | and caused great division amonge the brethren. Insomoch that John Fryth

beyng in prison in the toure of London a little before his death on 4th July, 1533 wrote that we shuld warne hym and desyer him to cease and wolde have then wryten agaynst him had I not withstonde him. et cetera.

Joye. If Tindals parte had bene so trwe/and myne so false for translating this worde Resurrectio / as he pretendeth: Tindale falle the wold have boden better by it/and have stoken the from his cause, to lying nerer the probacion therof in his pystle as by the and sclaunder-yng.

kaye of his whole cause prouing his translacion trwe and myne false: and neuer haue had so farre swaruen from his principal/as (al probacions for his parte/and the confutacions of myn clene forgoten) a man carved of what furiouse affectis his tragical pistle declareth to fal to belying defaming and sclaundering of any man: he shuld have erst proued his parte trw and myn false or he had thus raged and rayled vpon me. But these crimes which he here openly and falsely impingeth vnto me of his own head and cannot iustifye them he hath promysed before recorde to reuoke. And if he be a trwe crysten man/sithe he cannot justifye his writing so vncircumspectly put forth and thrusted into many handis / he must ether for fere of that terrible sentence of god thretening al euill spekers / detractours and defamers his vengeaunce and wrath / orels if charite be so farre quenched in his breste as hys maliciouse pistle proueth it/yet at leste wise for very shame of these. iiij. honest men / before whom and eft sens before me he promised to reuoke his writing of me / he muste now reuoke his sclaunderouse and lying pistle wherin he sayth that I abhorre the name of the resurreccion and that I shuld denie it. Also here he imputeth vnto me certain crimes of which he condempneth me of heresaye/ye and that by the enformacion of other / That no small noumber thorow my curiosite vtterly denye the resurreccion of the bodyes &c. lo/good reader / Thus is not T[indale]. ashamed nor afraid to write at the enformacions (if there be eny sich) of other men. Tindalel, shuld have first considred what men these were that so falsely enformed him/and of what stomak and proof thei enformed him. For this dare I say constantly (I have yet the copie of the letters writen but onely vnto one man/in which as euery man may se/it may be assone and as lykely gathered that I denye that there is any god as the resurreccion/but I do rather affirme yt/or that

onely the soule departed is the spiritual bodie of the resurrection as T[indale]. is enformed and here affirmeth the same to confirme thys false enformacion. T[indale]. and his enformers shuld have turned fyrst to the article in our credo concerning the resurreccion which I translated/loking whether I do not affirme it/and like wise in all placis of scripture where so ever I fynde this worde Resurrectio signifying the resurrection of oure bodyes.) But I dare saye: that yf Tindals enformers whom by name I coude drawe out into light (if T[indale]. saye it not of his owne head) were examined of this reporte/that as they cannot for shame affirme and shew it to be taken of my letters/so shulde T[indale]. with miche more shame to have bene afrayd openly to wryte it/adding this adsercion of his owne brayne.

Tindal And of all this is G. Joyes unquyet curiosite the hole occasion | whether he be of the sayde faccion also | or not | to that let him answer him selfe.

Joye. Al this forsayd peise therfore is nothinge els (I take god to recorde) but a continuall shamelesse lye and a perpetual spightful sclaunder maliciously blowne togyther vpon me out of Tin dale's, mouthe. These false lyes and enuyouse infamyes whether they can come forth of any cristen breste or stande with siche holy adiuracions and protestacions as he paynteth aftirward to colour his ypocrysy and deadly hatered so long conceyued/noureshed in his brest

and now spitted oute vpon me let euery man iuge/

For as forme / god know eth / I neuer had other ymaginacion aboute this worde resurreccion then the significacion whych I haue sufficiently declared. And if euer I had any wother ymaginacions then that whiche in some placis (as I haue translated it) it signifyeth / euen the ferme faste permanent lyfe of the soulis departed: and agene in some placis the resurreccion of the flesshe as I haue declared yt/I adpele / prouoke / and compell Tindals conscience to tell yt openly / and yf he cannot/let him confesse his lye and knowleg how shamelessly he sclaundereth me and reuoke it. Also where he sayth/that I haue ben reasoned wyth all and desyered to ceasse: it is true that I reasoned with him of this mater twise or or thryse and tolde him that he did well yf he reuoked his erroneouse doctryne sowne so ofte in hys bokis: and if he saith that it was he that desyered me to ceasse / I reasoned

wyth none els but onely with him/in good faith I shal tel the trwthe/we neuer reasoned the mater but thorow his impacience our disputacion euer ended with chyding and brawling in somiche that aftirwarde in hys exposicion vpon John he stretched forth his penne agenst me as farre as he dirst/but yet spared my name/at the whiche chaleng I winked/yet taking yt not as ment of me because I loued quyetnes not wylling that any man shuld know what hatred he did euer beare me sence I came ouer/

For when he coude not avoyd the manyfest scriptures nor soyle the reasons brought agenst him/then the man began to fume and chaafe calling me fole/vnlerned/with other obprobriouse names: then I knew not the scriptures nor what I sayd &c. and except T[indale]. call this his charitable desyer and louing monicion wherwith he desyerd me to ceasse/in good fayth I neuer herd whother of hys mouthe. I am sory to wryte this/but hys deadly lyes and maliciously

sclaunders compel me to do yt.

Tindal Then sayth he that I have sowne my doctryne by secrete letters on that syde the sea [i.e., in England] and caused grete division emonge the bretherne &c.

Joye. I neuer wrote letter concerning this mater I take god to recorde but vnto one man seduced by his false doctryne/whych yet (I thynke) persysteth for all my letters in the same opinion/so wholly dependeth he vpon Tindals mouth addicte vnto hys wordis/that the soulis sleap oute of heuen tyll domes daye/whom I warned at last to ceasse wryting any more of this mater to me/and not to stande ouer miche in hys own consayght nor yet to depende ouer myche of any mannis doctryne/declaring him fyrst the significacions of this worde resurrectio as I have done in thys Apologye/

And yet haue I here the copye of my letters sent vnto this man whych I neuer desyered as every man shall se to be kept secrete/nether dyd the yonge man so kepe them for they and their copyes went thorow many handis as I vnderstode aftir/and were sent vnto Frithe in the tower/wherof Frith wrote thys warnyng to Tin[dale] whyche he here mencyoneth/

and I answerd Frith agene by my letters/but aftir I answered him/I neuer herde more from Frith of this mater/and yet had he a longe tyme aftir in the tower to haue wryten/

if he had sene his parte good:

Frith wrote tindals answers to More for tindale / and corrected them in the prynte / and printed them to at Amelsterdam / and whether he winked at T[indale's], opinion as one hauyng experience of Tindals complexion / or was of the same opinion I cannot tel / the man was ientle and quyet and wellerned and better shuld have ben yf he had lived. Then sayth T[indale].

Tindal Thereto I have ben sence enformed that no small nowmber thorow hys curiosite denie the resurrection of the flessh and bodie.

[6. xiv.]

Joye. Thou seist (good reader) how that I denie not the general resurreccion/nor I my self neuer thought it to be denyed but haue constantly affirmed and taught it. But thou remembrest euerywhere T[indale's]. argument / thus argwing full falsely: If the soulis be in heuen/ergo there shalbe no resurreccion of their bodyes. Here tindals faccion and his disciples argew and beleue lyke their Master/sayng: lo George Joye sayth the soulis be in heuen/wherfore it muste nedis folow that he denyeth the resurreccion of their bodyes/or els he muste make oure Master and father tindale a lyer and his doctrine false/here may euery man se how T indale]. playth bo peepe wyth me impynging heresy vnto me/for confuting hys errour sowne hitherto in his bokis:

Tindal yet sayth Tindale] to / that these men seduced by my doctryne affirme that the soule / when she is departed / is the spiritual bodye of the resurreccion: and other resurreccion shall there non[e] be.

Joye. If T indale, can shew me these wordes to be mine ether in writing / or brynge forthe any man that euer herde me speke them/then let me suffer dethe. For I take god to recorde that I neuer thought them/and sence I red my philosophy/I knew the difference betwene a bodye and the soule/and was neuer so mad as to call the soule a spirituall bodye/as Tyndal sayth I do affirme yt: but T[indale]. in deed when I argewed that sleape in scrypture was onely appropryated vnto the bodie and not to the soule/and a shuttyng vp of the sencis frome their vse/he graunted me that the soule of man was also a bodely substaunce: wherat a non I perceyued his highe lerning.

Tindal At last saith T indale. I have talked wyth some of them my selfe so dotyd in that foyle that it were as good to persuade a poste as to plucke that madnes oute of their braynes. And of this all is George Joyes unquiet curiosite the hole occasion.

Joye. If any man list to beleue T[indale] / that he hath thus talked wyth some so doted/lete him so do in gods mane [name]. For as for me/sithe I se him lye so manifestly in other thingis/suerly I trust him the lesse in thys tale: nor wil I neuer beleue him til he bringeth forthe some one so doted/For I thinke there be none so mad/And whether I be so curiouse and vnquiet as he reporteth me/lete them be iuges that se my workis and rede this mine answere and know my conuersacion. And here T[indale]. addeth this tayle to knyt vp his lies sayng/

Tindal whether he be of the sayd faccion also or not | to that let him answer himselfe.

Joye. I am not affraid to answere Master Tindal in thys mater for all his high lernyng in hys hebrewe greke latyne &c. T[indale]. supposeth/ye he affirmeth yt here twise for fayling / that I am of the same faccion And I answere and tel Tindale], agene that he belyeth me deadly and that nether he nor noman els can gather one iote of al the wryting and wordes that euer I spake or wrote / that I shulde once thynke that there shuldbe no general resurreccion of our bodyes / nor vet that the soules departed shulde onely be the spiritual bodyes of the resurreccion. Blame me not (I beseche the cristen reader) though I seme in this place vnpacient: For verely I am spightfully prouoked and exasperated with his lyes and sclaunders thus penned into my perpetuall infamy/ and am compelled to defende my name and fame which ther is nothing to me more dere and leife for there is no kynde of infamy so pernicius as is to be sclaundered of heresye/ whych Tin dale, impingeth vnto me nothing consydering that (though he wolde) yet can he not restore me my name agene / And I meruel that this so holy a man as he pretendeth himselfe forgetteth what paule threteneth saying that these euvil spekers bye and sclaunderers shalnot possede the heretage and kingdome of god/I pray god geue this man a better mynde and to printe wel in his hert and remember his own doctrine and to feare hys own terrible othe and so harde and perellouse desyer in thys hys pistle: thus saying here aftir.

Tindal More ouer I take god (whych alone seith the hert)

to recorde to my conscience | beseching him that my parte be not in the bloude of crist | yf I wrote of all that I have written thorow out all my boke | aught of an cuil purpose | of cnuy or malice to eny man &c.

Tindal If George Joye wil saye (as I wot well he will) that

his chaunge is the the scene. &c.

Joye George Joye hath sayd yt and proued yt to / that yt is the meanyng of the scryptures in that place / And T[indale]. had ben so pacient as he pretendeth when every man saye as he sayth/and loke vp and woundre at his wordis: he wolde have taryed other mennis iugement/and not have thus maliciously avenged hym selfe preventing yt wyth so poysoned a pistle.

Tindal. But though yt were the verie meanynge &c.

[Joye.] Lo here may ye se how highly thys man standeth in his owne opinion / thynking that his false translacion ought not to geue place to the trwe meanyng of the scryptures put in of a nother man: nether do I here at my nowne pleasure put in my meanyng but the meaning of crist as hymself expowneth it/whose meaning is not the next waye to stablysshe heresyes as Tindals meaning dothe/as I haue playnely proued/which let me se yf he can improue and confute: but rather to confute T[indale's], heresye which is that the soulis sleap out of heuen feling nether payne nor ioye til domes daye.

Tindal As for an ensample | when Christ sayth Jo. v. The tyme shall come in the which all that are in the graves shall heave his voyce and shall come me forth: they that have done good vnto resurreccion of lyse | or with the resurreccion of lyse | and they have done evel | vnto the resurreccion or with the resurreccion of damnacion. George Joyes correccion is | they that have done good shall come forth into the verie lyse | and they that have done evel into the lyse of damnacion | thrustinge cleane oute this worde resurreccion.

Joye He that geueth this worde resurreccion his very trw significacion in his place thrusteth not out the worde/but declareth yt playnly and putteth it in/as he that translateth thys worde Deus/calling yt god in englysshe/thrusteth not out god/but putteth him for them to know him in englisshe which vnderstande not the latyn. If Tin[dale]. translate theis wordis/paradisum voluptatis/calling them a garden in

Eden/and a nother come aftir him englisshyng the same a pleasaunt paradise/this man thrusteth not clene out paradise. Nether where he translateth And Jacob blessed Gen. xlvij Pharao/and a nother translateth the same sayng/And Jacob thanked Pharao/yt folowthe not that therfore this man thrusteth out clene this worde Benedixit/no more Thes. ij. then he thrusteth out Paulis soule/that translateth this place of paule. we desyerd not onely to geue vnto you the gospel of god but also our owne lyues or our owne selues/for which Tin[dale]. sayth our own soulis.

Tindal Now by the same auctorite | and with as good reason shall another come and saye of the rest of the text | they that are in the sepulchres | shall heare his voyce | that the sence is | the soules of them that are in the sepulchres shall heare his voyce | and so put in his dyligent correccion and mocke oute the text | that it shal not make for the resurreccion of the flesshe | which thynge also George Foyes correccion doth manifestlye affirme.

Jove. I wolde know of Tinda lel. whether when a mannis bodye is dead and layd in graue / yt be his dead bodye or hys soule that hereth cristis voyce / I am suer T[indale]. is not so farre besydis his comon sencis as to saye the dead bodye hereth cristis voyce / ergo yt is the soule that hereth yt / and then why dothe T[indale], despyse my sence or rather the try sence of the scripture calling it a mocking out of the text and a false glose? I am suer Tin[dale]. will not vnderi. Pet. 3 and 4 stand the textis of Peter / that the gospell is preched to the dead bodyes in graue but rather to the soulis departed / Albeit I se in hys new correccion how shamefully and of what corrupt mynde god knowth/he hathe peruerted thys text / wyth thys note / That the dead ar the ignorant of god. when there the dead and quyke be taken as they stonde in the credo/the deade even for the departed out of this worlde and the quyk for them that lyue there in: whych article that criste shal iuge them bothe / as it is setforth for the playn peple so is it playnly spoken as the letter sowneth/ and not in a mistik allegory worthy any sich a false glose in the mergent / T [indale]. shuld have loked beter on the circumstance of the texte / and not have englished / vt indicarentur quidem secundum homines carne: that thei shuld be condempned of men in the flesshe. For by thys peruertyng of the text men may se that Tindale]. hath forgoten his grammer/or els god

know[e]th of what mynde he wold haue here | mortuis | not to signifye the departed oute of this worlde | and iudicarentur to signifye that they shuld be condempned | and secundum homines | of men. whiche sentence he translated at first truely | and now corrected it de meliore in peius: as euery lerned | ye and vnlerned may se | T[indale]. sayth I take away the texte from him in this one worde resurrectio: but he in this place | I dare saye | and can proue it to his face | that he corrupteth the text | and by his false translating it | taketh awaye the trwe vnderstonding therof from as many as rede yt | and beleue his translacion.

Nether dothe he that saythe the soulis of the dead shal here cristis voyce / denye the resurreccion of the flesshe: for they maye / and do bothe stande well togither. Criste had al power geuen him in heuen and erthe aftir his dethe and resurreccion/and that even the power to preserve the dead alvue in their soulis which power of god he tolde the Saduceis they knew not / and yet by his godhed he did daily execute yt: he had powr also to juge/althoughe he be the sonne of man/whiche powr then geuen him is not idle and voyd til domes daye / but is dayly executed in the particulare iugement of euery soule departed (yf Tindale). graunteth any partiful clare iugement at al but wil saye the soulis sleape) and then is not this the trwe sence of John in this place? that the soulis of the bodyes resting and sleaping in graue shall here cristis voice and come forthe into that very lyfe which they now lyue and crist proued it vnto the Saduces? John (I saye) beyng so plentuouse in telling one thing so ofte and so many ways / sayd the same thing twise be fore once thus: verely verely I saye vnto you who so here my worde / and beleue him that sent me / hath lyfe euerlastvng and shalnot come into condempnacion / but is passed ouer from dethe to lyfe/And aftir warde he expressith yt playnely to be verifyed euen of the dead/the tyme of his iugement in his manhed then standing vpon or beyng present/ sayinge verely verely I say vnto you / The tyme shal Joan 5 come and euen now yt is: when euen the dead shal here the voice of the sone of god/and who so here yt shal lyue: which powr of the sone / to be receyued of the father / and in that to be egal with him declared / he resumeth the same

sentence yet agen the thirde tyme/sayng. Meruel not at

this thyng/for the tyme shall come in which al that ar in graues shal here his voyce and they that have done good shal come forthe into that verye lyfe and they that have done yll into that myserable or dampnable lyfe. For where he sayd before the dead shal here his voice now he sayth for the same / all that ar in graues shall here his voyce / and where he sayd in the first same sentence/ar passed frome dethe to lyfe and haue euerlasting life in the seconde sentence he sayth/shal lyue/and in the thirde and last of all he saythe/shal come forth in to that very and perfit lyfe/ and where he sayd before/condempnacion/here at last he calleth the same the lyfe of condempnacion or dampnable lyfe / as yt is the comon phrase of scripture to saye spiritus sanctificationis | pro spiritu sancto et sanctitas veritatis pro vera sanctitate with many siche lyke/Also yt is to be noted that there is none of the euangelistis nor apostles so plentuouse in expowning himselfe with so many wordis and so ofte repeting one thing as is John/vsyng thys particle (Et) in englyssh as myche to saye as (And) expositive: that is to expowne the sentence or worde before / as when he saythe who so come to me shall not hongre/and whoso beleue in me shall neuer thirst / there thys particle (and) expowneth what yt is to come to Crist/that is to saye to beleue in Criste/ And when he saythe: I am the resurreccion and lyfe/there thys worde (and) expowneth what resurreccion sygnifyeth/euen very lyfe/and so the sentence folowyng declareth yt. And agen where he saith except a man be borne of water and the spirit &c there / this worde (And) signifyeth/that is to saye of the spirit/expowning Esaye. xliiij what water is in that place as Isay expowneth water / and John also. But and if T [indale]. wil nedis save styll that I mocke out the Resurreccion of the flesshe/ because I say that the soulis of them that be in graues shall here his voyce / I answer and aske him what mok is ther in these my wordis to saye that aftir the general resurreccion/ the soulis with the bodis that were in graue shall come forthe into that lyfe euerlasting? Is not this a trewe and catholyk sence? can T[indale]. make it false?

But yet here wolde I aske Tindale]. (yf he wolde not iuge me curiouse) a nother question/euen this: whether that the bodies shal ryse be fore thei come forthe of

their graues and so come forthe into that perpetual lyfe or whether thei shal first come forthe of their graues and then rise aftirwarde? If he saythe they must ryse before they come forthe vnto that very lyfe/then is yt trwe that they shall not come forthe vnto the resurreccion/ for they be now rysen al redye and the resurreccion is past wyth them and then is my translacion trwe that they shal come forthe into that very lyfe / and not vnto the resurreccion of their bodyes as Tindale]. saythe. And yf he wyll save to make this worde resurreccion to signifie the resurreccion of the flesshe (lest it be mocked out as he saythe/ whiche noman entendeth) that the bodies firste come forthe of their graues and then ryse aftirwarde / then is his translacion as trew and as lyke / As the man that lyeth him down to slepe vpon his bed in his chamber first to come forthe of his chamber before he ryseth out of his bed/lo (reader) here thou seist whother Tin[dale]. is brought for so supersticyously steking to onely one significacion of this worde Resurrectio. Now let Tindale. beware lest emong so many his friuole notis and gloses in mergents some of them be founde bothe false and sclaunderouse and to litle effect. For as for my englisshing of the worde / is proued manifestly to be the very text.

[Tindal.] And at laste where Tindale]. sayth/that in his mynde a lytle unfayned love aftir the rules of criste &c. [p. xi.]

Joye. I thynke that siche loue may not stande with cristis rules / orels Tindals loue is miche worthe whiche hathe fayned vtwardly to haue loued me / when all this while he did but nouresshe in his breste hatered and malice longe a go conceyued and now at laste hathe spewed forthe al his

venome and poyson at once vpon me.

Tindal Wherfore | concernynge the resurreccion | I protest before god and oure sauioure Jesus Crist | and before the vniuersall congregacion that beleueth in him | that I beleue accordinge to the open and manyfest scriptures and catholyck fayth | that Christ is rysen agayne in the flesshe whych he receaued of his mother the blessed virgin marie and bodye wherin he dyed. And that we shal all both good and bad ryse both flesshe and bodye | and apere together before the iugement seat of crist | to receaue every man accordynge to his dedes. And that the bodyes of all that beleue and continew in the true fayth of christ | shalbe endewed with lyke immortalite and glorye as is the bodye of christ.

Joye. Tin[dale]. nedeth not to make so longe an holy protestacion of thys mater/for noman layth yt to hys charge: but let Tin[dale]. clere himselfe of this errour that he hathe wryten thryse in his answere to M. More and in his exposicion of John: That is to weit that he saithe the soulis departed slepe and shall not be in heuen tyll domes daye/and yet affirmeth arrogantly and argeweth vnwysely/that whoso shulde saye the contrary/denyeth the general resurreccion.

Tindal And I protest before god and oure sauioure christ and all that beleue in him | that I holde of the soules that are departed as moche as maye be proued by manifest and open scripture | and thinke the soules departed in the fayth of christ and loue of the lawe of god | to be in no worse case then the soule of Christ was | from the tyme that he deliuered his spryte into the handes of his father | vntyll the resurreccion of hys bodye in glorye and immortalite. Neuerthelater | I confesse openly | that I am not persuaded that they be all readie in the full glorie that crist is in | or the elect angels of God are in. Nether is yt anye article of my fayth: for yf yt so were | I se not but then the preachynge of the resurreccion of the flesshe were a thinge in vayne. Not withstondinge yet I am readie to beleue it | if it may be proued with open scripture.

Joye. Now thanked be god/that Tin[dale]. at last hath founde oute that doctryne whyche crist nor hys apostles neuer taught/nor was not in the worlde at that tyme. God be preased that haue shewed T[indale]. that depe secrete layd vp in hys tresury/Now he thinketh that the soulis departed be in no worse case then was cristis spirit from hys dethe vntyl his resurreccion/but cristis spirit was in heuen: ergo T[indale]. stealeth awaye the resurreccion of cristis

bodye and our bodyes to/

Tindal But Tin [dale]. thus come home/now shifteth and seketh this sterting hole saying that if they be in heuen in as ful and perfit glory as crist is in/or the electe aungels (and yet of this full and perfit glory noman contendeth with him) then he seith not els but that the preching of the resurreccion were in vayne.

Joye. No forsothe: The resurreccion is so necessary an article of our faythe that in what Joye soeuer the soulis be/yet we must beleue yt and preche it to/orels make cristis doctryne false and saye that himself is not rysen. And here can I not meruel ynoughe at T[indale's]. ignorance of the

scriptures / whyche declare playnely that the glorye and joye of the soulis is more ful and perfit when they shal have their bodyes felows and parte takers of their felicite and joye whom they had once as ministers of their good workis and partakers of their afflictions / then when they have their glory a lone wyth out their bodyes. For vnto this fulnes and gloriouse perfeccion Paule loked with sore sighes to come when the hole intire bodye of crist and ful nowmbir of his electe shall come in altogither aftir the resurreccion of their bodyes/sayng That all creatures longe for the de-rom. 8. lyuerance oute of their seruitute into that gloriouse libertye of the childeren of god: and we our selfe longe sore and abyde for that adopcion euen the redempcion of our luce. 21 bodyes. For then the soulis shal resume their own bodyes not mortal but immortal/incorruptible/spiritual/i.cor. 15 and gloriouse for euer. And yf this werre not a more ful and perfyter state then the glorye that yet is but of the soulis a lone/yt shulde not be so sore sighed and longed fore of paule and every faythefull that thus beleveth of the redemption/ adopcion / and libertie of their bodyes whych yet ether slepe in the duste or lyue in trouble affliction / corruption / mortalite/ ignomynie &c. Also in the actis / Luke remembreth Act. iij thys perfeccion and full state callyng yt the tyme of refrigery and confort of the presence of god and tyme of the restoring of all thyngis. And Paule expressing this gloriouse He. xi. perfeccion and perfit glorye of bothe bodyes and soulis togither aftir the general resurreccion/sayth. All these thorow fayth deseruyng thys testimony haue not yet receyued the promyse (that is to saye the intire renewing/redempcion/ and resurreccion of their bodies promised them) because that god had prouided this one beter thyng for vs/that is to wete/ that thei without vs shuld not be made ful and perfite or be set faste in their ful glorye of bothe body and soule. For then shal the vniuersal and intire corps of criste his hole chirche be made ful and perfit in hir most gloriouse and perfit state and perpetual fruicion ioyned in ioye euerlasting vnto hir head Jesu criste. But Tin dale sayth he is not persuaded that they be all redye in the ful glorie that crist is in/as thoughe this were not playn in the scriptures / that crist is there bothe body and soule and so be not yet the electe: But yet when the electe shal be there with their bodyes/

they shal not have so full and perfayth glory as criste

epphe. 1. hathe.

Tindal And I have desired George Joye to take open textes that some to make for that purpose as this is. To daye thou shalt be with me in paradise to make therof what he coulde and to let his dreames aboute thys worde resurrection goo. For I receaue not in the scripture the privat interpretacion of any mannes brayne without open testimony of eny scriptures agreinge thereto.

Joye. Tindale]. neuer desyered me except his obprobrious wordis and reuyling of me were his desyere/And in dead I brought the same text agenst him/and he made a glose of paradice and sayd yt was not there taken for heuen/where euery man may se yt taken for heuen: for crist sayd thou shalt be wyth me/whiche was in heuen. Nether is the interpretacion of that worde resurrection my privat interpretacion/but cristis owne interpretacion as I have proved yt.

Tindal Morcouer I take god (which alone seeth the hert) to recorde to my conscience | beschinge him that my parte be not in the bloude of crist | yf I wrote of al that I have writen thorow out all my boke | ought of an euell purpose | of enuye or malice to anye man | or to stere vp any false doctrine or opinion in the churche of crist &c.

Joye. Here is an holy othe broken/and a perellouse desyer / yf the contrary to be trewe / For here he rayleth vpon me/he belyeth me/he sclaundereth me and that most spightfully with a perpetual infamye: whiche al yf yt be not of enuy / malice / and hatered of what els shulde yt spring? And even here for all his holy protestacions / yet herd I never sobre and wyse man so prayse his owne workis as I herde him praise his exposicion of the v. vj. and. vij. ca. Mat. in so myche that myne eares glowed for shame to here him/and yet was it Luther that made it / T[indale]. onely but translating and powldering yt here and there with his own fantasies. which praise methought yt then better to haue ben herde of a nother mannis mouth for it declared out of what affeccion yt sprang euen farre vnlyk and contrarye vnto these whiche he now professeth and protesteth so holely for wordis be the messageris of mennis myndis.

Tind al. Saue onlye of pitie and compassion I had and yet have on the blindnes of my brethren | and to bringe them vnto the knowledge of christ | and to make every one of them | yf yt were possible as perfect as an angeli of heaven.

Joye. Lo here may ye se the good purpose and godly entent of thys good man / and yet hath he by thys his vncharitable / sediciouse / sclaunderouse and lying pistle offended and hurt many a good simple man / and caused them to caste their bokis clene awaye neuer to loke on them more/nor to beleue vs what so euer we haue or shall wryte / thus hath he destroyd that whyche god hathe thorow vs hitherto bylded/ and caused vs bothe / ye and the gospel to / to be euill spoken of: besyds the grete reioyse and gaudye mynystred to the enymes of the trowth / ye and some good men wysshe vs bothe neuer to have ben borne / and saye we be bothe full of poyson. For doutelis Tindals complexion is siche / that for all his holy protestacions and holyer fayned good entents here expressed of his owne mouthe / yet had he leuer marre and destroy al / and (as they save) set all at six and seuen/then he wolde haue suffred the translacion of this one worde resurrection to have tarved and aboden the jugement of cristis chirche: so sore yt gnaweth his herte to be correcked and warned of me/but a fole and vnlerned as he bothe reputeth me and

telleth yt me to my face/

For in good fayth/and as I shal answere before god/ ere he came to one place of the testament to be last corrected / I tolde his scrybe / euen him that wrote and correckted the testament for him / that there was a place in the begynnyng of the. vj. cap. of the actis somwhat derkely translated at fyrst / and that I had mended it in my correction and bode him shew yt Tin[dale], to mende yt also/vf yt be so sene vnto him / and I dare saye he shewd yt him / but yet because I founde the fawte and had corrected yt before/ Tin[dale]. had leuer to haue let yt (as he did for all my warnyng) stande styll derkely in his new correccion whereof the reder myght take a wrong sence/then to have mended yt whyche place whether yt standeth now clerer and trwer in my correccion then in his/let the lerned iuge. The place is this / In those dayes as the nowmber &c. where / for that at he translateth wydows: I saye/their pore nedye/which includeth bothe men and wemen/for bothe were releifed by their dayly almose and the greke worde is the comon gender to bothe and where Tin [dale]. sayth / dayly minystracion / I saye dayly almose as Paule vseth the same worde. ij. corin. ix. For aftir Tindalis translacion / yt sowneth that the apostles

shulde haue had certayn wedews of the hebrewes to serue and mynyster vnto them at their tables or in other vses / and so the grudge to have rysen/that theise wydews were despysed and put out of offyce/when the text trwly and clerely translated sheweth a nother sence farre vnlyke vt as the circumstance declareth. And yf I had ben giltye al these crymes which T[indale]. falsely imputeth vnto me calling me vayngloriouse / couetouse / curiouse / sedyciouse / factiouse a sower of heresyes / a denyer of the general resurreccion whych I take god to recorde I neuer thought nor did yt/he wolde rather (yf he had had siche a godly zele as he here cloketh) ere he had thus openly and perpetually belyed and sclaundered me/fyrst haue come to me and warned me brotherly and paciently / But god almyghty theelenseer and sercher of herte and revnes how holy so euer owr vysard wordis and workis apere/be iuge at our departing betwene T[indale]. and me.
I shewed and now I shew T[indale]. agene where the

scripture disalow[s] his false opinion of the soulis to slepe/

and ve se how he beareth vt/

I shewd T[indale], where I founde fawtis longe before this in his translacion and now ye se that he do not onely not mende yt nor confesse not his ignorance but rather call me heretyke and belye me thus spightfully for my labour.

Tindal wherfore I beseche George Joye | ye and all other to | for to translate the scripture for them sclues | whether oute of Greke |

Latyn | or Hebrue.

Jove. Here Tindalel is afrayd lest any man wolde steale awaye frome him the glorye and name of his translacion: whych nether I/nor no man els is aboute to do/he wolde haue men translate for them selfe/when we be all borne to profite our neybours and for the comon wele / by his foxisshe ensample he pretendeth as thoughe I shulde steale awaye his gloriouse name for the translacion/and yet he seith and repeteth my wordis himself calling yt but a dyligent correccion and no translacion/for yt had ben but a lye to cal yt my translacion for translatyng and mending a fewe certayn doutful and derke places. But I doubt not but that aftir T[indale]. and me bothe/there be or shal come/which shall mende bothe our translacions and paraduenture cal them theirs/which I pray god sende vs/and I/for my parte shal geue place vnto siche one withe grete and many thankis.

Tindal For this I protest | that I prouoke not Joye ner any other man (but am prouoked | and that after the spytfullest maner of prouokinge) to do sore agaynst my wil and with sorow of harte that I now do.

[pp. xiii-xiv.]

Joye. If this be not a spightful prouokacion to me/thus to belye me/to sclaunder me as Tin[dale]. hath done/let all that rede bothe our talis be iuge/and whether the englisshing of that worde resurrectio be so spightful a prouocacion to a meke modest cristen man/as thus so spightfully and sclaunderously to wryte agenst me.

Tindal T[indale]. sayth I neuer can nor wil suffer of any man that he shall go take my translacion and correcke yt with out name.

[p. xiv.]

Joye. Lo here is a grete mater wherfore this so pacient a man shulde be offended and moued thus shamelesly to wryte into the offense and hurte/ye into the destruccion of al that is buylded in cristis chirche/and perpetual infamy of his brother/let euery man be ware how he medle withe T[indale]. workis/and especially take hede that he mende not/nor yet correck them/except he putto his name/For how false so euer they be/Tin[dale]. wilnot gladly haue them mended as I perceyue/thinkyng that no man is able to correcke hym/and yet vnder the cloke of hipocrysye himselfe desyereth in the ende of his fyrste translacion other men to mende and correcke yt/thys man belyke when he translated yt/was nether man nor angell but god himselfe that cannot erre nor lye/

Tindal he saythe I have made siche changing as hym selfe dirst not do as he hopeth to have hys parte in criste thoughe the hole worlde should be genen hym for his labour.

[2. xiv.]

Joye. And I saye/I haue made many changes which yf T[indale], had had siche sight in the greke as he pretendeth and conferred yt diligently with the greke as he sayth he did/he shulde haue made the same changes him selfe/which places I shal poynt him to here after/but yet let Tindale loke ouer his Testament once agene and conferre yt a lytle beter withe the verite and greke to/I wolde euery man wolde compare my correccion wyth his/and marke well euery change/and he shall se that I changed some wordis and sentencis/which T[indale]. aftir me was compelled euen as I did/so to change and correcke them himselfe.

Aftir that Tindals correccion was printed: yt chaunced me to turne here and there in his new diligently corrected testament so compared with the greke: as first in the beginning of. j. ca. Ro. And there me thought his translacion was not according to the text/where Paule in hys salutacion apereth to affirme that by thre thyngis especially/as the scrypture shewth yt/Criste was declared to be the sonne of god. First by power/secondarely by the holy gost/thirdely in that he rose from dethe. where the text hath / ex eo quod resurrexit &c. which T[indale]. englissheth sence the tyme that he rose / knowing not what / Ex eo / there sygnifyeth / For criste was declared to be the sonne of god bothe by hys godly powr and also by the holy goste often tymes before his resurreccio and not after yt/as ye maye se hys power in doing miracles all before his resurreccion/the holigost also before yt declaring hym / John. j. xv. and. xvj. Also in the. xiiij. ca. j. cor. how englissheth he there this worde/spiritus? which signifyeth in that place the breathe and voice of our tongue and yet T[indale]. sayth. If I pray with tongues my spirit prayth/but my mynde is with oute frute/whych sentence aftir hys translacion is contrary to cristis saying that wolde haue vs to praye and worship his father in spirit. Joan. iiij. ro. j. In that chap. also what englissh geueth Tin[dale]. these wordes propheta and prophecie? which signifie there/ the interpretour and interpretacion or prechyng of holy scriptures. And where Paule wolde that these interpretours or prechers shuld preche and declare the scriptures one aftir a nother before the congregacion / and not two or thre of them all at once to avoyde confusion / For god (sayth he) is not the autor of confusion &c. T[indale]. euen clene contrary to the text/translateth thus: let the prophetis speke two at once or thre at once. There were some heretyks in paulis tyme which sayd that our bodyes shulde not ryse the selfe same ageyn/but wother distincte and seueral bodies: vnto whose opinion (al be it I know wel T[indale]. beleueth yt not) yet he ministreth a shrewd occasion in taking awaye the texte by vntrwly translating this sentence. et vnicuique seminum dat deus suum or proprium corpus/(as hathe the vulgare texte) God geueth to euery sead his own bodye/ and not a seueral bodye as Tindale, translateth yt/For by this text Paule confuteth their heresye / that saye we shal not

ryse agene wyth our own bodyes/but with some wother seueral and distincte bodyes from these which we now carye aboute. I meruel that T[indale]. calleth suum or proprium corpus/a seueral bodye/If I had thus translated these places he might wel haue sayd/I had nede go lerne my donate and accidence agene/rather then to translate scriptures: had he not yet haue sayd worse by me. But here peraduenture Tin[dale]. will excuse him by the greke or by some hebrew phrase left theryn/as he telleth some simple reders that know nether of them bothe how they make agenst me in thys worde resurrectio: and as he bosteth himselfe in the beginning of this his godly pistle and also in his prologe/

Tindal saying that he hath compared the testament with the greke and weded out of yt many fautis (and yet in some place made yt worse then it was before) which lake of helpe at the beginning and ouer sight did sowe therin. If ought seme changed (sayth he) or not all togither agreing wythe the greke/let the finder of the fawte/consider the hebrew phrase or maner of speche lefte in the greek wordis &c.

Joye. So that T[indale]. in his translacion/yf any fawt be founde/wolde seme to flitte from Greek to hebrew/from the present tence to the future/from persone to persone/ from nowmber to number/yea and as yt playnely i. pe. 4. apereth in altering the texte of Peter/and in altering these sayd places from the latyn texte/euen clene from the trwthe of the texte vnto hys owne vayne imaginacions/as euery reder maye wel perceyue. If he were so wel sene in the greek as he maketh him selfe / doing siche diligence in this his correccion as he pretendeth and professeth/he shulde haue lefte out some of so many vayne and fryuole notis in the mergent nothing corresponding nor expowning the texte/ and have mended mo favtes in his texte / At the firste opening of his boke/I chaunced vpon this glose in the i. ioan. 3 mergent. Loue is the firste precept and cause of all other. And I loked on the tother syde / and there I sawe against yt this other: Fayth is the firste commandment and loue the seconde/whych gloses (except Tindale). geue vs the thirde glose to declare and conciliate these two) maye apere contrarye to the reders: how be it methinketh yt not good so derkely and doutefully to glose where the text is playne/ that we must go make glose vpon glose / and so at laste lede

men from the texte to wander in gloses as it hath bene in tymes paste: and paraduenture Tin[dale], wolde haue geuen vs the thirde glose to/had the mergent haue ben able to recevue yt for other gloses/gloses/and al lytel to the purpose. I meruel that aftir T[indale]. in his first translacion our ladie was marved vnto Joseph/and that now in his new correccion she is but betrouthed to him. If his first translacion were trwe in this place/why then did he correck it? And yf it were false that she was maryed to Joseph when she was there espyed grete with childe/how shall we proue that crist was conceyued in wedlok: which thynge Matthews mynde is there to proue yt/and luke affirmeth the same / the worde translated into this latyne worde desponsata/ which worde aftir my pore lerning by the reson of the pre posicion / De / in composicion signifyeth more then the simple worde sponsata | and maketh the verbe to bere with vt more encrease and fulnes. Also this sentence in latyne following/ priusquam congressi fuissent / Tin[dale]. englesshith / before they came to dwell togither: in which whether he hath translated trwly the mynde of th[e]euangelist let the lerned in cristis chirche be iuges. I wolde haue thus translated it. When Mary / his mother was maryed vnto Joseph / before they had layne togither/she was espyed to be with chylde: which was by the holy goste. For she was saluted in wedlok and conceived criste by the holy goste / before she knew (that is) slept with hir howsbonde / as the order of the text and story tolde / declareth.

when T[indale]. hath mended these fautes/I shal shewe him moo. And for all his grete diligence in adding the pistles of the olde Testament/yet hath he missed the kushen in many placis/and must be compelled to mende hys fawtis aftir myn ensample/orels leue the reder as yt were in hys Maze sekyng for some of the pistles where he shal neuer finde them.

Paulis mynde is that. ii. or. iij. one aftir a nother record. (thoughe Tin[dale]. translateth two at once or thre at once contrary to the text) may interprete scriptures in the chirche / wother men iuging and tryinge their interpretacions by the scriptures. And if aught be reueled and geuen to any other that sitteth bye and hereth the firste / the first man shulde holde his peace and here him/

and not euen anon to wryte any maliciouse and contenciouse pistle agenst him/as dothe T[indale] agenst me. Paule commandeth vs to do al thingis for the edifying and consolacion of the chirche / and not to destroye / auerte / confounde / and inquyet yt as hath T[indale]. done by his sclaunderouse and sediciouse pistle. The mynde and sence of one interpretour/sayth paule/is subjecte vnto a nother interpretour/ him to expende and juge yt by scriptures faythfully and louingly / and shal not Tindale's]. interpretacion be then subiecte and juged by wother men? will he not suffer a nother man to correcke and mende his fawtis? but anon must break forthe into raging and lying/writing so sclaunderouse and shamelesse a pistle vpon his brother that so wel deserueth vpon his worke? And yf he be so blindely affeccionated as euery man is / with out the more grace vnto his owne werkis and sentence: yet ought he not to auenge himselfe on this maner/so sodenly and headely casting sich confusion into amonge the congregacion/For god is not the autor of confusion but of peace &c. And euen here/by this same troublouse touche of Tindale, may every indifferent reder se which of vs stode on the trwe parte/whether yt was I/ in translating that worde other wyse then he did for whether vt was he aftir warde euen continently in wryting so sclaunderouse and venomouse a pistle declaring vnto all indifferent godly and not affectionated reders of what spirit the man was carved.

But god geue him a better mynde/and vs bothe grace to forgeue eche other/to represse al siche carnall affectis that we may be bothe reviued and renewed with the spirit of peace and loue / that our spiritis departed from our bodis might liue with crist in heuen vntyl our bodyes aftir that sleape in the duste be awakened with the trompet of god/and resumed of our soulis to ryse and come forthe togither into that gloriouse lyfe and ioyouse glorye/perpetually to prayse and magnifye our father by hys sonne our sauiour in the holy gost/vnto whom be glorie and prayse for euer Amen.

Tindale verely might neuer abyde yt/that I especially (whether he so thynketh of wother men god knoweth) shuld translate/wryte/or medle wyth the scriptures/as thoughe

the holy goste with hys giftis were restrayned vnto onely Tin[dale], and might not breath where him listeth/as though Tin[dale], were lerned onely/and none but he, wherefore let euery reder be warned and taught at this ensample and greuouse tentacion of this man (for I take yt no nother wyse) lest as Paule saith/we be puft vp with coninge voyd al charite which edifieth. Let vs not stonde to highly in our own opinion/lest whyle we apere lerned/we proue our self foles/and while we seme to stond faste/we lye groueling on the grownde gnawing the erthe/eting and deuowering our cristen brothers name and fame/besmering and dawbing eche other with dirte and myer.

But had it bene my enimye that thus had vniustely Psal. 55 reuyled and vexed me/I coulde haue borne him/And yf my hater had thus oppressed me/I coude haue had avoyded hym. But yt was thou my nowne felowe/my companion in lyke perel and persecucion/my familiare/so well knowne/vnto whom I committed solouingly my secretis/with whom gladly I went into the house of god. wherefore me thynketh he shulde haue ether borne and winked at the calling of this worde Resurrectio the lyfe aftir this / sith yt so signifyeth / or haue paciently aboden wother mennis iugement / rather then wyth so

sclanderes a pistle / so sodenly to haue rente and torne
my name with so perpetual an Infamye and
with so many fayned lyes. whiche
all God forgeue the man as I
wolde be forgeuen my
nown selfe
Amen.

The. xxvij. daye of Februarye.







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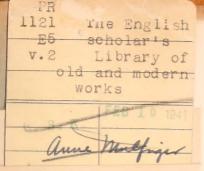
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